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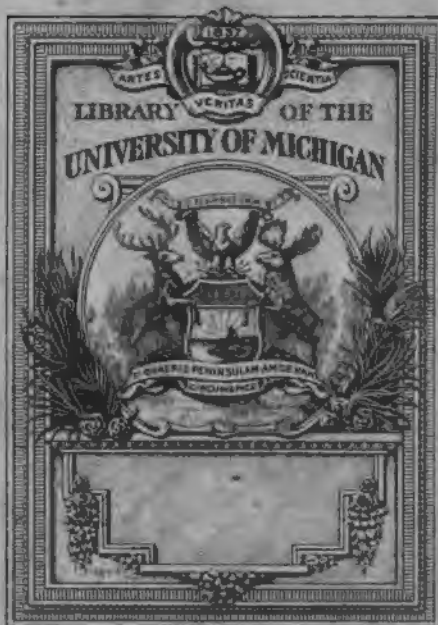
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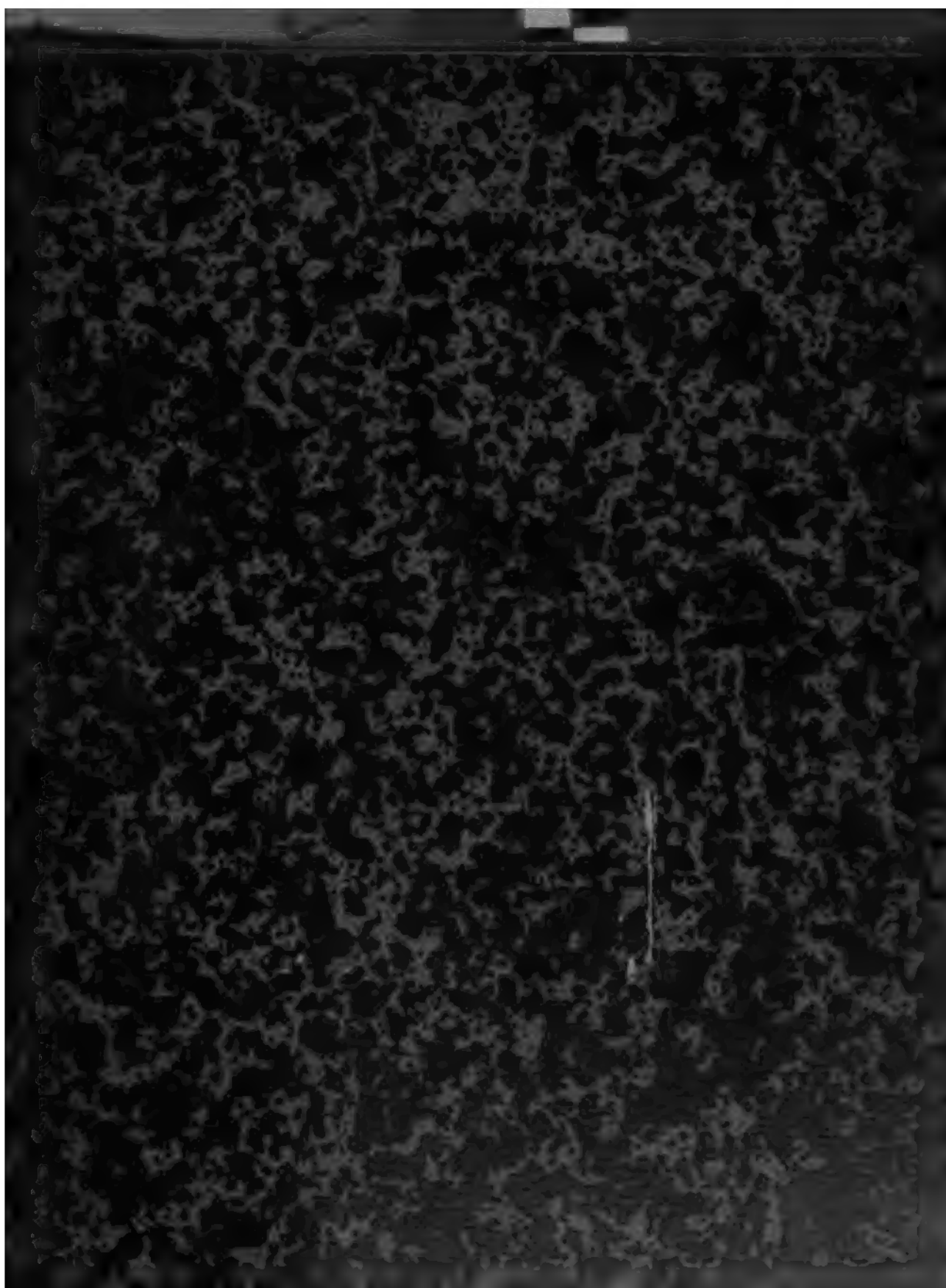
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OF
AMERICAN HISTORY
WITH QUESTIONS
NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

VOL. XVIII.

JULY—DECEMBER, 1887

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Henry Laurens in the London Tower.....	<i>Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.</i> 1
Some Account of Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg.....	<i>Gen. Arthur F. Devereaux.</i> 13
Manuscript Sources of American History.....	<i>Justin Winsor.</i> 20
One Day's Work of a Captain of Dragoons.....	<i>Gen. P. St. George Cooke.</i> 35
The United States Mail Service.....	<i>John M. Bishop.</i> 45
The Biography of a River and Harbor Bill.....	<i>Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph.D.</i> 52
Journalism Among the Cherokee Indians.....	<i>George E. Foster.</i> 65
How President Lincoln Earned his First Dollar.....	<i>William D. Kelley.</i> 71
American Progress.....	<i>Hon. Charles K. Tuckerman.</i> 72
Enoch Crosby not a Myth.....	<i>James E. Deane.</i> 73
The Study of Statistics.....	<i>Prof. Herbert B. Adams.</i> 75
Present Home of the Magazine of American History.....	<i>Walter Booth Adams.</i> 76
Unpublished Letter of President Buchanan. Contributed by Hon. Horatio King.....	77
Unpublished Papers Relating to the First Steamboat on Lake George. Contributed by Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt.....	78
Notes, Queries, and Replies.....	80, 168, 259, 349, 442, 539
Societies.....	84, 173, 264, 448, 542
Historical and Social Jottings.....	88, 175, 265, 354, 449, 543
Book Notices.....	93, 180, 269, 357, 453, 548
Presentation of the Arctic Ship <i>Resolute</i> by the United States to the Queen of England.....	<i>Fessenden N. Otis, M.D.</i> 97
The First Newspaper West of the Alleghanies.....	<i>William Henry Perrin.</i> 121
The Latrobe Corn-Stalk Columns at Washington.....	<i>Eugene Ashton.</i> 128
Origin of the Federal Constitution.....	<i>Prof. Francis Norton Thorpe.</i> 130
Indian Land Grants in Western Massachusetts.....	<i>E. W. B. Canning.</i> 142
A Love Romance in History.....	<i>Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.</i> 150
Lafayette's Visit to Missouri.....	<i>Judge William A. Wood.</i> 154
The Value of Historical Study.....	<i>Rev. R. S. Storrs, D.D.</i> 157
Historical Treasures.....	<i>Rev. W. M. Beauchamp.</i> 161
Lady Franklin in Greece.....	<i>Hon. S. G. W. Benjamin.</i> 161
Sketch of Rev. Mark Hopkins, LL. D.....	162
Recent Words of Wisdom.....	163
Two General Orders relating to German Troops, Stationed at Winchester, Virginia, 1781. Contributed by William L. Stone.....	164
Unpublished Letters of Col. Beverley Robinson. Contributed by William L. Pelletreau.....	165
General James M. Varnum, of the Continental Army.....	<i>Judge Advocate Asa Bird Gardiner, LL. D.</i> 185
How California Was Secured.....	<i>Hubert Howe Bancroft.</i> 194
Our Revolutionary Thunder.....	<i>James D. Butler.</i> 203
Union, Secession, Abolition As illustrated in the careers of Webster, Calhoun, Sumner.....	<i>W. M. Dickson.</i> 206
The United States and the Greek Revolution.....	<i>Hon. Charles K. Tuckerman.</i> 217

	PAGE
The Mayas, Their Customs, Laws, and Religion.....	<i>Mrs. Alice D. Le Plongeon.</i> 233
A Patriotic Parson. Rev. John Cleaveland.....	<i>Rev. D. F. Lamson, D.D.</i> 239
Running-Antelope's Autobiography.....	243
H. C. Van Schaack's Historical Treasures.....	249
The Charleston Earthquake.....	<i>Carl McKinky.</i> 251
The Captured Battle Flags.....	<i>William Jackson Armstrong.</i> 252
Memorandum of Route pursued by Col. Campbell in 1779, from Savannah to Augusta, Ga. Annotated by Col. Charles C. Jones, LL. D.....	I. 256, II. 342
The Origin of New York.....	<i>Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.</i> 373
The American Chapter in Church History.....	<i>Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D.</i> I. 289, II. 390
Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Their Admission into the Union. <i>Prof. Israel Ward Andrews, LL. D.</i>	306
Daniel Webster.....	<i>Hon. S. G. W. Benjamin.</i> 317
Historical Grouping.....	<i>James Schouler.</i> 326
Two Letters of Horatio Greenough.....	<i>Prof. Edward E. Salisbury.</i> 330
Gen. Sterling Price. The New Mexico Insurrection, 1846-1847....	<i>Judge William A. Wood.</i> 333
The First Reformed Dutch Church, Brooklyn.....	<i>Charles D. Baker.</i> 336
An Extraordinary Indian Town....	<i>Prof. Oliver P. Hubbard.</i> 339
Harvey Birch not Enoch Crosby.....	<i>Guy Hatfield.</i> 341
The Manor of Shelter Island.....	<i>Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.</i> 361
Hamilton Oneida Academy in 1794.....	<i>Walstein Root.</i> 396
Aaron Burr. A Study.....	<i>Charles H. Peck, I.</i> 403, II. 482
An Interesting Dialogue in 1676, Between Bacon the "Rebel" and John Goode of Whitby. <i>G. Brown Goode.</i>	418
Horace Greeley's Advice.....	<i>Judge J. Tarbell.</i> 423
The Religious Movement of 1800.....	<i>T. J. Chapman, A. M.</i> 426
Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, As a Humorist.....	434
A Lament. A Poem.....	436
General Washington's Lands.....	437
Fac-Simile of Letter of Gov. George Clinton, 1753. Contributed by Ferguson Haines.....	439
Letter of Gen. Peter Muhlenberg, 1794. Contributed by Richard J. Lewis.....	440
Our Country Fifty Years Ago. Lafayette's Visit, 1824-25.....	<i>Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.</i> 457
Stephen A. Douglas and the Free Soilers.....	<i>A. W. Clason.</i> 478
The Apotheosis of the Plutocrat.....	<i>W. M. Dickson.</i> 497
A Winter's Work of a Captain of Dragoons.....	<i>Gen. P. St. George Cooke, U.S.A., A.M.</i> 510
Physical Basis and Intellectual Life of Harvard College.....	<i>Rev. Henry C. Badger.</i> 517
The Treadmill in America.....	<i>Prof. Oliver P. Hubbard.</i> 525
The Prototype of "Leather Stocking".....	<i>Henry H. Hurlbut.</i> 532
Baby Grace. The Christmas Summons.....	<i>Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.</i> 535
Christmas. A Poem.....	<i>Gilbert Nash.</i> 537
Letter of Jeremiah Nelson to Dr. Manasseh Cutler, Feb. 18, 1807. Contributed by E. C. Dawes.....	538

ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
Portrait of Henry Laurens	I
Fac-simile of Original Autograph Letter of Henry Laurens	3
The London Tower, 1780.....	5
Portrait of the Earl of Hillsborough.....	7
Portrait of Lord Germain	9
Portrait of Lord Stormont.....	11
General Hancock at Battle of Gettysburg.....	17
Milbert's Two Views of West Point, N. Y.....	90
Presentation of the Arctic Ship <i>Resolute</i> to the Queen	97
Portrait of Lady Jane Franklin.....	99
Ship <i>Resolute</i> in the Ice.....	103
Ship <i>Resolute</i> after She was Repaired	105
Portrait of Commander Henry J. Hartstene	109
Fac-simile of Heading of the Kentucky <i>Gazette</i> , 1787.....	122
The Old Fort at Lexington, Ky., built in 1782.....	123
Portrait of John Bradford	125
Kentucky <i>Gazette</i> Printing Office, 1787	126
Present Business House on Site of Old Fort at Lexington, Ky.....	127
The Latrobe Corn-stalk Columns in the Capitol at Washington.....	128
Portrait of General James M. Varnum	185
Residence of General James M. Varnum, East Greenwich, R. I.....	186
Parlor in the Old Varnum Homestead.....	188
Bed-chamber in the Varnum Homestead	189
Punch Bowl presented to General James M. Varnum by Lafayette.....	191
Portrait of Hon. Joseph Bradley Varnum.	192
Running-Antelope's Autobiography.....	243-248
Portrait of Daniel Webster	273
West India Company's First House.....	274
Execution of Barneveld	278
West India Company's Later Houses.....	280, 283, 286, 287
View in the City of Amsterdam	284
Portrait of General Sterling Price.....	333
Old Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.....	336

	PAGE
Portrait of Oliver Cromwell	361
Map of 1686, showing Location of Shelter Island.....	362
Home of Thomas Brinley in England.....	363
Heirlooms of Charles I.	364
The Box Planted by Nathaniel and Grissell Sylvester at Shelter Island.....	365
Fac-simile Letter of Nathaniel Sylvester to John Winthrop, 1675	367
The Ancient Box in the Garden at Shelter Island	369
Entrance Gate to the Manor of Shelter Island	375
Historic Stone Bridge and Site of Ancient Indian Village, Shelter Island	377
Fac-simile of Quit Claim Deed of Horseneck, L. I.	378
Portrait of Samuel S. Gardiner.....	381
Sunset Rock, Shelter Island	382
Sylvester Mansion, Shelter Island	384
View from Front of Henry Dering's Home, Shelter Island	385
One of the Last of the Slaves on the Sylvester Manor.....	386
Tortoise-shell Snuff Box.....	387
The Haunted Looking Glass in the Sylvester Mansion.....	388
Fac-simile Letter of Gov. George Clinton, 1753.....	439
Portrait of General Lafayette	457
Albany, N. Y., 1826	458
Bridge on the Hudson River near Luzerne, 1826.....	460
North View of Providence, R. I., 1826.	462
Boston and South Boston Bridge, 1826.....	464
Provost and Chapel Streets, N. Y. City, 1826.....	466
House of the First Dutch Governor, Albany, N. Y., 1826	468
Water Works on the Schuylkill River, 1826.....	470
The Natural Bridge in Virginia, 1826.....	473
Military Post, Sacketts Harbor, N. Y., 1826.....	474
Indian Brook, N. Y., 1826	475

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CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1887.

No. I.

	PAGE
Portrait of Henry Laurens.	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
Henry Laurens in the London Tower. Mrs. MARTHA J. LAMB.	1
ILLUSTRATIONS—Fac-simile of autograph letter of Laurens written from the ship <i>Vestal</i> —London Tower as it was at the time of Laurens' incarceration—Portrait of the Earl of Hillsborough—Portrait of Lord Germain—Portrait of Lord Stormont.	
Some Account of Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg. Gen. ARTHUR F. DEVEREAUX.	13
ILLUSTRATION—Battle Scene at the moment when Hancock gave the order.	
Manuscript Sources of American History. The Conspicuous Collections Extant. JUSTIN WINSOR.	20
One Day's Work of a Captain of Dragoons. And some of its consequences. Gen. P. ST. GEORGE COOKE, U. S. A., A.M.	35
The United States Mail Service. JOHN M. BISHOP.	45
The Biography of a River and Harbor Bill. ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph.D.	52
Journalism Among the Cherokee Indians. GEORGE E. FOSTER.	65
Minor Topics. How Lincoln Earned his First Dollar, by Kelley—American Progress, an Ode, by Hon. Charles K. Tuckerman—Enoch Crosby not a Myth, by James E. Deane—The Study of Statistics—Present Home of the Magazine of American History.	71
Original Documents. Unpublished Letter of President Buchanan to Royal Phelps, contributed by Hon. Horatio King—Unpublished Papers Relating to the First Steamboat on Lake George.	77
Notes. The Character of Joseph II.—Political Parties—Satire and Humor.	79
Queries. The Stamp Act—Pittsburg, New York—Boodle.	81
Replies. A Historic Meeting House—Tianderra—The Church of England in New York—Public Land.	82
Societies. The American Historical Association—The American Economic Association—Literary and Historical Society of Quebec—The Manchester (Massachusetts) Historical Society—The New Jersey Historical Society.	84
Historic and Social Jottings.	88
ILLUSTRATIONS—View of Military School, West Point, in 1826—Plain of West Point at moment of exercise in 1826.	
Book Notices. Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, vols. V. and VI.—Life of Henry Clay, by Carl Schurz—The Story of Assyria, by Madame Ragozin—John Sevier as a Commonwealth Builder, by Gilmore—The Universal Cookery Book, by Miss Strohm—The Appeal to Life, by Munger—Familiar Short Sayings of Great Men, by Bent—Natural Law in the Business World, by Wood—Papers of the California Historical Society, Vol. I., Part I.	93
<i>Advertisements—Books, Schools, etc., 1 to 10—Periodicals and Miscellaneous, 11 to 24.</i>	

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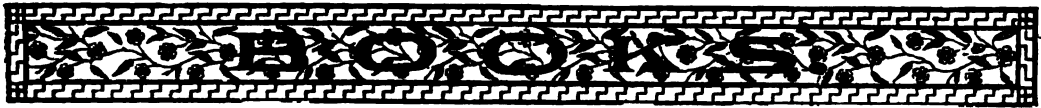
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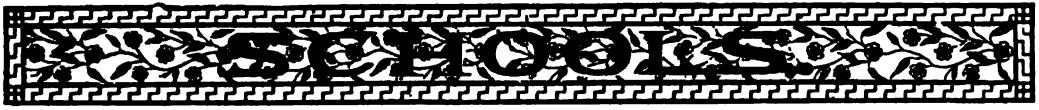
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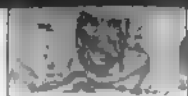
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*Engraved by W. Wilson London
From the painting by Copley.*

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XVIII

JULY, 1887

No. 1

HENRY LAURENS IN THE LONDON TOWER

IN the summer of that dark and memorable year for America, 1780, when the leaders of thought and the leaders of armies were alike groping in a dense cloud of agonizing uncertainty as to the future of this country, Henry Laurens of South Carolina, ex-President of the Continental Congress, was commissioned by that body to proceed to Holland and endeavor to borrow money there, or anywhere in Europe, on account of the United States. A packet belonging to Congress was in Philadelphia, the fast-sailing brigantine, *Mercury*, commanded by Captain William Pickles, and in the general impatience for speedy relief Mr. Laurens hurriedly embarked on her, with the expectation of being attended on his voyage by two frigates and a sloop-of-war, as far, at least, as the banks of Newfoundland.

Henry Laurens was at this time fifty-six years of age, a Christian gentleman, of large means, of well-known mercantile experience and integrity, of fine personal presence, varied learning, and many accomplishments. He had previously resided a few years in England while superintending the education of his sons, and was personally acquainted with many of the leading statesmen of Europe. Before sailing he asked the Committee of Foreign Affairs for a copy of a paper that had been drafted by Vanberkel, the Dutch Minister, and William Lee of Virginia, as a possible form for a treaty between the Dutch provinces and the United States when the independence of the latter should be established. The *original* instead of a copy was given to Mr. Laurens, as it had never been read in Congress and was of no special value or authority whatever. He tossed it into a trunk of miscellaneous papers, chiefly waste, intending to look over the whole at sea and discard what was worthless. The frigates failed, much to the disappointment of Mr. Laurens, to join the *Mercury* as a convoy, and the sloop-of-war was soon dismissed because it was an exasperatingly slow sailer and wasted valuable time. Shortly afterward, on the bright morning of the 3d of September, a British man-of-war, the *Vestal*, of twenty-eight guns, was seen bearing down upon the lone vessel, and before noon the *Mercury* was fired upon and forced to surrender. As soon as escape

was found impossible Mr. Laurens hastily burned or threw overboard all his most valuable documents ; but the trunk of odds and ends was left, and had not his secretary reminded him of some private letters within it, would have been esteemed too unimportant for destruction. As it was they scrambled its contents with some confusion into a long bag, poured in some shot and threw it into the sea. The British sailors saw it and fished it up, and the unauthentic draft of the treaty—the project-eventual of two gentlemen in their private capacities—was subsequently made by Great Britain the basis for a declaration of war against the Dutch.

When conducted to the *Vestal* Mr. Laurens offered his sword and purse containing about fifty guineas in gold to Captain Keffel, who refused both somewhat gruffly, saying : “ Put up your money, sir, I never plunder.” It was some ten days before the vessel arrived at St. Johns, Newfoundland, and during that time the distinguished captive was treated with the utmost courtesy. “ Soon after we anchored,” wrote Mr. Laurens in his diary, “ Admiral Edwards sent his compliments, desiring I would dine with him that and every day while I should remain in the land. The Admiral received me politely at dinner ; seated me at his right hand ; after dinner he toasted the king ; I joined. Immediately after he asked a toast from me. I gave ‘ George Washington,’ which was repeated by the whole company, and created a little mirth at the lower end of the table. The Admiral, in course of conversation, observed I had been pretty active among my countrymen. I replied that I had ‘ once been a good British subject, but after Great Britain had refused to hear our petitions, and had thrown us out of her protection, I had endeavored to do my duty. While I was at Newfoundland I never heard the term *rebel* ; and as occasion required I spoke as freely of the United States, of Congress, and of independence, as I had ever done in Philadelphia. Nine captains of British men-of-war honored me by a visit, and every one spoke favorably of America, but lamented her connection with France. One of these gentlemen advised me, upon my arrival in London, to take apartments at the new hotel ; ‘ then ’ said he ‘ we shall know where to find you.’ I smiled and asked if there was not a hotel in London called Newgate ? ‘ Newgate ! ’ exclaimed two or three, ‘ they dare not send you there ! ’ ‘ Well, gentlemen,’ I said, ‘ wait a few weeks and you will hear of the hotel where I shall be lodged.’ ” *

On the 18th of September Mr. Laurens sailed for England in charge of Captain Keffel, and in ten days landed at Dartmouth, whence he was driven in a post chaise with four horses to London. They arrived at the

* Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society, Vol. I.

Gentlemen.

Castell Barchin, Frigate F. G. S. S.
N. F. Land 14th Sept. 1780

I had the honor of putting to the head of a number
four on board the Messing Packet, the 18th Sept. by Capt. Young &
partly with the Santiago.

In the 3rd Inst. the British came in view & after a pursuit of
some time on 1st hour Capt. Gage & his whole party, of the British
Mr. Gage, Capt. Piller & myself were conducted on board this ship
& yesterday in evening here.

Certain papers among which were all those, delivered to me
by Mr. Smith & the head of a number fell into Capt. Piller's
hands. These papers had been sealed in a bag accompanied by
a considerable weight of iron shot, & were secured, but this
might prove inconvenient for the purpose intended.

Admiral Edwards Governor of this Island & Commander of
the Stationed Squadron has ordered me to England in the ship
of war Fairy under the command of Capt. Piller, Mr. Gage &
Capt. Piller will probably go in the same vessel.

I had the writing in justice & indeed dependent on
some gratification was to do so in acknowledgment of Capt. Piller
kindness to myself & to every body captured in the Messing
Packet.

Capt. Piller's conduct while he had the command of
the vessel was perfectly satisfactory to me.

I have the honor to be Gentlemen yours
Rd. & most humbly

The Honorable
The Committee
in England

Henry Laurens

Philadelphia

FAC-SIMILE OF THE ORIGINAL AUTOGRAPH LETTER WRITTEN BY HENRY LAURENS ON THE "VESTAL."

[From the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

Admiralty Office late in the evening of October 5, from where Mr. Laurens was sent under a strong guard up three pair of stairs, in Scotland Yard, into a very small chamber. Two kings' messengers were stationed at one door all night, and a subaltern's guard of soldiers at the other. Mr. Laurens smiled at this unnecessary parade of power, as he was so ill at the time that he could not walk without assistance. The next day he was con-

ducted to the secretary's office and examined before Lord Hillsborough, Lord Stormont, Lord George Germain, and other notables. Lord Stormont conducted the examination, which was very brief, and then told Mr. Laurens that he was to be committed to the Tower of London on "suspicion of high treason." Mr. Laurens asked for a copy of the commitment, which was not granted. Mr. Chamberlain, Solicitor of the Treasury, who was present, said, "Mr. Laurens, you are to be sent to the Tower of London, not to a prison; you must have no idea of a prison." Mr. Laurens gracefully bowed his thanks and thought of the "new hotel" which had been recommended by his friends in Newfoundland. He wrote in his journal: "From Whitehall I was conducted in a close hackney coach, under the charge of Colonel Williamson, a polite, genteel officer, and two of the illest looking fellows I had ever seen. The coach was ordered to proceed by the most private ways to the Tower. It had been rumored that a rescue would be attempted. At the Tower the colonel delivered me to Major Gore, the residing governor, who, as I afterwards was well informed, had concerted a plan for mortifying me. He ordered rooms for me in the most conspicuous part of the Tower (the parade.) The people of the house, particularly the mistress, entreated the governor not to burthen them with a prisoner. He replied, 'It is necessary. I am determined to expose him.' This was however a lucky determination for me. The people were respectful and kindly attentive to me from the beginning of my confinement to the end; and I contrived, after being told of the governor's humane declaration, so to garnish my windows by honeysuckles and a grape-vine, as to conceal myself entirely from the sight of starers, and at the same time to have myself a full view of them. Their Lordships' orders were 'to confine me a close prisoner; to be locked up every night; to be in the custody of two wardens who were not to suffer me out of their sight *one moment* day or night; to allow me no liberty of speaking to any person, nor to permit any person to speak to me; to deprive me of the use of pen and ink; to suffer no letter to be brought to me, nor any to go from me, etc.' As an apology, I presume, for their first rigor, the wardens gave me their orders to peruse. And now I found myself a close prisoner, indeed; shut up in two small rooms, which together made about twenty feet square; a warden my constant companion; and a fixed bayonet under my window: not a friend to converse with, and no prospect of a correspondence. Next morning, 7th October, Governor Gore came into my room with a workman and fixed iron bars to my windows; altogether unnecessary. The various guards were sufficient to secure my person. It was done, I was informed, either to shake my mind or to mor-



THE LONDON TOWER AS IT APPEARED AT THE TIME OF MR. LAURENS' INCARCERATION.
[From a rare English print in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

tify me. It had neither effect. I only thought of Mr. Chamberlain's consolation."

One of the curious features in connection with the imprisonment of Mr. Laurens in London Tower was his being compelled to pay rent for his little rooms, and find his own food, fuel, bedding, and candles. When the situation became clear to his perceptions, he said to his jailor, "Whenever I caught a bird in America I found a cage and victuals for it."

The experiences of Mr. Laurens in London Tower were of an interesting as well as of a thrilling character. He was ill with the gout and other maladies when he entered his prison, but no medical attendance was provided, not any of the ordinary comforts of a sick room were allowed him, and it was more than twelve months before he was granted pen and ink to draw a bill of exchange to provide for himself. He obtained a pencil, however, from one of his humane attendants, and frequent communications were carried by a trusty person to the outside world. He even corresponded with some of the *rebel* newspapers. His son Henry, and some other visitors, were permitted to see him occasionally for a few moments at a time under cautionary restrictions. But just as he was gaining a little in his jail limits he unluckily fell in one morning with Lord George Gordon, then a state prisoner, awaiting his trial, who invited him to walk by his side. Mr. Laurens declined, and returned immediately to his apartment. But the governor hearing of it, through one of his spies, made the accidental meeting the pretext for turning the key closely upon his American prisoner, and Mr. Laurens was actually locked into his little apartment forty-seven consecutive days. General Vernon finally heard of this, paid Mr. Laurens a visit, and gave orders that he should "walk when and where he pleased"—within his prison boundaries—and on the 22d of February (1781), he walked abroad for the first time since the 3d of December.

Richard Oswald used his utmost efforts to obtain the release of Mr. Laurens on parole, offering to pledge his entire fortune as security, but the lords of the realm would listen to no such propositions. Overtures of various kinds were made, however, through Oswald and others, to Mr. Laurens which he resented with much spirit. On one occasion he was told that if he would "write two or three lines to the ministers," and barely say he was "sorry for what is past, a pardon would be granted." But the response from Mr. Laurens was quick and decisive in the negative. When advised "to take time and weigh the matter properly in his mind," Mr. Laurens exclaimed: "An honest man requires no time to give an answer where his honor is concerned."

When his brilliant son, John Laurens a young man of twenty-seven,

and the hero of many a deed of valor, appeared in Paris, in the spring of 1781 as a special minister of the United States, to negotiate a loan from



The Right Hon^{ble}. The EARL of HILLSBOROUGH.

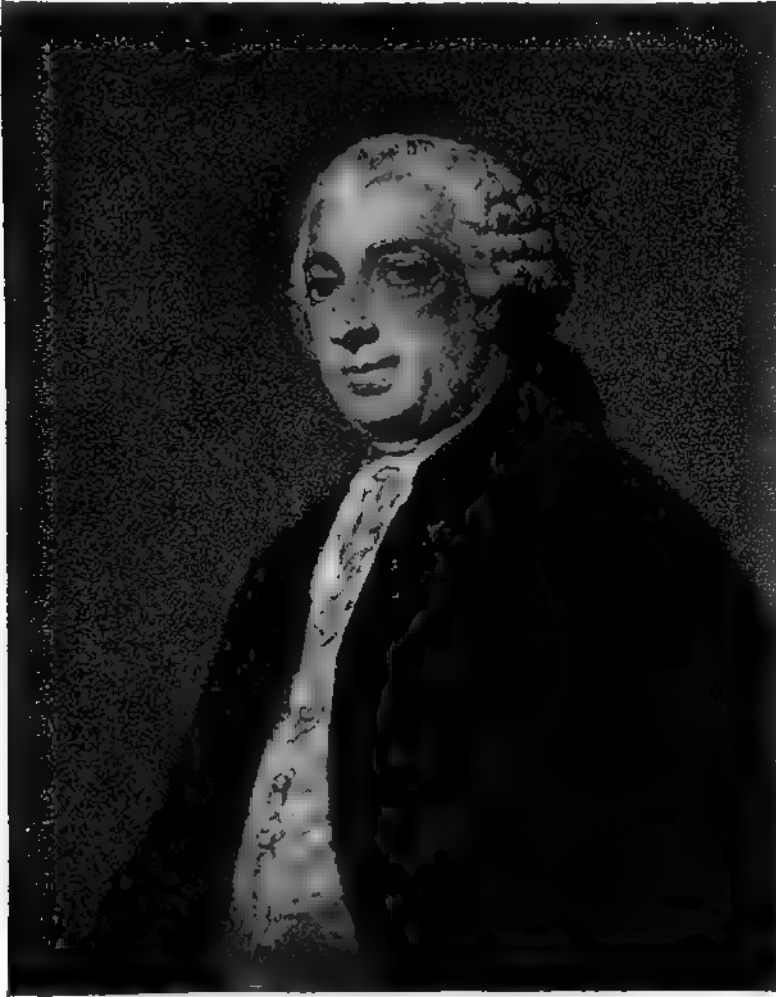
France, there was a sensible commotion in the British atmosphere. Oswald hastened to tell Mr. Laurens that the event "would prove very injurious" to his interests. Manning wrote to him that his "confinement

would therefore be the more rigorous, because the young man had now openly declared himself an enemy to his king and his country." Oswald suggested that if Mr. Laurens would advise his son to withdraw from the French court, it would be extremely well taken at the British court. Mr. Laurens replied to both that his son was of age, and had a will of his own ; that he was a man of honor ; and while he loved his father dearly, and would lay down his life for him, he would not sacrifice his honor to save his father's life, and he applauded him for it.

A full year rolled round and still Mr. Laurens occupied the little rooms in the Tower. On the 8th of October a message was brought to him that provoked his hearty laughter. The governor sent a man to collect £97 10s. due to the two wardens for one year's attendance upon the prisoner. It was such a grotesque claim that Mr. Laurens answered with cutting satire : " This is the most extraordinary attempt I ever heard of ! It is enough to provoke me to change my lodgings. I was sent to the Tower by the Secretaries of State, without money in my pockets (for aught they knew). Their Lordships have never supplied me with a bit of beef nor a bit of bread, nor inquired how or whether I subsisted. It is upwards of three months since I informed their Lordships the fund which had, up to that time, supported me was nearly exhausted. I humbly prayed for leave to draw a bill on Mr. John Nutt, a London merchant who is indebted to me, which they have been pleased to refuse by the most grating of all denials, a total silence ; and now, sir, when it is known to everybody that I have no money, a demand of this nature is made for £97 10s ! If their Lordships will permit me to draw for money when it is due, I will continue to pay my own expenses, so far as respects myself, but if I were possessed of as many guineas as would fill this room, I would not pay the wardens, whom I never employed, and whose attendance I shall be glad to dispense with. Attempts, sir, to tax men without their own consent, have involved this kingdom in a bloody seven years' war. Upon the whole, sir, be pleased to deliver to the governor as my answer ; ' the demand or application you have made, appears to me to be extraordinary and unjust, and I will not comply with it.' "

Within a day or two Mr. Laurens contrived to insert an account of this transaction in the newspapers. It appeared so amazing to people that many refused at first to believe it ; but Mr. Laurens found means for confirming it. The idea of changing his lodgings became an amusing topic for some days. On the 25th of October, while the news of the capture of Cornwallis with his entire army was crossing the ocean, Mr. Laurens penciled these lines in his journal : " I have been so unwell since my confine-

ment as to be deprived of appetite for eating; yet, for the honor of the United States I have kept up a well-spread table, paid a guinea per week for marketing and cooking, and had three full suits of new clothes made,



LORD GERMAIN.

[Copied through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

which I was not in want of. . . . Maladies increasing upon me: my money expended; nothing to eat except what might be sent to me, which I accounted as nothing and which did not come every day. An account

of my wretched condition appeared in the public prints, which, I was informed, gave the administration much uneasiness, and brought loud reproaches upon them. Sir John Dyer, commandant of the Tower battalion, inquired of the people of the house, 'if the printed accounts were true.' They answered in the affirmative. He went to Governor Gore and admonished him, 'if Mr. Laurens should die you would be indicted, for he has been neglected.' The governor was alarmed; made a virtue of necessity; came immediately, and in language to which I had not been accustomed from him, offered to go to the Secretaries of State with any message I should be pleased to send. I replied: 'The Secretaries of State, sir, do not want information; it is upwards of four months since they received my representation and prayer for the use of pen and ink, to draw a short bill for money. I have also been a man in authority, Governor Gore; I have treated British prisoners in a very different way from that which I have experienced; their Lordships have been fully acquainted with my conduct by British officers, and can give proof of this. I thought myself an humble man before I came here, but I now find I had mistaken myself. I am one of the proudest men upon earth; I will not condescend to apply to their Lordships again.' The governor withdrew and looked as if he was of my opinion, that I was a very proud and saucy chap. I was neither; I spoke not my own, but a language becoming the dignity of the United States. I was very sick; this is truth; but I was in no danger of starving. I might have had as much money as I wanted from Mr. Oswald or Mr. Manning; the latter had a considerable balance of mine in hand. I had a large sum deposited in France, but I had resolved to drive their Lordships either to make proper provision for me, or to allow me the use of pen and ink to draw upon John Nutt, on whom only I would draw. In the evening the governor returned; said the secretaries had considered I should have the use of pen and ink. The next morning, October 30th, pen and ink was brought to me, and taken away again the moment I had finished a draft on Mr. Nutt for fifty guineas. The bill was paid."

On the 25th of November the tidings reached London of the surrender of Cornwallis. Lord Germain was the first to read the dispatch. Lord Walsingham, Under-Secretary of State, being present, the two entered a hackney-coach to save time, and drove to the house of Lord Stormont. He joined them in the vehicle, and the three drove rapidly to the residence of Lord North. The prime minister received the news, said Germain, "as he would have taken a musket ball in the breast." He threw his arms apart. He paced wildly up and down the room in the greatest agitation, exclaiming. "It is all over! it is all over!" Parliament reassem-

bled two days later. The speech of the king was confused; but he still insisted on prosecuting the war. In the debates that followed, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, the youthful William Pitt, and others assailed the ministry and the war as no ministry had ever before or has ever since been



LORD STORMONT.

[From copy of an engraving of the original painting at Caenwood]

assailed. The city of London entreated the king to end hostilities; and public meetings in every part of the kingdom expressed the same wish. In the House, resolutions offered for the discontinuance of the war were defeated by a small majority.

Mr. Laurens soon became aware of the anxiety of the ministry to get rid of him; but the dilemma was in the difference of opinion as to the

method. Mr. Laurens would not accept of a pardon; and Lord Hillsborough argued that his condition could not be changed from a state prisoner to a prisoner of war without the intervention of a pardon, and only as a prisoner of war could an exchange be negotiated. Edmund Burke used all his influence to abate the severity of treatment and secure the release of Mr. Laurens. The opposition, in the sharpest of language, condemned the course of the administration in regard to Mr. Laurens. Lord Stormont at length softened sufficiently to make inquiries concerning his health. About the same time came news across the water that the son of Laurens was the custodian of Cornwallis in America, and that his treatment of the humiliated nobleman was exactly the reverse of what his father had experienced in the Tower, locked in the very prison of which Cornwallis was governor. From that hour severities were transformed into civilities; and on the last day of December, 1781, with health greatly impaired from his fifteen months' confinement, Henry Laurens was taken from the Tower in a sedan chair, and was henceforward free. It had been arranged that he should be liberated on bail, his trial to come off at the Easter Term of the King's Bench. He was carried to one of the inns of the court, where he was met by Lord Mansfield, and the formalities of his release settled. He was never brought to trial, but, on the contrary, was treated with consideration and deference. The Duke of Richmond sent for him, and discussed divers plans for coming to a right understanding with the United States. On one occasion the duke remarked, "Suppose, Mr. Laurens, we were to grant you independence—" "*Grant*, my lord duke!" interrupted Mr. Laurens. "We have independence. Who can take it from us? Great Britain may, if she pleases, *acknowledge* it." The duke paused a moment, then said, "Well, Mr. Laurens, I will not dispute about a word. I will say *acknowledge*."

Lord Shelburne, upon coming into office, secretly consulted Mr. Laurens with great frequency. At the desire of his lordship, Mr. Laurens went to Leyden for an interview with Mr. Adams, while Oswald visited Paris for a conversation with Dr. Franklin. When the tidings of Mr. Laurens' release from the Tower reached America, Congress at once placed him on the Peace Commission, and he was with his colleagues in Paris when the preliminary treaty was concluded. Through the generous courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, our frontispiece, this month, is a superb portrait of Mr. Laurens, after Copley's painting.

Martha Lamb

SOME ACCOUNT OF PICKETT'S CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG

The morning of July 3, 1863, the third day of Gettysburg's battle, opened with both armies in apparent apathetic quiet. About the centre of the famous "Horse Shoe" occupied by Meade's forces, immediately to the left of the cemetery, a knoll projected out a little from the general direction of the Union line. This knoll was crowned with a growth of small oaks constituting a prominent feature of the landscape. The slope of this knoll towards the enemy, and for a little distance to both right and left, was held by the Second Division, Second Corps, under command of General John Gibbon. In it were three brigades, that of General Alexander S. Webb, on the right, Colonel Hall in the centre, and General Harrow on the left.

There was but one line of infantry from the left up to Webb's position where one of his regiments had retired a few paces. One spirited writer has fixed the immortal stamp upon that "Single Line of Blue."

During Sickles' fight in the Peach Orchard of the previous day, two regiments of Hall's brigade had been detached under my command and sent out to take part therein. These had returned after night-fall, and there being no place in the front line, were stationed some distance to the rear.

This explanation is given so as to furnish a fair understanding of subsequent events.

After early morning Lee's artillery could be seen massing in our front. Conjecture easily anticipated the object. A tremendous cannonade on some points of the Union line and an infantry assault ensuing. What point more likely than this conspicuous and central one?

Events showed that Lee regarded it as the "key point" of the position. His policy of a fierce assault immediately following a heavy fire of guns with purpose of piercing his enemy's centre declared his belief in the weakness of that point and his confidence in successful issue. History must record the soundness of his judgment, and how victory barely escaped his grasp. That morn of busy preparation along the lines of Lee was spent in absolute inaction on the part of Meade's forces, at least by this portion.

A brooding silence hung over it with a pall of dread anticipation. Few men have the tiger instinct of blood until the moment of danger and resentment has discarded humane sentiment. The period before a conflict

which is plainly inevitable impresses a solemn sense upon all with greater force the higher the organization. Then it is that men must face with cool mind the possibilities which throng it. The inclination for self-communing is stronger than the desire for interchange of thought. But the quiet resolution which so acts is fortitude's true test.

The division lay there on its arms, this calm resting over all, scarcely any movement making itself apparent to disturb the universal hush. Suddenly a single gun from the enemy's lines broke the oppressive stillness. It was plainly a signal. No sooner had its report roused the attention than every gun on Seminary Ridge opened in one grand salvo with concentric fire on Gibbon's division. The shot from that signal gun struck Lieutenant Sherman S. Robinson of the Nineteenth Massachusetts, cutting his body nearly in two, killing him instantly. He was a young man much liked and respected. He had won his spurs in the ranks and was wearing his reward of merit on his shoulders in the badge of rank of his hard-earned commission just acquired.

From this time on for two hours the roaring of the cannon and bursting of shells from both sides was so incessant that the ear could not distinguish individual explosions.

It was one grand raging clash of ceaseless sound. Pandemonium broken loose was a zephyr to a cyclone in comparison. The Army of the Potomac had taken part in more than one tough fight and were not much afraid of thunder; but I imagine the survivors of that terrific hurricane of shot and shell would find it in their inclination to send an "excuse me, please," to any invitation to attend, as wall-flowers, such another satanic entertainment, unless duty called. The firing of cannon ceased almost as suddenly as it began, and Pickett's splendid division moved out to cross the interval, between the two low-lying ridges, occupied by the opposing armies, on that magnificent charge which has extorted the admiration, unqualified, of their foes, must be ever memorable in history, and which won the position aimed for but could not hold it.

The story of this grand effort has been many times repeated, and I shall limit myself to the relation of what occurred after Pickett had crossed the Emmettsburg pike and came sweeping up the slope, still carrying every thing before him as if borne forward by all-ruling fate.

The knoll bearing the historic "Little Oak Grove" slopes off well towards the south and east. From the left of my line (the two detached regiments of Hall's brigade already alluded to) Colonel Mallon and myself had a view which compassed a good deal of the ground even directly in front of that elevation. Standing there, looking on the grand array of that

majestic charge, was it mere impulse that stirred me to move forward my men nearer yet to that "Single Line of Blue"? Or was it prompting from a higher source that determined the action? One only can tell when all secrets are unveiled. However, it was done. Plain it was that we could not escape some part in the tragedy to follow. It might be a desperate one, and what was the material upon which reliance must be placed to meet and perform the duty?

The Nineteenth Massachusetts had been trained from the start in a discipline as stern as that of Cromwell's "Ironsides." Nevertheless, it had never come within the range of my experience to know a body of troops where mutual confidence of officers and men existed in a higher degree. I had known five months at a time to go by without one instance of punishment in the regiment, however slight. The guard tent, as a rule, after its early history, existed as a necessary formality, but as a place of duress its existence was mostly traditional. To incur its penalties brought a severer one from the comrades in the same company, and absolution was obtained by their consent alone. What made this was true soldierly self-respect. *Esprit de corps* is a tame sound beside it.

At Antietam, Sedgwick's splendid division, in close column by brigades, without a skirmisher in front, was sent forward through a belt of woods and rammed up against batteries and infantry in position. It withered before a fire so sudden and so fierce as to create slaughter almost unexampled in the annals of the war. The First Minnesota and the Nineteenth Massachusetts, holding the right of two of the brigades with now the distance of a division between them and the balance of the army, could not be dislodged by the enemy, and were not until the division was re-formed some distance in the rear.

At Fredericksburg, Burnside's failure to lay his pontoon bridge led to a call for volunteers to man the pontoons. The Seventh Michigan and the Nineteenth Massachusetts crossed the swollen Rappahannock in open boats and drove the enemy's sharpshooters from their rifle pits, whence they had foiled all efforts of the Engineer Corps of the Army of the Potomac in laying the bridge all through the day, causing such loss in officers and men as temporarily to disable it.*

* Palfrey, in his "Campaigns of the Civil War," erroneously ascribes the credit of the crossing at Fredericksburg to the Twentieth Massachusetts. That regiment does not need to appropriate one leaf from the record of any other to twine with its own chaplet of laurels. Gen. Palfrey's personal character is guarantee of the inadvertence of the substitution. Carleton's "Boys of '61" is guilty of the same error and undoubtedly from the same cause. Neither would willingly pervert history through partiality or prejudice.

Such troops can be designated RELIABLE.

To-day the Nineteenth Massachusetts has with it the Forty-second New York, Tammany's contribution to the country's cause. They had served side by side in the same brigade with the Nineteenth Massachusetts in the camp, on the march, and on the battle-field from Ball's Bluff to the present moment.

In them was all the traditional fun and fight, Paddy's heritage, which centuries of oppression cannot rob him of nor repress.

They were in excellent condition under the firm rule of Mallon.

New England's sturdy courage and Ireland's fiery valor must be ready to do and dare together once again this day.

The opportunity was not denied them nor long delayed.

Col. Mallon and myself could view the whole scene standing up as we were, and were probably the only persons close enough readily to distinguish all which occurred, and so entirely free from personal participation as to be able intelligently to judge it.

We see that Webb cannot firmly hold his men against the shock of that fierce charge, though he may throw himself with reckless courage in front to face the storm, and beg, threaten, and command.

Hall's right, overlapped, has to sag back with sullen fury, swaying to the rear from the pressure, but swaying forward again like ocean surges against a rock. This creates disorder, heightened by the men of Harrow's brigade surging also in that direction, apparently without orders or concert, but guided by some instinct of hurrying to the rescue. Everything was in confusion, regimental organization was lost, ranks were eight or ten deep, pushing, swaying, struggling, refusing to yield, but almost impotent for good.

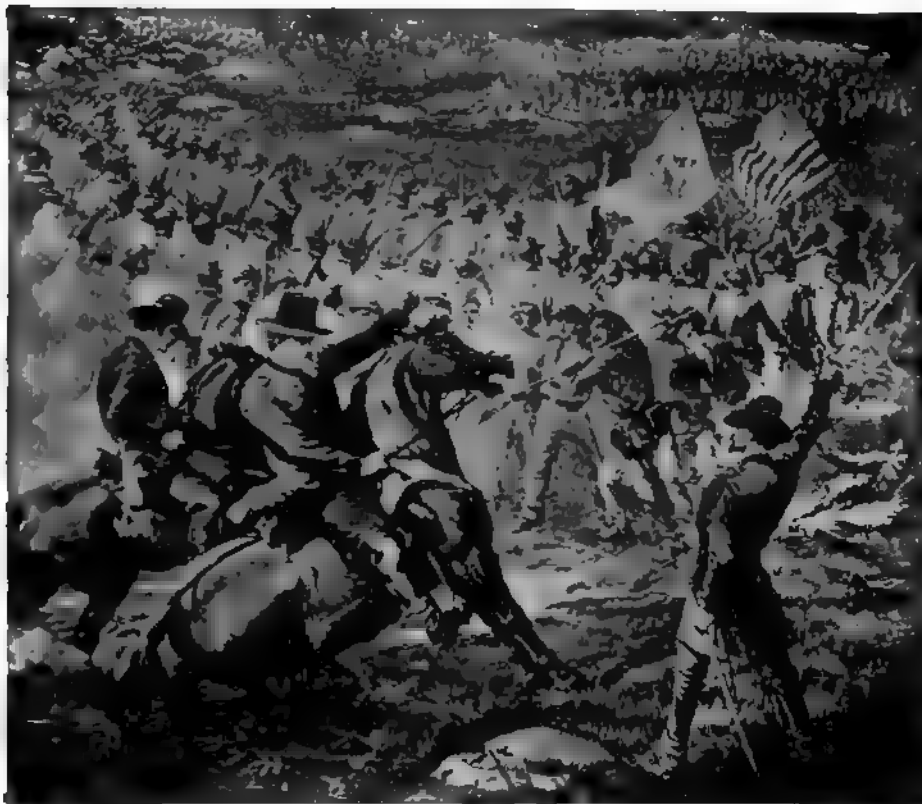
A great gap yawns immediately between Webb and Hall.

The entire width of the Oak Grove and for some distance to the right is stripped of defense on our line. Every gun on our front there is silenced. Woodruff, Cushing, Brown, Rorty, and every other commissioned officer, almost without exception, of the respective batteries, is dead or disabled, and Gibbon badly wounded.

Was this devoted Second Corps, whose proud boast it was that it "never lost a gun or a color," to succumb at last?

"Mallon, we must move."

Just then a headlong rush of horses' feet, spurred to the utmost, came up the hollow behind from the direction of the Baltimore pike. I turned. There, looking the very embodiment of the god of our race, Hancock, the 'Superb,'



GENERAL HANCOCK PAUSING TO GIVE THE ORDER TO COLONEL DEVEREUX.

I shouted as he nearly trampled on my men, still lying down and as yet unseen by him. He threw his horse on its haunches.

"See," I cried, "their colors; they have broken through. Let me get in there."

His characteristic answer fitted time and place, and he shot like an arrow past my left toward Hall's struggling lines, receiving in a few seconds the wound that swept him from his saddle and so nearly cost him his life.

Meanwhile Mallon, springing from my side, was instantly with his men, and both regiments on the double quick moved side by side to fill that fearful gap. The two lines came together with a shock which stopped both and caused a slight rebound. For several minutes they faced and fired into each other at a distance (which I carefully measured after the fight) a little short of fifteen paces. Everything seemed trembling in the balance.

Whichever side could get a motion forward must surely win. General Alexander S. Webb I couldn't see. Just then I felt rather than saw Hall, as he appeared at my side.

"We are steady now," he said. "Sure; but we must move," I replied.

At the instant a man broke through my lines and thrust a rebel battle-flag into my hands. He never said a word and darted back. It was Corporal Joseph H. De Castro, one of my color-bearers. He had knocked down a color-bearer in the enemy's line with the staff of the Massachusetts State colors, seized the falling flag, and dashed with it to me.*

Mallon had by this time wrapped round the right of the grove a little. The opposing lines were standing as if rooted, dealing death into each other, how long it is impossible to say with exactness. There they stood and wouldn't move. All of a sudden a strange, resistless impulse seemed to urge the Union arms. I can compare it only to a Titan's stride. Our lines seemed to actually leap forward. There was at once an indescribable rush of thick, hurrying scenes. I held the blunted apex of the re-entering angle, which was the appearance made by our lines.

A yell. A shout.

My line seemed to open as if by magic. It was not flight, however. A flood of unarmed, defenseless men poured through. They almost ran over me. The remnant of Pickett's gallant men abandon that nearly invincible charge, and Gettysburg translated reads, A Nation Saved.

I had four colors of theirs on my arm by this time.†

No wonder it took more than mortal patience to bear up under the bitter disappointment so swiftly following on such assured success of a few moments before. The lieutenant-colonel of a Virginia regiment, seeing

* Corporal De Castro received a testimonial of his gallantry on the spot, as follows :

Headquarters Nineteenth Regt. Mass. Vols., July 4, 1863.

This will certify that Corporal Joseph H. De Castro, Co. I, 19th Regt. Mass. Vols., in the attack of Pickett's (Rebel) division on Gibbon's division of 2d corps U. S. army on July 3d, 1863, at Gettysburg, Pa., did capture the colors of the 14th Regt. Virginia Infantry C. S. A., inscribed with their name and number, and did place the same in my hands during the actual conflict.

(Signed) A. F. Devereux.

Col. 19th Regt. Mass. Vols.

A true copy.

W. A. Hill, Late Adjutant 19th Regt. Mass. Vols.

Corporal De Castro's further reward was one of the four special medals struck by order of the Sec'y of War in attest of extraordinary gallant conduct.

† My recollection is that Mallon captured two colors. Both regiments however, came at once under the control of the brigade commander, and Mallon's trophies were not turned in through me. The losses of the 19th Massachusetts at Gettysburg by casualties (killed and wounded, NONE missing) were one in every two, including officers and enlisted men, and seven over.

what I held, exclaimed: "You Yanks think you've done a great thing now."

"It's our turn," I said; "remember Fredericksburg."

I doubt if either of us realized, at that moment, precisely how much the "Yanks" had done. The full import has since been amply recognized.

It was the critical point of the culminating battle of the long struggle, or, as it has been happily termed, the "high water mark of the rebellion," ebbing slowly and surely thence till it left the Confederacy stranded. For the Union line to have failed at that point meant the accomplishment of all the plans of General Lee and recognition of the South by foreign powers. By common consent it has been regarded as the knock-down blow to the loser in the fight.

I have always felt a reverential awe of the responsibility resting on these two regiments in this conflict. They were advanced before I could anticipate what use could be made of them, and halted just at the spot as it proved, where they could be hurled with full effect right against the front of Pickett's column, which had actually pierced our lines and gained its objective point. They were the only troops in prompt striking distance. They alone were under full command and in perfect order, sent forward to the performance of a specific purpose, with the way open. Their arrival steadied Hall's and Harrow's swaying line; enabled Webb to rally his command once more; made effective Stannard's throwing out perpendicularly to the line, on the left, and Hays' rush from the right; formed a *cul-de-sac*, and held the enemy in the jaws of a vise whose resistless pressure must inevitably crush.

If I am right in my opinion, they were worthy to come to the support of their gallant comrades in their time of desperate need. If they had not come, what then? If they had not been just there, who will say what might have been?

In after days, when memory without warning would suddenly unroll the panorama of those few fateful moments, flashing in an instant the recollection of every incident on the retina of the mind, I have felt, deep down in my heart, of the participants in that fierce struggle, that, under Providence, these did that much for their country. They have not lived in vain.



MANUSCRIPT SOURCES OF AMERICAN HISTORY *

THE CONSPICUOUS COLLECTIONS EXTANT

I ask your attention to some considerations respecting the manuscript sources of American history, as they exist in this country, both in public archives and in private hands, with a view to suggesting some methods for their better preservation, and for insuring to the historical student a more thorough knowledge of their nature.

The subject is too wide to be considered in all its bearings within the brief space allotted here, and I shall therefore mainly refer to those collections of a more extensive sort which relate to the history of the American Revolution. It should be borne in mind that there was not, during that formative period of our nation, the same rigid enforcement of the rights of governments to the official papers of its servants which prevails now. Accordingly, it would be impossible to write the full story of the American Revolution with the documentary evidence left in the hands of the departmental officers of the present day, as a legacy from the Committees and Boards and Congresses which, in those days, conducted our affairs. It is also true, though in a lesser degree, that the English archives and those of the Continent of Europe need also reinforcement from family papers, if we would study completely the same period on the other side of the ocean.

It was this scant care and unstable protection given to government papers during those unsettled times which then made the collection of them in private hands of greater necessity than at present; and threw a larger share of the responsibility of preserving them, then than now, upon the servants of the government in their private capacity. Added to the habit of the time was what always accompanies a revolutionary administration—its lack of an efficient organization for such accessory functions of government as imply a body of archivists. It was then an enforced feeling of responsibility, as well as a consciousness that deeds were enacting which the world would not willingly let die, that insured the collecting and transmission of such masses of papers as are now associated with the names of Washington and Greene in the army, and of Franklin and the Adamses in the Congresses, not at this moment to name others.

The earliest writers to make any considerable use of the government

* The annual address of President Justin Winsor at the opening session of the American Historical Association (Boston, May 21, 1887), in joint session with the American Economic Association.

archives were Gordon and Ramsay. Gordon solicited access to Washington's papers in vain, till the government had opened to him its own archives, so anxious was Washington that no use should be made of his papers till the government judged the proper time had come to throw open its documentary stores. Ramsay availed himself of his membership of Congress to make his own use of them an easy one. Both of these early writers had done their work, when a fire in the War Department in 1800 destroyed some portion of the papers in its keeping. The capture of Washington City by the British in 1814 was accompanied by destruction of papers more or less severe in the War, Navy, and Treasury Departments, and the Treasury again suffered in 1833. Fortunately the Department of State has escaped such perils and it has been the principal depository of the historical records of the government, ever since the first Congress, by an act approved in September, 1789, made it responsible for the safe custody of "the acts, records and seal of the United States."

We may trace the beginning of a general interest in the preservation of our national muniments to the labors and influence of three men—Jared Sparks, Peter Force, and George Bancroft—the last still with us, and the occupant of this chair at our last meeting. Of the two that are gone I may speak freely. The skill and industry which marked the efforts of Colonel Force in his pioneer work was of the utmost importance to American history. His sharp eye went wandering over the country, and his eager hand was laid, almost always effectively, wherever his eye had penetrated. His scouring was none too soon. The actors in the Revolutionary struggle were not all dead. Their children had not lost all the enthusiasm for the story which recollections of personal participancy had enforced with the telling. The time had come for one who could garner, and Colonel Force was such a collector as a pioneer in such things almost always is—an amasser, who fails sometimes in observing proportions, and particularly in the comprehension of the value of authentication. A few timely words, a mere reference or a jotting or two of explanation, could Force have given them in the great collection which he began, would have saved his successors in historical studies an infinitude of trouble, and would have enabled them to judge of the value of his documents, and to have pursued their verification. Without such intimation and guidance, the great collection upon which his energy was bestowed must stand to-day too often questionable and uncertain. This was Force's failure—a failure arising from a paramount eagerness to save, with too little concern to authenticate; a failure that comes too naturally to workers in a new field, where the very act of finding seems authentication enough.

The failure of Sparks, with all his great and manifold usefulness to his time, was akin to that of Force. He did not err, as Force had done, in neglecting to tell us whence he drew his material; but he did fail in not giving it to us as he found it. I cannot now go into the details of the controversy with Lord Mahon, from which Sparks emerged with no dishonor but with the necessary acknowledgment that had he thought more upon the objections of his critics, he might have avoided the occasion of their criticism. That Sparks did not treat historical material as we would treat it to-day is because he was a pioneer in the work, one who was too much occupied in clearing the field always to judge fitly what should be spared.

If we, in our time, are scrupulous to mark the signs of the fracture, when we break an historical document into fragments, it is because we recognize that the value of what we omit may have some significance to others, reading with a different purpose than the one which controls us in our writing—but this did not occur to Sparks; nor to Marshall, his predecessor—weightier judgments, doubtless, than many have who question their custom now; but the experience of later days must pass in some things as of sounder value than even such judgments.

The more I study the character of Washington the more I find of that supreme judgment and circumspection which was his distinguishing trait, which so well accounts for most of what he was and of what he did; and yet we can hardly approve that judgment when he applied it to his own writings. We know that after he had gone through the experiences of the Revolution, and had modified his perceptions by the light of those experiences, he sat down to refashion the correspondence of the French War, and give it the form in which he wished it to go down to posterity; and it is this redrafting, under the oversight of maturer years, that we read to-day as his record of those young days, when he fought with Braddock and defended the passes of the Alleghanies. Would we not rather have the record as he wrote it, with all its racy immaturity?

It was an easy thing for Sparks, sixty years ago, without the prompting of the experience which we enjoy, to fall into the belief that what Washington had done himself for his earlier letters, his editor should do for the later ones. I fear that all of us would have done the same under the critical influences which prevailed then, but which have now disappeared. Yet it must be acknowledged that in the general apprehension, at least, the extent to which this rectifying or changing the text of Washington was carried by Sparks has been exaggerated. That it was done too often is evident, according to our later standards. We have learned that bad spelling or a solecism in grammar may have a significance in certain

environments. I am glad to notice that Mr. Bigelow, in the preface to his new edition of *Franklin*, while looking upon Sparks' method as questionable, is free to confess that his own editorial success must be assured, if he makes no more serious mistakes than characterized his predecessor.

One needs only to scan the many scores of bound volumes of manuscripts, which constitute the collection called by Sparks' name at Cambridge, to appreciate the range and variety of research which characterized Sparks as an historical student.

It is about sixty years since these three distinguished students to whom I have referred began to make those preparations which have so fruitfully affected the study of American history, and Sparks was, by a few years, the leader of them. History in, and pertaining to, America had up to that time accomplished no signal work. We may trace the true historical sense for the first time in Thomas Hutchinson; and in the interval of another sixty years, which followed the publication of his *Massachusetts Bay*, and extended to the date when Sparks and Force and Bancroft were making ready for a new era, we can hardly find an historical writer whose insight and breadth of learning gave token of more than a transient value, unless possibly we except Marshall, whose *Life of Washington* deserves more of credit in these days than it has. Its width of research was narrow compared with what would be essential now; and its style has few attractions; but for access to the best resources within his reach, for a discriminating use of them, and for a judgment that prefigured the decisions of posterity, his book is still greatly worthy of study.

Of the other writers of those same sixty years, Ramsay was the best, decidedly, in a literary sense, and for a long time Ramsay was in his matter the best exemplar of the American side of the Revolutionary struggle which our English critics could cite. Gordon was fussy, timid, and inconsiderate, though his nearness to the events and his acquaintance with the actors gave his book a value on some points where lack of information exists. The work of Mercy Warren, not published till she was past three-score, was that of a woman quick to see, sensitive to the peculiarities of the actors of a contest which she had known, and who in its earlier stages had been in fact a part of it. Beyond what this implies, her book was far from learned in its details, and not free from a sort of posterior judgment, as John Adams rather too emphatically made known.

We can only judge what we have lost, when Adams himself failed to carry out in his retirement a purpose which he professed at one time to have cherished—of writing the history of the Revolution. He would certainly have made it incumbent on all future writers to follow him with

caution, and to qualify his vigorous judgments with the opinions of more moderate men; but as a contribution to our knowledge of the men and of the motives of factions, it is hard to conceive of anything which could have taken the place of any history which he would have written.

The only publication of an historic nature during this period from Hutchinson to the new era, which, on the whole, we may find the least fault with, is the *Annals* of Abiel Holmes—not, indeed, that it rises to the highest import of historical writing, but for fidelity, research, and good judgment, a model then and a model now, for the writing of history in a simple, chronological sequence.

I have taken this hasty survey of the writing of American history during this formative period preceding the coming of Sparks and his compeers, in order to see what effect it all had on the historic spirit, as affecting the care of manuscripts. Without multiplying instances, the fates of the Hutchinson and Trumbull papers are at once suggested.

The papers of Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, were, in the main, such as accrued on his hands as the executive of that State, and they are some of the most important of such papers elucidating the history of the Revolution; for Connecticut stood in close relations to the army on the Hudson, on the one hand, and was contiguous to the posts held by the British at New York, and to Newport, the successive post of the English and of the French auxiliaries, on the other hand. There seems to have been no doubt in the mind of Trumbull that the papers were his to dispose of as he thought best, and it appears to have been his intention to deposit them in some public library. Trumbull died without carrying out this purpose, and his heirs, in 1794, determined to proceed in accordance with such intention. The Massachusetts Historical Society, the earliest of all such associations among us, had just been formed for the express purpose of collecting, preserving, and publishing our historical records; and to the heirs of the Connecticut governor, and to all others, so far as we now have any evidence, it seemed the most natural thing to place these papers in the custody of that society. It was accordingly done, creating a trust. The fact that the papers were accepted, that no comments were made upon their acceptance, and that the claims of the archives of the State as a fitter place were not mentioned, must be taken apparently as showing that the general sentiment of the time was to the effect that the public custody was not necessary for papers which were not needed for administrative reference. The sequel of this history is well known. When the public views changed, and it came to be held that the public custody was the fitter for such papers, the State of Connecticut made an equitable claim on that

society for its own archives. The statute of limitations and the sacredness of an assumed trust were the reasons given for declining to make the restitution. It does not seem probable that such reasons can ultimately prevail.

The story of Governor Hutchinson's papers is a more complicated one. You will recall that when the mob, in August, 1765, sacked the governor's house in Boston, his papers were scattered in the streets during a wet night, and we may still see on some of them the stains of the Boston mud of that day, as we turn their leaves in the Boston State House. These papers, as he says, included not only those which he had been for years collecting, in his capacity as historian, but also such as were public papers of contemporary origin, then in his custody. Through the assiduity of the Rev. Andrew Eliot, most of them were gathered up from the pavement, and restored to the governor, so that they all passed into that final collection which was seized after the governor's flight in 1774, and thus became, public and private papers together, the property of the State; and in the possession of the State they all remained until 1821. At that date, a Secretary of the Commonwealth, himself a historical writer, Alden Bradford, separated from these papers such as he deemed no part of the secretary's files, and with the governor's approval presented them to, or deposited them with—for both phrases are used—the Massachusetts Historical Society. Twenty-five years later, another Secretary of the Commonwealth, and a historical writer of greater prominence, Dr. Palfrey, took another view of the matter, more in accordance with the later opinions on the subject, and demanded their return. For another twenty-five years the dispute between the State and the society was intermittent. The same arguments of limitary statutes, and of a trust created, with complications arising from the possibility or probability of other papers, acquired earlier, being at that time bound with them, kept the settlement in abeyance, till both parties agreed to a reference, and the State won.

The conclusions from these two conspicuous instances are patent. Down to the time when a new historical spirit began to be operative under the impulse given by Sparks and his compeers, and even upon the very verge of it, as instanced in the case of Alden Bradford, there was no clear perception, in the general or official mind, of the right to the possession of public muniments being vested in government. Since that day there has been no conspicuous departure from the principle, which is now generally recognized, that to the office and not to the incumbent belong public papers. At the same time, there must of necessity be a good deal of shadowiness about the line of division between what an officer may keep and what he must surrender.

The epoch, then, which is made by the advent of this famous trio of historical students, now about sixty years ago, is the one back of which there is much need of research to ascertain the available resources for historical study, and, in the present condition of things, there is much that is very unsatisfactory. There has, indeed, been much done, but more action is needed. The general government has, on the whole, done well. To the papers, which came to the Department of State from the antecedent committees and officers of the Continental Congress and of the Confederation, the authorities at Washington have added some of the most important papers which under the old customs had been left in personal hands, together with other papers fitly private. Such are the Washington papers, upon which Sparks has done for us such conspicuous service. Upon these, as well as upon all others of Washington's, wherever found, Congress would do well to devote, for the complete publication, a necessary portion of its surplus revenue, for the time has come when such a monument is due from the country to its greatest character.

Hardly of less importance are the acquisitions made by the State Department of the papers of Madison, Monroe, Jefferson, Hamilton, and, latest of all, its redeeming from pawn the used and unused manuscripts of Franklin.

It is also owing to the action of government that we are to-day enabled, in the library of Congress, to consult the papers of Rochambeau, and other miscellanies to the extent of about 5,000 pieces, as Senator Hoar showed, in a paper on the resources for historical study in Washington, which he read before the American Antiquarian Society, a year or two since.

At the same time the government has not bought all it should, though due allowance must of course be made for a natural hesitancy, when, on the part of the possessors of such papers, the demands for payment have been over large. Such, perhaps, was the case in the offers which were made of the papers of General Greene, about which I spent a considerable time lately, in endeavoring to find their present resting-place in Georgia, and, if my letters have not miscarried, there is no eagerness at present to give any information respecting them. There is certainly among the military leaders of the Revolution no other to dispute with Greene a second place to Washington; and it is not altogether creditable that the government does not possess the papers of the greatest of the generals of Washington.

In considering the condition of Revolutionary manuscripts, not in the possession of the general government, we may regard them as of three kinds—those in the archives of the State authorities, those in the cabinets of institutions, and those in private hands. It will not be necessary to

consider any but the most conspicuous collections, though from inquiries which I have instituted in various parts of the country, I feel sure there are many minor collections about which we would do well to know more.

First, as respects the thirteen original States. Massachusetts has spent largely upon her archives, and they are still under the supervision of commissioners spending a yearly grant. I believe her records to be the most extensive and most valuable of all the States, as they certainly extend, in any considerable amount, farther back into the past. But Massachusetts has done far less than New York, either in printing her archives, or in adding to them by copies from foreign repositories. A series of transcripts from the French archives, relating mainly to the French and Indian wars, made for the State by Ben : Perley Poore, are the only accessions of this nature to her muniments. New Hampshire has set Massachusetts a good example, by the assiduity with which she is printing her records, though it must be borne in mind that the lesser extent of those in New Hampshire renders the task a much easier one. Such of the Revolutionary papers of New Hampshire as were carried off to Nova Scotia by her last royal governor, and are now at Halifax, she has, I believe, taken measures to have copied. Rhode Island and Connecticut are also printing what they have with commendable fullness, though Connecticut naturally finds a considerable hiatus in her Revolutionary records by the absence of the Trumbull papers.

New York has done nobly in the care of her archives. She has acted wisely, as I think, in taking them out of the custody of a political officer like the Secretary of the State, and in placing them in the keeping of a ready-made commission, like the Regents of the so-called University of the State of New York, with a trained officer in charge. If we do not owe much to the visionary enthusiasm of Alexander Vattermare, it is satisfactory to place to his credit the instigation which he gave to the New York authorities to take better care of their archives, when he brought to their attention the fact that he had observed the porters of the capitol use the State's old records to wrap for transportation the legislative documents of a later day. This is said to have been the incentive which led to the employment of Brodhead and O'Callaghan to do their work upon the records of New York, which has placed historical students under such great obligations.

To New York, too, belongs the credit, more than to any other State, of having thoroughly and systematically drawn upon the archives of Europe—England, France, and Holland, in her case—to add to the interest of her own accumulations; and to her, too, is the credit, which belongs, I think, to no other State, of having purchased any considerable mass of

papers from private hands, as she did when she acquired the papers of Governor George Clinton.

New Jersey is doing well, both in the publication of the *New Jersey Archives*, and in the assiduous efforts which Mr. Stryker, her Adjutant General, is making to render her Revolutionary history complete.

Neither has Pennsylvania been sparing of pains in the arranging and printing of her documentary history. Maryland has transferred her historical papers to the care of her Historical Society, and, under the supervision of able editors, she is putting her records beyond the risk of accident in print. The archives of Virginia have suffered much, both from the raid of Arnold during the Revolution, and from the hazards of the late war. Something has been done to gather such as are left, and Mr. William Wirt Henry writes to me, that in his studies for the *Life of Patrick Henry*, he has found that a good deal is preserved, after all these mischances. The Carolinas have each drawn to some extent from the London State Paper Office to supplement their own records; but it does not seem clear, from all the information which I can reach, that in the burning of Columbia, during Sherman's march, the archives were saved, though such was believed to be the case at the time, and that the last of the wagons containing them left the town as the Federal army approached.

I have mentioned that in Maryland the State has made the Historical Society the depository of its historical archives; and I think this is the only one of the original thirteen States which has taken this step. The measure has certainly much to commend it, when we consider that the transitoriness of our public service carries much of danger to the accumulations of archives. That this danger is not small would seem to be the case from the fact that in no instance, as far as I can learn, have the possessors of papers of public interest been prompted to make the State the guardian of them, while in various cases public libraries and historical societies have been by preference chosen. Indeed without the help to be derived from the deposits in such places, and from those public or semi-public papers in private hands, it would be quite impossible to tell the whole story of the American Revolution.

There are some instances where such papers, by some method of disintegration, apart from a settled purpose, have failed to be kept entire in one deposit; as, for instance, the Cambridge Correspondence of Washington and Joseph Reed, which is now in the Carter Brown library at Providence, got separated from the bulk of the Joseph Reed papers, which are in the New York Historical Society; but I know of but one instance of any significance where an accumulation of personal papers has been divided

for the purpose of increasing the chances of preservation of a part, as was the case with the papers of Arthur Lee. This Virginian succeeded at London, in the days before the outbreak of hostilities, to the agency for Massachusetts, which had been held by Dennis DeBerdt, and the papers which had accumulated in DeBerdt's hands fell, with the office, to Lee, and were accordingly engulfed with the large mass which also came into his keeping during his service in Europe as a Commissioner of the Continental Congress. In due time, after the death of Lee, and when his nephew, the younger Richard Henry Lee, had used these papers in writing the ill-assorted memoirs of the brothers, Arthur and Richard Henry Lee, it seems to have occurred to the biographer to make three divisions of the papers in the most haphazard sort of way, just as if they were dealt upon three several piles, as cards are dealt, and these three piles he gave respectively to Harvard College Library, to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, and to the University of Virginia. When those in Cambridge came into my custody some years ago I made inquiries for the rest. The fragmentary character of many a sequence in what was before me made it evident that there were gaps to be filled, if only the other depositories could be found. When these were discovered, I was able, by the confidence of the custodians of the other fractions, to bring temporarily the three parts together, and to make clear the strange method of division which had been followed. For instance, of the series of the depositions taken after the affairs at Lexington and Concord, which were sent over to London to the agent of Massachusetts, some had fallen in the deal upon the pile destined for Virginia, and others fell to Harvard, while to Philadelphia chanced to come other documents which should have accompanied the whole to Cambridge. And as in this case, so in others, though I know of no other division of papers made quite as senselessly, among all the scattering of Revolutionary manuscripts.

Of all the semi-public depositories of Revolutionary documents, there would seem to be the largest accumulation in Boston. There are, in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the papers of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, to which reference has already been made. There also is the more important part of those of John Hancock, though some of the earlier ones have finally gone to private collectors. The papers of Josiah Quincy are not numerous, for his early death precluded any large amassment, but such as there are, passing down from the keeping of President Quincy, who embodied most of them in the life of his father, to the hands of his daughter, they, a few years since, at her death, came to the same society. Here also are the voluminous papers of Timothy Picker-

ing, though they relate mostly to post-Revolutionary days; but they are deficient in the mass of papers respecting his administration of the Quartermaster's Department, which many years ago were strangely acquired by a gentleman in New York State; and fifteen years ago passed into the archives of the War Department, where they are now lying, I fear in some forgotten corner. Also in the same society's cabinet are the papers of General William Heath, a man who bore the distinction of having been the first general officer in the field, as directing the final pursuit of Percy from Lexington, and also the last in immediate command in the final movement of the army of the Revolution.

The papers of General Knox, the chief of the artillery of the Revolution, are also in Boston, properly enough, for here, as a bookseller's clerk, he began his career.

In the library at Cambridge are the papers of Governor Bernard, and a portion of those of Arthur Lee, as already explained; as well as the letter-book of Governor Tryon during his term in North Carolina, and the papers of Samuel Tucker, the naval commander. At Cambridge, also, is the most extensive series of copies of historical papers relating to American history, and particularly to the American Revolution, that is possessed by any institution—that made by Sparks during his long period of study in this field amounting to about one hundred and seventy volumes. With them are a few originals, the most considerable of which are the papers of Sir Francis Bernard, already referred to, and a series of characteristic examples of the letters of all the leading characters of the Revolution, mainly a selection from Washington's papers, which Mr. Sparks was allowed to retain after his labors on the edition of Washington's writings were completed.

The Revolutionary portion of Mr. Sparks' MSS.—much the most considerable part—shows the large drafts made by him on every resource—the archives of the government at Washington, those of every one of the thirteen States, the papers of Franklin and Washington, including much which he did not print in his edition of the latter. He also drew from all the principal and even minor collections in private hands throughout the country; and he added the mass which he secured at the dispersal of the manuscripts of George Chalmers; the copies which he was allowed to make in the State Paper Office in London, including particularly the diplomatic correspondence of Grantham, Stormont, Sir Joseph Yorke, and others, for Sparks had latterly in mind a purpose to write the diplomatic history of the Revolution, which he was not spared to accomplish.

He also drew upon that great mass of Headquarters papers, accumu-

lated by the successive commanders-in-chief on the British side, which are gathered in the Royal Institution, and cited indifferently as the Carleton or Dorchester Papers—the extent of which, there is reason to believe, will be better understood when sundry packing cases in the cellar of that building are examined, and which seem to have been forgotten till recently. The great resource of the Haldimand Papers was acquired by the British Museum too near the end of Sparks' active career for his collection to profit from them ; but we owe it to the intelligent action of the Dominion Government, and to the assiduity of the Dominion Archivist, Mr. Brymner, that copies of the Haldimand Papers are now at Ottawa, of which we are given an excellent key in the calendar now in course of publication by that same officer.

It was to the kind interest of Lafayette, and later of his son, that Sparks owed much of his opportunity of access to the archives in Paris, and to the papers of Gérard and Luzerne. Sparks' extracts from the correspondence of the French and Spanish ministry, and his transcripts of the letters of Frederick the Great and his ambassador, touching points connected with the American Revolution, are necessary to complete the survey.

The place next in importance for the study of personal papers is New York, for though they have the Laurens papers in the Long Island Historical Society, it is in the library of the New York Historical Society that we find the papers of Gates, Charles Lee, Steuben, Joseph Reed, Stirling, and Lamb, the New York artillerist. The history of the Stirling manuscripts shows one of the kinds of vicissitude, arising even from an excess of care, to which old papers are subjected. The letters of Washington among the Stirling papers were separated to be placed in a spot of greater security, and then forgotten. Hutchinson also tells us that some papers which he had secreted where he thought no one would find them were forgotten when he took his flight, and they may possibly be the ones which are said to have been found in feather beds, at the time Hutchinson's effects were sold.

Other collections in public institutions are not numerous. There are the papers of Esek Hopkins, gathered during his brief career as a commodore, lodged with others of less importance in the Rhode Island Historical Society ; those of Silas Deane, in part at least, in the Connecticut Historical Society ; those of Boudinot, Shippen, and some others, in the Pennsylvania Society ; those of Benjamin Rush in the Philadelphia library. This enumeration indicates the most important masses of Revolutionary papers, in public institutions, so far as they have been preserved.

The papers in private hands include some of the most important, and those treasured in Massachusetts are the most extensive. Referring to the family muniment building at Quincy, which contains the papers of the Adamses, Dr. Hale has recently said, in the preface to his *Franklin in France*: "I know of no other collection in the world, where the history of a great nation can be so studied in the biography of one family," comprising, as it does, the youthful observations of John Adams on the French War, and the part played by his grandson, at the other limit, in the conference at Geneva.

The latter gentleman, in editing the papers of John Adams, has said, with probable truth, that the private papers of the first of the Adamses most likely exceed in extent the papers of every other leading actor in the Revolutionary struggle. We have, of course, a representative portion of these papers in the *Writings of John Adams*; but the collection possesses, beyond what is there given, a mass of correspondence, to the publication of which historical students are looking forward, and with confidence, when we consider the strong historical instincts of the Adamses still among us. I am glad to add that the younger Mr. Charles Francis Adams, who considers his present engrossment with the material interests of the country as but a temporary bar to more genuine service in historical research, has already determined to place the great stores at Quincy in more serviceable condition.

Of the papers of Samuel Adams, the portion which is left is in the hands of Mr. Bancroft, who describes them as very numerous, and as unfolding fully the manner of molding into a system the acts of resistance to Great Britain. We know, however, that much spoliation of these papers took place, both before and after the death of Samuel Adams. John Adams pictures his kinsman as burning his correspondence in winter, and as cutting it into shreds in summer, to scatter it upon the winds, so that by no neglect of his any of his associates could be implicated, if fortune went against the colonies. Even from among such as were not thus destroyed, the friends of unstable patriots were said at a later day to have abstracted the evidences of their weakness.

The papers of James and Mercy Warren are also preserved by a descendant, Mr. Winslow Warren of Dedham, and they have never been used as they should be, though from these and from John Adams' papers, there has been put into print a famous correspondence of John Adams and Mercy Warren.

Of Massachusetts soldiers, the papers of General Lincoln, interlinked with some of the most important events of the war, are still in the family

keeping, as are those of General John Thomas, whose career was cut short too early to allow of their being voluminous.

After Massachusetts, the most important local ownership is in New York, where, still in the hands of descendants, are the papers of Philip Schuyler, John Jay, and Gouverneur Morris. In the migrations of families, and the changes of ownership, we find such personal papers scattered widely through the land. Those of Charles Thomson, the Secretary of the Continental Congress, are in Memphis; those of Sullivan, the New Hampshire general, are in Boston; those of Meschek Weare, the Governor of New Hampshire, are in New York; those of Wilkinson are in Louisville; those of George Rogers Clark are in Wisconsin; while those of Patrick Henry, Charles Carroll, Anthony Wayne, Cæsar Rodney, and George Read are still preserved near their homes.

The melancholy aspects of the subject are in the losses to be chronicled of some of these personal papers, which would be of the utmost help to us.

When we consider the activity of James Otis, and the wide correspondence which he maintained with gentlemen in all the colonies in the period between 1760 and 1770, and how much was owing to him that the preparation was advanced and ripened for the final co-operation of the colonies, we can appreciate what we have lost in the destruction of his papers, when, in one of the unhappy moments of his aberration, he committed his manuscripts to the flames. John Adams tells how a daughter of Otis said to him that she had not a line from her father's pen. What is left of the papers of James Bowdoin is inconsiderable; those of Thomas Cushing were seized by General Gage, and have disappeared, and we know nothing of those of Joseph Hawley—almost the only citizen of consideration in Western Massachusetts who did not deliver his fortunes to the companionship of the Loyalists. The papers of Joseph Warren were consumed in the burning of a barn in Greenfield, Massachusetts. Much as we know of the early formative days of the Revolution in its birth-place, we can but conjecture what we have lost of the history of Massachusetts and her relations to the other colonies at that time, in the disappearance of such collections as these.

Only the scantiest measure remains of the papers of Francis Dana. Those of William Whipple of New Hampshire have in the main disappeared. What there is left of the papers of William Ellery hardly recompenses us for the loss of the letters which his friends destroyed at his request. The papers of Stephen Hopkins were swept away by a flood in 1815, and Rhode Island regrets how her two most eminent citizens in the Senate are without suitable record in this way.

Connecticut is not privileged to treasure the papers of Roger Sherman, which in the main disappeared in a way which no one well understands. Maryland regrets the loss at sea of those of Otho Williams. South Carolina saw the burning of those of Rutledge, and only a small portion of those of Pinckney are still known.

I would suggest in closing a method for the better preserving and making known of what there is still left to us of the historical manuscripts of the country, not in places easily accessible to the student. My purpose must be obvious to all of you who have watched the progress of the work, as evinced in their successive reports, done by the Historical Manuscripts Commission in England; and I need hardly at this time detail their method and results; but I cannot resist the conviction that our Historical Association could do no better deed than to convince the National legislature that something analogous, with such changes in method and organization as the conditions of this country suggest, should be undertaken before it is too late, and I shall be glad if some discussion to that end may be entered upon. I may add, in conclusion, that I am prepared to place in the hands of a committee some details of the workings of their methods, which have been sent to me by Mr. Maxwell Lyte, of the Rolls House, the director of the service of the English Commission.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Justin Leonard". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "J" and a long, horizontal flourish at the bottom.

ONE DAY'S WORK OF A CAPTAIN OF DRAGOONS

AND SOME OF ITS CONSEQUENCES

In the year 1843 the territory west of 100 degrees west longitude, and south of the Arkansas River was recognized as belonging to Mexico; our territory extended on both sides of the river to that degree; but beyond, the Arkansas became our southern and western boundary. Through the great Wilderness, on both sides of the boundary, lay the route of an international commerce—with Santa Fé, New Mexico, for its first objective—of sufficient importance to become, in that year, the subject of diplomacy; Mexico proposed military escorts; our government assenting, proposed that the escorts should be free to pass the boundary when necessary for protection; for the wide uninhabited region was infested by nomadic tribes, Comanches and others, savage and hostile.

The occurrences to be related here were scarcely noticed by the press. That was not the day of correspondents, nor of telegraphy; a remarkable event happening in that remote "desert," as it was then called, would almost certainly escape notice; and there were political motives for the administration to minimize its importance and publicity—if it could not *disapprove*—the action of its military commander, certainly very offensive to Texas; for it was unluckily coincident with eager negotiation for the annexation of that country.

Texas had asserted a claim that the Rio Grande, from mouth to source, was their southern and western boundary. And Van Zant, their minister to Washington, hastened to make bitter complaint of the disarmament of their national force—and as greatly aggravated by its occurrence in their own country (not in Mexico).

The administration saw new light—turned a sharp corner: My instructions recognized the Arkansas as the Mexican boundary; but, a few months after the occurrence, a Court of Inquiry was convened at Fort Leavenworth to inquire whether the Texan force had been disarmed in our territory, or in Texas! and whether their treatment had been "harsh and unbecoming"?

Captain Cooke's regiment of Dragoons was detached from Fort Leavenworth in command of three of its troops, and two mountain howitzers to protect a large caravan, of which the merchants were both American and Mexican; his instructions included a copy of a note from the Secretary of

State, Daniel Webster, to the Mexican minister, informing him that an escort should not "pass one foot" beyond the boundary—which was understood to result from an ungracious reply to the proposition above mentioned.

Captain Cooke was also instructed to forward with his report an official diary.

The "day" was June 30, 1843, and the work began, really, at sunrise; of the main action I shall simply quote the official record, written before I slept that night. It was "muster and inspection" day; and my inspection was careful. The record omits mention of a magnificent buffalo chase, in which I indulged, very soon after the march began. I was mounted on a noble thoroughbred, and it happened that at one time I was closely surrounded, in the very midst of about a thousand of the grand beasts, rushing at their greatest speed!

"June 30.—Mustered and inspected the detachment at 6 o'clock; marched at 8 o'clock. After marching four or five miles I came in view of three horsemen about 1200 paces ahead, who, I concluded, must be Texans. I forthwith sent a sergeant with six troopers in pursuit; he returned in about twenty minutes, and reported that he had followed without gaining on them until they joined a large force "on a lake"; and he had left his party in observation. I ordered him to guide us, and marched at the trot:—ordering the baggage to follow at usual gait, under charge of the rear guard. After proceeding thus a short time, I saw from the verge of the bluff the Arkansas River a mile off, and soon perceived a considerable force of men and horses about an unusual fine grove on the opposite bank; they raised, as I drew nearer, a white flag; I then sent a lieutenant* with a trumpeter and flag to cross the river, instructing him to demand of their commander who they were, and what they did there; and to give him, or any one he might send, safe conduct over and back. (Also to observe their numbers, the surroundings, etc., and particularly whether the river could be forded by the detachment, suggesting his return at a different place, from his crossing over.) While he was gone, I arrived, formed line, and dismounted at the river. I called the officers together; and to my question all but two answered that they believed the Texans opposite were within our boundary; the two professed to be quite ignorant on the subject. I then said, "Gentlemen, you all perhaps would agree that if that force is in the United States, it is my duty to disarm them; now I put you the question: 'With what little doubt of the fact there may be on your minds, do

* Since General John Love of Indianapolis, not long since deceased.

you advise me, or not, to disarm those men, forcibly if necessary?' Lieutenant Mason, Lieutenant Bowman, Captain Terrett, and Lieutenant Love—after he returned—answered in the affirmative. One officer had been engaged in preparing fuses for the howitzer shells; he came as the vote was being taken, and declined the responsibility of advising. Two officers preferred, before answering, to see their commanding officer.

Lieutenant Love, returning then, was accompanied by Colonel Snively and his "Aid," Mr. Spencer.* After salutations I said: 'Sir, it is the belief of myself and officers that you are in the United States; what is your business here? What force have you? (and afterward) Have you a commission?'

He replied that he commanded a Texan volunteer force of 107 men, and believed them to be in Texas. He then produced as his commission the following document, which I read aloud to the officers:

Department of War and Marine,
Washington, 16 February, 1843.

To Colonel Jacob Snively,
Sir,

Your communication of the 28th ult. soliciting permission from the Government to organize and fit out an expedition for the purpose of intercepting and capturing the property of the Mexican traders who may pass through the territory of the republic, to and from Santa Fé, &c. has been received and laid before his excellency, the President; and he, after a careful consideration of the subject, directs that such authority be granted you, upon the terms and conditions herein expressed—that is to say—

You are hereby authorized to organize such a force, not exceeding three hundred men, as you may deem necessary to the achievement of the object proposed. The expedition will be strictly partizan; the troops to compose the corps to mount, equip and provision themselves at their own expense; and one-half of all the spoils taken in honorable warfare to belong to the republic, and the government to be at no expense whatever, on account of the expedition.

The force may operate in any portion of the territory of the republic, above the line of settlements and between the Rio del Norte and the boundary line of the United States; but will be careful not to infringe upon the Territory of that Government.

As the object of the expedition is to retaliate and make reclamation for injuries sustained by Texian citizens, the merchandize and all other property of all Mexican citizens will be lawful prize; and such as may be captured will be brought into Red River; one-half of which will be deposited in the custom house of that District subject to the order of the Government, and the other half will belong to the captors, to be equally divided between the officers and men; an agent will be appointed to assist in the division.

The result of the campaign will be reported to the Department upon the disbandment of the force, and also its progress from time to time, if practicable.

By order of the President.

(Signed) M. C. Hamilton,
actg. Secy. of War & Marine.

* Son of Mr. Spencer, of New York, then Secretary of War.

After some conversation I again called aside all the officers, but one ; we were seated on the grass, and after some remarks, I put the question— 'Should I disarm the Texans, shedding blood if they make it necessary ?' but, added I should not consider myself *bound* by their advice—or vote.

Lieutenant Love and Captain Terrett responded 'Yes!' Lieutenants Mason and Bowman and Captain Moore 'No!'

The majority was for inaction ; and I paused in thought—but not long. I had been in the country before, escorting a caravan ; I knew that the common opinion placed the boundary somewhat west of this point ; and the governments having, and for very long, neglected to mark the line, I believed my forced decision would be safest in following public opinion in the matter, which no previous occurrence had biased. I thought a civilized government should scarcely recognize such a document, which, with no indication of customary forms of military organization, outrages the rules of modern warfare : and, excepting necessary supplies, forbids the appropriation or destruction of private property on land. I believed the force opposite to be a ruffian crew of out-cast Americans ; but that it was necessary perhaps to treat them as the accredited military force of an acknowledged independent government.

With an audible '*I will do it,*' on my part, we arose and resumed the interview with the Texans. In a conversational tone, I said to them : 'Gentlemen, your detachment is in the United States ; as the governments have not surveyed and marked the boundary, I deem it my duty to follow the common opinion that our western line strikes the river near the caches, to our West ; some think, as far up as Chouteau Island. Now the accredited writers on National law agree that no belligerent's army has a right to enter a neutral's territory, there to lie in wait, or there to refresh itself, afterward to sally out for any manner of attack upon its enemy. That it is the *neutral's* right and *duty* in such cases to disarm the intruders. I happen to remember a precedent, of the Polish revolution of 1830, when a large Polish force passed the Austrian frontier, and they were disarmed, and made to march from the country at another point. And I found some of your men acting against the caravan, as spies or scouts, in our undisputed territory ; and see yonder ! some of your men are *now* crossing to the south side.

Now Colonel Snively I demand that your men come across, and lay down their arms before me ; then, as you say you are in need of provisions, I will return to you six guns—enough for buffalo hunting ; and you shall have permission also to enter our settlements.

I have one hundred and eighty-five soldiers ; and two howitzers—which

can throw shells into the grove ; inspect them if you please ; I treat you as imprudent friends—my course is legal ; it will not be dishonorable to surrender—you should do so at the demand of a civil magistrate—I should, make it the same, had I only ten men. But, of course, I shall enforce my demand ; go over to your command, who you say you doubt will obey you—and I will give you one hour to begin crossing ; if any leave the grove in an opposite direction, I shall instantly open fire with the howitzers, drive you from the woods, and attack you in the plain.'

Colonel Snively and his aid then attempted to argue against my course ; they said National law allowed the pursuit of an enemy ' twenty miles into a neutral's territory ; they had lately seen two or three thousand indians, whom they feared, etc.' They also made several propositions, only, I thought, to get their men out of my power ; one was that I should send an officer over to see that they were near a starving condition. They said that seventy-five of their force becoming dissatisfied, had started for home three days before. Snively said he had given them an order, to save them from being treated as banditti !

They said they had attacked one hundred Mexicans ten days before, about twenty miles west of the caches ; [who were armed with ' new British muskets '] they killed eighteen and wounded as many, taking the rest prisoners ; but had afterward liberated them, giving them back twenty muskets. Snively admitted that his spies had gone as far as Walnut Creek (seventy-five miles back on our road) ; but said that he had nearly resolved to return to Texas, convinced that the caravan had turned back.

I had taken it for granted that his party could and would ford the river directly in my front—where Mr. Love had first crossed ; but I now learned that it had swam his horse ; and the Texan officers were about to go down near a mile to where they had crossed with Mr. Love. This seemed to me rather risky—so I proposed that I should march my force over with them. They both cheerfully assented—they even seemed pleased with it.

I now sent a messenger to meet the caravan, with information, and a warning ; ordered the guard to remain with the baggage ; and a wagon to be emptied and to follow the squadrons ; the howitzer ammunition boxes were water-tight. Then I marched, the Texans with me in front.

About five hundred yards below, I had the edge of the square bank spaded off, and sent in a trumpeter to try the water ; he went instantly out of depth in water and quicksand ; and he and his horse were with difficulty extricated. Then I marched further, until I apprehended losing the mastery of the situation ; then, again spading the bank and command-

ing 'Forward,' I gave spurs to my horse, who leaped in, followed by the battery. The river was about three hundred yards wide, and there was almost a gale up stream; the rough muddy water had a dangerous look. Fortunately I had hit a shallower place; and we all straggled on, every man avoiding to follow another whom he saw in a bad place; we reached shore a mere crowd! but very soon were marching in perfect order; and line was formed facing the grove, about one hundred and fifty paces out. [I had at times on the prairie march practiced formations in 'line of battle,' which now proved very convenient.] The battery was unlimbered and slow matches lit.

Colonel Snively had sent his aid, the moment we had crossed, to induce the men to submit; they were paraded; and I waited possibly half an hour, Snively with us from choice. I now required him to go, and send his men to lay down their arms in my front. He complied, saying he 'would return to me if alive,' that he would have nothing more to do with them. My demand was soon complied with. I had advanced Captain Terrett—sabres drawn—to superintend the surrender; and then some rear rank men, second squadron, to discharge the arms and place them in the wagon, which was ready.

These rude Texans, evidently with no discipline, and uncontrolled, were very clamorous, made many demands; they submitted with a very bad grace to my exhibition of force, which had been in no degree too stern and threatening. Some of them tried to step off, armed, up the river, and to the sand hills, only three or four hundred paces back. I had them seized, and a picket placed on the hill. Captain Terrett was sent to scout the grove thoroughly. A murder had been committed, they said, just as I had arrived that morning, and Snively said they 'must keep guns enough to shoot the murderer that evening!' The Texans 'packed' their baggage; they had no wagon.

I now marched back, crossing at the same place. I met on the north bank my messenger, who reported the caravan two miles off; I wrote a note, on my horse, and sent him back; it gave the news and instruction to come and camp near me. Just then two buffaloes appeared coming from the bluff in our front; I sent a sergeant, who first saw buffaloes under my command, with my muzzle-loading Harper's Ferry pistol, and he killed them both, in sight and very near! A great feat!

I camped on the bank opposite the grove; soon after, the caravan came from the hills and corraled near by.

It was not long before a man came much exhausted from swimming the river, with a message that the Mexicans were in sight about to attack

them; I sent a note to Snively telling him if it were *true*, to cross the river below me and I would defend him. As there was much stir and confusion round the camp, I sounded *to horse*. Soon I received a message that it was a false alarm. Then I received a note, which I copy:

CAPT. COOKE, Dr. Sir, The man who was wounded when I visited your camp is expiring; it will be impossible to remove him at present. If you could send a company to guard us this night I would consider myself under many obligations. Very respectfully
your obt. Servt., (Signed) J. SNIVELY.

I returned answer that there was no danger, and I could not comply; that they might come over, leaving a small party hid in the grove.

Now a committee of merchants called on me to discuss the situation. One of them said I ought to have 'slaughtered them all.' And at first they seemed uneasy, and dissatisfied that their enemies should go free. It had been ascertained that their division and separation had occurred yesterday; that the statement that it was 'three days ago' was false.

The merchants left me at dark, apparently contented.

At 10 o'clock, after sixteen hours of work, incessant and exciting, until dark, with no thought of food, I go to rest, well satisfied that, under circumstances of great responsibility, I have done my duty in the trust confided to me.

The following morning the Texans rode over, and I addressed them, from horseback; a large portion then accepted my offer of escort, and the others departed, homeward, they said. I left a troop in camp with them, and part of my baggage, and marched with the caravan, several days, to the crossing, and, seeing them safely over, returned. The homeward march was uneventful and pleasant; the Texans gave some trouble, and, I believe, plotted much more; I sent them adrift at the first settlements. We arrived at Fort Leavenworth, our home, early in August."

General Gaines, commanding in the West, a great enthusiast for his age, seemed determined that I should undisputably cross that boundary. He wrote me the following letter:

My Dear Captain

H^d Q^{rs}. Saint Louis, Mo. August 21, 1843

Understanding that the principal merchants of Santa Fé, in whose behalf the Mexican Minister at Washington solicited your present command, were apprehensive you would not go with them further than the Arkansas river; I have to request you to see these Merchants and assure them of your authority and determination to afford them *protection* until they shall meet a competent escort, or until they shall reach Santa Fé. Assure them of our determination to *protect* them at all hazards;—and if in the discharge of this duty you should find *rough* or *perilous work*, the meritorious services of your officers and your men and yourself, shall be affectionately remembered by every true hearted Soldier and

Statesman of our country, and more especially of these great and growing States of the Valley of the Mississippi, and more especially of your General and friend

Edmund P. Gaines.

Postscript

I enclose for your information and government a printed copy of my letter to General Taylor—which was intended to cover the whole ground from Independence to Santa Fé.

Signed E. P. G.

Of the postscript, something more a little further on.

Accordingly, I marched again from Fort Leavenworth about September 1st, with nearly the same command. Unfortunately, this September, 1843, proved the wettest of my experience; the unwieldy caravan was almost stopped by the soft road; it was very cold, and many poor drivers and Mexican servants died. I hoped to escort the caravan to a safe point, and then be in time to return home before the grass was spoiled. But General Gaines had ordered a contract made with Mr. Bent—of Bent's Fort, a fortified trading-house on the Upper Arkansas—for our winter supplies; and he overtook me, September 23d, at Jackson Grove, bringing ten wagon loads; and it seemed necessary to give him then a required notice effecting some further large purchases; but, on my part, properly contingent upon still undetermined circumstances. This was very embarrassing; my future actions were really in a sense dependent upon the merchants; to leave them before they were satisfied that there was no more danger *might* lead to results probably more nearly ruinous to me than to them.

The great difficulty of the situation lay in the subsistence of horses and draft-mules. In those economical days we *never* took forage with us in our prairie marches; and the Arkansas grass—that low down, like that of our nearer prairies—becomes utterly innutritive after a few hard frosts.

It was October 4th that, while I was making our night camp on the river bank, a messenger brought me news of the arrival, at the crossing, a few miles above, of a Mexican army escort!

The caravan was then well up to the front; so next morning leaving my baggage, I marched to the crossing; as I approached the Mexicans saddled and mounted. I sent my adjutant over with greetings, and an invitation to their officers to spend the day with us. The commander declined, saying pointedly, that he had been ordered on no account to cross the boundary.

As soon as the caravan was over, I mounted and then, as a kind of salute fired a round from the howitzer battery; the shells were directed, in ricochet down a fine reach of the river, and after many beautiful rebounds exploded under water. I then marched back to camp.

It had now come to light that the published letter of General Gaines,

mentioned in his postscript, had been sent home by the Mexican minister ; and that the Mexican President—Santa Anna—had then sent by fast couriers to Santa Fé orders to dispatch immediately an escort to meet the caravan on the Arkansas. They were just in good time.

There was now, of course, no choice but to march home, although October 6 was dangerously late for the animals. But great pains were taken ; after the grass was spoiled, the men chopped it with their knives, and mixed feeds with what flour could possibly be spared for their horses, and they liberally shared with them their blankets at night. The last half of the march the horses were led much more than ridden. I had sent an express for corn, and we began to meet wagon loads several nights before the end.

Some animals were left to rest and recruit—and corn sent to them at Council Grove, and at another thick wooded creek bottom nearer home, and these the only two in the hundreds of miles. They were all turned loose to rest and graze and browse for thirty-six hours.

And so we reached home, and through a snow or two, with very little loss.

The rations sent for me were ordered to be stored at Bent's Fort, and were almost forgotten. But two years after the regiment on return march from the South Pass (of the Rocky Mountains), its commander, Colonel S. W. Kearny, turned South at Fort Laramie to the Arkansas far above Bent's Fort, and he calculated so confidently on the safety, and the good condition, too, of the stores in that dry mountain air, and so closely, that we arrived there quite out of provisions.

He judged aright in all. The Colonel made a camp at " Jackson Grove," for the purpose of taking observations for longitude and deciding the question of two years before. They were taken by Lieutenant—now General Wm. B. Franklin, of Rhode Island. And he found to my gratification, that the spot was some three minutes (miles) east of the 100° line so far within our boundary.

The Texans, whom I had disarmed, were reported to have met with disasters from faults of their own. Certain it is that they and their friends kept alive very bitter and revengeful feelings toward their captor. Ten years after, when stationed about half a year in Texas, in a night meeting, held near my post, some of them were accidentally overheard to consult, and to resolve upon my assassination.

In 1848, returning from the war in Mexico, I was at a hotel in New Orleans. I was in ill health, and, being in my room in the evening, a card was sent up to me ; it was from Mr. " Colchoun of Texas."

I fancied it a case of not exactly "pistols for two,"—for I had none at hand. The servant was told to show him up. Presently he entered and addressed me: "Captain Cooke, I have for years been looking out for you;" (I thought that hardly ambiguous, but saw that he was a gentleman) "to shake you by the hand," he continued, "and thank you for my release from a Mexican prison—as well as other Texans; you probably saved our lives."

He explained, in brief, that he had been a member of a body of Texans who attempted a revolutionary invasion of Mexico about 1841. They reached Mier, but there they were all killed or captured; the prisoners were immured in the fortress of Perote (which I had then lately inspected), and were there long subjected to cruel and degrading treatment. Our Minister, Waddy Thompson, he said, repeatedly interceded for them, but the President was obdurate. But after news of the saving of the Mexican caravan and the capture of the Texans had reached Mexico, Mr. Thompson was hopeful to make one more appeal in their behalf. He sought an interview with President Santa Anna; he was warmly received, and the President, almost anticipating his business and request, promised the prompt release of the prisoners; of the affair on the Arkansas he said emphatically it was "the first act of good faith and friendship that the United States had ever shown to Mexico."

I was on duty in Washington when General Sam. Houston, one of the first Senators from Texas, arrived in attendance on the session of Congress. I had made a very friendly acquaintance with him at Nacogdoches Texas (where I, and two regiments, were sent—by General Gaines, again—in 1836, during the Texan revolutionary war, and were there stationed for about six months, building log huts when the winter came on) yet I called on him in doubtful mind. He received me cordially; but when, thinking I must "have it out" with him, I introduced the subject of the "little unpleasantness" between myself and his "army," as he called it, on the Arkansas, his countenance took on a grim expression for some minutes: he said very little; but of Colonel Snively, he mentioned, "I forbade him my presence." Our friendly relations were unbroken.

P. J. G. Cooke

THE UNITED STATES MAIL SERVICE

The first record contained in our colonial history of any kind of mail service dates from 1677, when the court at Boston appointed Mr. John Hayward "to take in and convey letters according to their direction." In 1710, Parliament passed an act to establish a general post-office for all her majesty's dominions, including North America, New York being made the chief letter office of the colonies. The rates of postage for all letters and packages from New York to any place within sixty miles were as follows: single letters, fourpence; double, eightpence; treble, one shilling; an ounce, one shilling and fourpence. In December, 1717, arrangements were made to receive letters in Boston from Williamsburg, Virginia, in four weeks in the summer season, and eight weeks in winter. In 1738, Henry Pratt was appointed riding postmaster for all the routes between Philadelphia and Newport, Virginia, to set out in the beginning of each month and return in twenty-four days. In 1753, letters and packages for all persons residing in Newton, Bristol, and Chester were sent to the post-office in Philadelphia to be called for. In the same year, Benjamin Franklin was appointed Deputy Postmaster-General. He startled the people by proposing to run a line of stage-coaches from Philadelphia to Boston once a week, to start from each city on Monday morning and arrive on Saturday night. In 1792, the following rates of postage were established, distance and not weight being the basis:

One letter, less than thirty miles, 6 cents; between thirty and sixty miles, 8 cents; between sixty and one hundred miles, 10 cents; between one hundred and one hundred and fifty miles, 12½ cents; between one hundred and fifty and two hundred miles, 15 cents; two hundred to two hundred and fifty miles, 17 cents; two hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty miles, 20 cents; three hundred and fifty to four hundred and fifty miles, 22 cents; over four hundred and fifty miles, 25 cents. A single sheet of paper was counted as a single letter, and was charged a single rate. Two sheets were counted as a double letter, and were charged for at double rates. The same ratio was applied to a letter containing three sheets. Packages weighing one ounce required four single rates, and in proportion for any greater weight. Single foreign letters were charged 8 cents; double letters, 16 cents; triple letters, 24 cents. Newspapers were carried one hundred miles for 1 cent. For any greater distance the rate was 1½ cents.

Postage-stamps were first introduced into the United States in the year 1847. The first design used bore the head of Franklin in the centre. Above the face was the inscription "U. S. Postage," and below it, "5 cents." Since this stamp made its appearance it has been followed by one hundred and sixty other varieties. Previous to this time all postage was collected in money, either at the office of mailing or delivery. In 1851 the postage rates were again changed, 3 cents being the rate for all distances less than three thousand miles; for greater distances the rate being 10 cents.

The first regular stage-line established in the colonies began making regular trips between New York and Philadelphia in 1756, making the journey in three days. The first stage between New York and Boston commenced its trips June 24, 1772, and was to leave once a fortnight.

In 1798, the entire business of the post-office department was conducted by the Postmaster-General, one assistant, and one clerk. In 1833, it required forty-eight hours to convey news from Washington to Philadelphia. In 1834, New York Saturday papers were not received in Washington until the following Tuesday afternoon. In 1835, the mails were carried between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh daily in four-horse coaches, two lines daily, one to go through in a little more than two days; the other in three and a half days. The fast coach carried the through letter mail; the slower one the way mail and papers. At this date there were only 1,085 miles of railroad in the United States. The rate of speed did not exceed ten miles an hour. There were no connecting lines of road, and no general effort appears to have been made up to this time to carry the mails on the railroads. In 1833, a contractor named Reeside carried the mails between Philadelphia and New York, ninety miles, in six hours, making fifteen miles an hour.

The horses were driven five miles and then changed. Eighteen changes were required. It required two horses to carry the mail, and the total number of horses required for each day's service was seventy-eight. The contract price was \$1 for each mile made by each horse.

The first locomotive used in the country was at Honesdale, Pennsylvania, August 9, 1829; but this was only an experimental trip on the railroad of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. The South Carolina Railroad Company was the first to adopt the locomotive, in September, 1829. The cars began to run on the Boston and Providence Railroad from Boston to Canton, fifteen miles, in September, 1834. The railroad, as a factor in the mail service, did not have a beginning before 1835.

August 25 of this year, the formal opening of the road between Wash-

ington and Baltimore took place. Amos Kendall, then Postmaster-General, at first objected to having the mails carried by rail over this road, since it would, as he feared, disarrange connections with existing lines of stages. In October, 1834, a writer in the *Boston Atlas* says: "We left Philadelphia on the morning of the 6th in a railroad car, and reached Columbia, on the Susquehanna, at dusk, a distance of eighty-two miles. The car was drawn by horses, but on the 9th, as I was informed, the second track was to be laid, when a locomotive steam-engine was to be substituted, and the distance would be covered in six or seven hours. This road has been constructed by the State of Pennsylvania. The rails are laid on blocks of stone, and the whole of the work has been well executed. Only a few years since it required as long a time to go from Boston to the State of Ohio as to make a voyage to Europe, but by the invention of steam-boats, the construction of canals and railroads, and the use of locomotives, the journey may be performed next summer from Boston to St. Louis, a distance of over 1,900 miles, in from fourteen to fifteen days, and at an expense of not more than \$50, and all without passing a single mile in stages over a common road." Carrying the mails by rail was an experiment at first, attended by no little discouragement. The imperfect character of railroad machinery often caused delays.

The degree of speed attained by the earlier roads was not as great as could be accomplished by stage-coaches. Short lines of roads here and there tended to confuse the regular schedule time established by stage lines. In February, 1836, complaint was made to the department, of gross irregularities in the newspaper mail between Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and Carlisle. The contractors were served with notice that if the irregularities were repeated transportation by rail must be at once abandoned, and the double daily line of four-horse post-coaches resumed between Philadelphia and Chambersburg. The railroad from Baltimore to Frederick, Maryland, proved unsatisfactory to the contractors, and in March, 1835, they asked permission to resume the old stage-coaches. In 1835 the department complained that the mails from New York to Philadelphia were usually late, requiring more than thirteen hours from Jersey City. The language of the complaint continued: "This was hardly the case in the worst days of bad staging. There have been two failures of the mails from beyond Philadelphia at this city (Washington) in the course of the present week, occasioned, it is said, by accidents to the locomotive on the Amboy and Camden road. From the experience which we have had, the adaptation of the railroad to the purposes of mail transportation is becoming daily more and more questionable."

The railway mail service at its beginning was entirely without system. Postal officials and railroad managers alike appeared to possess no practical ideas on the subject of transporting or handling the mails. Some of the crude ideas on the subject, entertained by the Postmaster-General in 1835, are worth reproducing. As to the manner in which the mails were to be secured while in transit, he suggested that the railroad company between Washington and Baltimore might close in some portion of their baggage car, to be secured by lock and key at one end of the line, only to be opened by the postmaster at the other terminus of the road. If this idea was not found to be practical, it was suggested that the department would furnish a strong fire-proof box or chest, so constructed that it could be readily transferred from a wagon to a car prepared for the purpose, into which chest or box the entire mails could be placed, and locked up at the post-office making up the mail, and not to be opened by any one while *en route* to the office of destination. The most novel idea was that of constructing a mail-car on wheels, capable of being run on either the common streets of the city or on the railroad track, so that the car might be drawn through the city from the depot to the post-office, where the mails were to be placed in it, and the car again returned to the depot, placed on the track, and attached to the regular train.

The increasing quantities of mail matter to be carried called for improved methods, and in 1840, Mr. George Plitt, who had been sent to Europe to make observations of the methods there in use, reported that each railway company provided a separate car for the post office use, fitted up with boxes to facilitate the reception and distribution of the mails. He called attention to the device in use for catching mail-bags while the cars were moving. He recommended that at least one intelligent agent be appointed by the department for each of the larger States, to look after the interests of the service. It was suggested by him that a number of mail-guards or agents be appointed to superintend and handle the pouches while in transit. In June, 1840, two agents were appointed to accompany the mails from Boston to Springfield, and return alternately, to make exchanges, receive, forward, and deliver unpaid way letters and packages. The first instance on record of the appointment of temporary route agents occurred in 1841, two agents being appointed the above year to travel between Utica and Auburn, New York. In 1835 the Postmaster-General made a report to Congress concerning the inefficiency of the mail-cars in use.

He said that the agents were unable to properly discharge their duties, and stated that he had prepared a model of a mail-car for the inspection of

the various railway officials, but that very few of them took any notice of it whatever. In 1857, the Postmaster-General complained that the mails were not carried with the same speed as passengers, and urged that a greater number of mail-agents should be provided. These agents had nothing to do with the distribution of the mails, they only having to handle the pouches. As early as 1810, a law was enacted providing for the establishment of certain distribution post-offices throughout the country. Under the operations of this system, each letter, paper, or package, on being received in any office, was at once forwarded to the nearest distribution office. From the distribution office each letter was forwarded direct to its destination, if possible; otherwise, it was sent to such distribution office as could conveniently forward it to the office of delivery. For the labor of distribution, postmasters received seven per cent. of the stamp valuation of all mail handled. Under this system the government often suffered through fraud perpetrated by dishonest postmasters. Mail matter, instead of being forwarded through the proper channels, was often sent by circuitous routes that it might swell the earnings of neighboring distribution offices. By such means the earnings of the government were too much absorbed in commissions taken by the many thrifty postmasters through whose hands the meandering letters were compelled to pass. No little mischief was caused by the delay to which letters were subjected under these circumstances. This system was never popular, and it finally became intolerable, as railroad facilities increased from year to year. The delay caused by repeated distributions in the course of a letter's journey was not particularly noticeable in the days of stage-coaches, for the stage could wait while the mail was being assorted and re-pouched. Steam-cars proved to be less patient and, as a result, the mail-pouches had to await the arrival of other trains to take them on their journeys. The doom of the old-time distributing office was sealed with the advent of the railway post-office car. The discovery of this method of distributing and hastening the mails was made July, 1862, by Wm. H. Davis, of St. Joseph, Missouri, an employé of the post-office in that city. In that month he operated the first post-office car ever placed on wheels in this country, on the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad. The plan proved to be so eminently successful that it speedily came into general use, and worked a revolution in the railway mail service. Before the day of the railway post-office, letters crept as snails, and since its advent they fly as on the wings of steam. Under this system there is never a pause in the onward flight of the mails until the offices of destination are reached.

Through letters, like restless footballs, are tossed from one flying post-

office car to another, until the end of the route is reached, or they are consigned to the slower movements of stage-coaches or pony expresses. Way mail is snatched up by the flying post-office cars, and is as unceremoniously dropped again when the office of destination glimmers past.

A letter mailed at Washington and addressed to Dallas, Texas, is taken up in turn by the following "R. P. O.'s," as they are termed in the language of the craft: "Balto. & Grafton; Grafton & Cin.; Cin. & St. Louis; St. Louis & Little Rock; Little Rock and Texarkana; Texarkana and Dallas."

The postal-clerk is a genius who must necessarily understand the name and locality of every artery, vein, tissue, and fibre in the entire postal system. When he takes up a letter addressed to a remote office, he must at a glance understand the various lines of travel over which it is to pass, and it is his duty to send it by the most expeditious route. The postal-clerk is required to commit to memory the names of all the offices contained in the various States included in his division.

The average number of offices so committed is about eight thousand for the entire system. Perhaps the most difficult duty known to the postal-clerk is that of distributing the mails for the larger cities. It is a very difficult task to remember the scheme of New York City, yet the postal clerk is required to distribute all New York mail by stations, streets, numbers, and boxes. Fifth Avenue Hotel mail is thrown into its proper box at "Station E." The Grand Central gets its letters at "Station A." So, of all firms, institutions, and leading individuals. The various carrier routes are made up in the same manner. A letter addressed to No. 145 Washington Street would be placed in a package for "Carrier No. 15." The *Times* Building mail is carried by "No. 33;" the *Tribune* by "No. 36."

The postal-clerk must know the various mail routes as familiarly as he does the faces of his best friends. His car, with its tier over tier of pigeon-holes, and its ranks of yawning mail-bags, is to him no labyrinth of mysteries. His eyes are in his fingers, and the skillful musician's touch is not more accurate than the aim of this wizard of the mail-car. The department rules are exacting, and if an occasional error results from the hurried manner in which the mail is thrown, in course of distribution, it is sure to be detected by the next clerk into whose hands the stray piece of mail falls, and a report of it is at once sent to the Division Superintendent, to be charged against the clerk making the error. During the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1886, the number of letters and other pieces of mail matter distributed was 5,329,521,475. The number of errors made in handling this vast quantity of matter was only 1,260,443. The number of

pieces handled, for each error committed were 4,228, thus making the percentage of correct distribution 99.98. All employes are required to attest their skill by frequent examinations, and for this purpose much of the leisure time of each is devoted to studying the mail schemes of the various States attaching to the division in which he is employed.

The organization of the mail system embraces nine grand divisions, over each of which presides a general superintendent. The number of persons at present employed in the service is about four thousand. Each railway post-office is manned by an organized crew, having a head clerk in charge, and every detail of the work is systematized.

The life of a postal-clerk is beset by many hardships. Since the year 1877, between seven and eight hundred casualties have occurred in the service, incident mainly to railroad accidents. The nature of the service entails steady impairment of the physical system, owing to constant strain on the nerve forces, irregularities of diet and rest, and other causes.

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THE BIOGRAPHY OF A RIVER AND HARBOR BILL

To write a complete and accurate history of an important Act of Congress would be to throw an illumination upon our national legislation, national government, and national character. For every important statute is the resultant of all the social, political, and economic forces at work in the country. Still more, the process of legislation, if we could follow it at every stage, would be seen to explain some of the most obscure and most interesting phases in the life of the nation. But who is to disentangle the threads? Who can discover the undercurrents of influence of individuals, of corporations, of municipalities, of states, of private counselors, of voluntary advocates, of paid lobbyists? who is to assign the right equivalent to each member of the legislative body? to the President, to his seven official advisers, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to each of the seventy-four Senators and three hundred and twenty-five Representatives? Above all, who is to measure the effect of tradition, precedent, and forms of organization? We have a careful and reasonably exact record of words spoken and action taken on the floors of Congress; but who will tell us what goes on in committee, or private conference, or in the lobby? who knows the motives which cause votes to combine and separate?

The paper to-day* is, therefore, not a history of the River and Harbor Bill of 1887. It is an attempt to consider it as one might study the life of a rather obscure public man; the outward events are few and uninteresting; but at every stage we come in contact with persons and organisms which the bill helps us to explain. The dullest man may meet and observe kings. The dreariest act for internal improvements illustrates at the same time the manner of legislating in Congress, and the way in which the public funds are spent.

There is a reason why the annual River and Harbor Bill especially rewards the student. It is a sort of comet in the congressional planetary system. Other appropriation bills appear each year in about the same form, pass through the same sort of debate, and are approved as the same matter of course. The River and Harbor Bill has an orbit of its own; no man is able to predict its splendor or the time of its appearance. It dashes into Congress, and is attracted hither and thither; and to the last moment

* This paper was read before the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association, in joint session, at Sanders' Theatre, Cambridge, Massachusetts, June 24, 1887.

it is uncertain whether it will escape on its parabolic path, or collide with a disagreement of the Houses, or an executive veto. For this erratic behavior there are two causes; the bill is made up by a special machinery; and the bill is a luxury. Members of Congress must have their salary and mileage; and pensioners, diplomats, and Presidents must be paid; but rivers will flow and tides rise whether the appropriation passes or fails. The enemies of the bill are, therefore, sure to attack it, without any fear of crippling the government, and a counter effort is made to introduce it in a form as inoffensive as possible.

Before the bill is finally submitted to Congress it passes through four stages of preparation: local engineers survey and estimate; the chief of engineers estimates; the Secretary of War estimates; and the committee considers. The preliminary survey must have been authorized by a previous River and Harbor Act, and is not permitted until the local engineer has reported that the improvement will be of public necessity, and that the place is worthy of improvement. In point of fact, a survey is rarely refused. The local engineer then submits a plan and estimates. The chief of engineers may alter the plan and pare down the estimate.

The official life of our bill began October 28, 1886, when the chief of engineers submitted his report, and set down as sums which might profitably be spent in the fiscal year 1887-'88, items footing to about \$30,000,000. The Secretary of War, in his report, November 30, 1886, pared down, in his turn, and estimated "for improving rivers and harbors, \$10,175,870." Save in exceptional cases, the War Department considers itself the agent of Congress in ascertaining the practicability of improvements, and in forming engineering plans; and makes no suggestions as to the policy of internal improvements, or of particular expenditures.

The Egyptians named not the name of Osiris, and it is with some trepidation that I mention the Standing Committee of the House of Representatives on Rivers and Harbors—more particularly since it has seen fit to recommend a survey of the Charles River from Boston to Watertown, Massachusetts. There is a mystery hovering over the operations of standing committees of Congress, a mystery only partially removed by Professor Woodrow Wilson in his admirable book on Congressional Government: that committee of which I have just spoken is the only House committee save the Committee on Appropriations which has the power of reporting general appropriation bills. Up to March, 1883, the annual River and Harbor Bill was prepared by the Committee on Commerce. In several successive Congresses it was attempted to divide that committee, which the House was pleased to think overburdened. In 1882, the Chair-

man, Mr. Reagan, forced through the House the worst River and Harbor Bill that has ever been passed. In December, 1883, Congress adopted a new rule, placing under the control of a new committee all measures relating to rivers and harbors. In this case the immense power of the Speaker, through his appointment of committees, was well exercised. Mr. Willis of Kentucky, the chairman of the River and Harbor Committee, has shown himself a candid, industrious, fair, and honest man. That two of his four bills have failed is due rather to amendments forced upon him than to measures which he has introduced.

It is no sinecure to sit as one of the fifteen members of the committee. In the first place, to that committee are referred all petitions and memorials and all individual bills bearing on internal improvements. Of the bills, vast numbers were formerly introduced; at present, members prefer to go before the committee in person, and the memorials are in most cases sent direct. Next, come the voluminous estimates of the chief of engineers and his subordinates, covering thousands of pages; the committee then attempt to digest the statistics of each river and port seeking an appropriation. The Secretary of War is called upon for information. Mr. Willis has further adopted the plan of asking all the members of both Houses to appear before the committee, where each has liberty to present the needs of his district or State; and nine-tenths of them come forward. In addition, there are received and heard delegations from leading cities and from chambers of commerce—all upon a similar errand.

"The horse leech hath two daughters," said Solomon, "crying, give! give!" and the committee never suffers for want of information in favor of appropriations. Unfortunately, though every job has an advocate, the public interest has none; there are a hundred pleas for expenditure, against one protest at extravagance. There is no organized river and harbor lobby, for almost every Congressman is an interested party. By petitions, bills, reports, and arguments informed, the committee begins to frame its bill. At once there springs up an ever-recurring difficulty: the bill must be carried; and the number of members who believe in a river and harbor bill, as in itself meritorious, is not sufficient to pass it. There is no such proof of the national importance of a bill as an item within it for one's own district. On the other hand, the committee must select: the general distrust of harbor legislation, the numerous vetoes, and the fate of members who persisted in voting the Act of 1882, all suggest caution. The problem before the committee is always: How much may we put in without offending the newspapers? How much may we leave out without losing votes? The estimates of the engineers are

far greater than the sensitive press will accept, and the committee has a rough rule of thumb by which it agrees to appropriate a certain proportion of these estimates. In 1887 the percentage was twenty-five; thus the amount of the bill was fixed at \$7,500,000. We must not suppose that each work receives something; some of the places suggested are too plainly unworthy; others require too great an expenditure; the committee usually throws out a sixth or an eighth of the items in the engineer's report. Furthermore, the committee does not scruple to insert items never before considered. In this manner, in the bill of 1884 was included the first appropriation for the Sandy Bay Harbor of Refuge at Cape Ann, which is likely to cost \$10,000,000, and on which there had never been an estimate.

On January 8, 1887, when all the items had been squeezed or expanded till, taken together, they filled up the measure of the committee's purpose, the committee reported its bill to the House. The date shows a distinct advance over the previous *régime*. Four years ago Mr. Reagan did not report his bill till February 20, eleven days before the end of the session. In addition, Mr. Willis's accompanying report usually contains a courageous analysis of the bill. It is not to be presumed that the bill had the complete approval of any member of the committee: it was simply the best they could offer with any fair hope of its passing.

The bantling had now a name. It was "H. R. 10419," and was described as

"A BILL

making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes." The public works were two hundred and ninety in number, and required a sum of \$7,430,000; the "other purposes" refer to some clauses, directing the manner in which the work should be carried on.

It was a world full of crafty enemies upon which H. R. 10419 opened its eyes. No sooner was it reported to the House of Representatives than a member gave notice that "all points of order are reserved on that bill," and when, having gone through the usual recommittal, it was a second time reported, January 11, there was heard the same formula, so suggestive of parliamentary stiletos.

An appropriation bill is one of the few things that the House debates thoroughly. The River and Harbor Bill is peculiarly open to attack both in principle and detail. In 1886 each House gave up ten sessions to that one bill—a total of not less than sixty hours of debate. There are at least five different parties to the discussion, each of which has a peculiar

interest, and forwards it in a peculiar way. The first is made up of chairmen of other committees, who wish to bring forward their own measures, instead of the River and Harbor Bill; the second includes all the members with speeches, who wish unlimited general debate; next come the men with amendments, who wish only an opportunity to insert their item, and assure the House it will take but a moment; the fourth class is determined to kill the bill by filibustering. Finally, we have the Chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors; to him other chairmen are Paynim knights, to be unhorsed at the first onset; general debate is a waste of time, and speech-making convinces nobody; amendment means the insertion of jobs, the excision of necessary items, and the disturbance of the nice adjustment of interests perfected by the committee; as for filibusters, every right-minded chairman looks upon them as piratical enemies of the human race, to be driven from the seas by force, or, if necessary, to be taken with guile. It is well known that the first morning hour of each congressional sitting is given up to miscellaneous business; and the second usually to the call of committees for bills. Most of the remaining time on each of four days, January 15, 22, 24, and 26, was devoted by the House to debate on the River and Harbor Bill; and, contrary to the general usage, it passed precisely as reported.

The first struggle was with the Chairman of the Agricultural Committee, who, on three of the four days, vainly strove to induce the House to take up one of his bills instead of H. R. 10419. On each day the House went into "Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, to consider the bill making appropriations, etc." It is in Committee of the Whole that bills are perfected, and that most of the parliamentary sparring takes place. Its more simple rules and more informal practice make it a medium of real debate; here amendments may be offered; an admirable rule permits five-minute speeches on each amendment, and there is no previous question. The chairman of the committee in charge of the bill may and frequently does find means to cut off debate; but Mr. Willis has shown himself willing to permit discussion, criticism, and amendment. It is true that the first gun in the battle was his motion that general debate be limited to ten minutes; but he readily consented to three hours, to be divided between the friends and opponents of the bill as it stood.

In attempting to go into committee on the second day, the filibusters began their tedious tactics, which were kept up during a good part of three sittings. Now it was that most exasperating device, the cry of "no quorum" on every vote; by themselves abstaining from voting, the opponents of any measure may prevent any amendments or action, unless the friends

of the bill can keep within call a majority of all the members of the House. Now it was a motion to adjourn; now it was the tedious call of the yeas and nays; now it was a meaningless amendment, now it was a frivolous point of order. The rules of the House are, on the whole, very lenient to a minority. Two men, backed by about twenty votes, caused the bill to stand still for two days. In vain did Chairman Willis remind them that he had not used his power to pass the bill under suspension of the rules, because he preferred fair debate.

Remonstrance failing, he proceeded to fight them in their own fashion. On January 24, Anderson, of Kansas, had moved an amendment which has several times been proposed, and, indeed, was once inserted by the House in a river and harbor bill, viz.: that the appropriation should be made in a lump sum, to be expended at the discretion of the Secretary of War. He mustered but fourteen votes. On the 26th, before a single detail had been discussed, a friend of the bill submitted an amendment in almost precisely the same terms. The other side, though apparently puzzled, feared the gift-bearing Greeks, and opposed the motion on the ground that it was an "abdication of its functions" by the House; for the items would undoubtedly be re-inserted by the Senate. Nevertheless the amendment was carried, and thus took the place of the original bill. There were no longer any items to discuss; the Committee of the Whole therefore rose, and the bill was declared completed, and thus incapable of further amendment. Mr. Willis next moved the previous question. At this stage the opponents of the bill seem to have seen the trap, and interposed points of order. It was too late; instantly the friends of the bill whipped about, and voted in the House against the substitute which they had just accepted in committee. The effect was to leave the bill precisely where it stood when reported January 9, but with this important difference: under the rules of the House it could no further be discussed or amended. The House had substituted the amendment for the bill, and the bill for the amendment; but the process of substitution could no further go. If the trick seem unfair, it must be remembered that the House had spent ten hours upon the bill, of which time the filibusters had consumed at least one-half. Next day, January 27, the bill was quietly passed by a vote of 154 to 95.

As the Senate debates more carefully than the House, and as it guards jealously its prerogative of altering and increasing House appropriations, H. R. 10419 was now to lose its form. Sent to the Committee on Commerce on January 28, it was reported back February 17, but how changed! It was technically one amendment, but practically a new bill. Nearly every

item had been raised, and many new ones added; the sum total was nearly \$10,300,000, instead of the original \$7,500,000. Although no item was struck out by the Senate, amendments offered by individuals added \$385,000 to the total. A few amendments were, however, ruled out of order because they proposed an appropriation for work on which there was no estimate or because they were "legislation," or, to use a more familiar term, were "riders." The characteristic of the Senate proceedings was, as it usually is, the increase of appropriations, and the introduction of important works not included in the House bill. Thus the Mississippi received \$1,500,000 as against \$1,250,000 in the House bill; \$50,000 was inserted for the survey of the Hennepin Canal; and \$150,000 and \$350,000 respectively for the Green and Barren, and Portage Lake improvements. The Senate passed the bill as amended, February 21, and knowing by long experience that the House would not concur, conferees were immediately appointed. The Senate had spent seven hours and a half on the bill, and had added \$3,200,000.

As there was technically but one amendment to its original bill, the House was not bound to consider each item separately; and when the Senate bill appeared in the House February 23, it was hastily acted on by the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, and they recommended non-concurrence. On February 26, when but five debating days remained, Mr. Willis moved to suspend the rules, to non-concur, and to appoint conferees. The filibusters were able only to obtain the reading of the bill. Thirty minutes' debate was allowed under the rules. It was perfectly clear that the conference was the only means now by which any bill could be carried. The necessary two-thirds vote was obtained, and the conference authorized: as is usual in such cases, the chairman and one of the leading members of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors were of the conferees.

American politics abound in ingenious labor-saving devices, by which the will of a few men replaces the will of a majority. We have the nominating caucus, the legislative caucus, the standing committee system, and the conference committees. But a name may be rubbed out of the slate of the nominating caucus, while the conference report is seldom amended: the legislative caucus cannot prevent a bolt; the conference committee makes no minority report; the most powerful standing committee may see its carefully prepared bill shattered by amendments; the conference committee frames a bill which has never been considered in either House, and forces it through unaltered; the mightiest chairman on the floor may be swept off his legs when a conference committee claims the unrestrained privilege of presenting its report.

In theory the conference committee is empowered to consider only matters in disagreement between the Houses, and to arrive at some middle way in each. In practice they often frame practically a new bill, containing a new distribution of appropriations, and inserting some items never discussed in either House. In this way the Tariff Act of 1883 was reported. It is a very startling fact that at least one-half the important acts of Congress are framed by these special joint, shifting committees of six men each. It would be interesting to know what went on between the 26th and 28th of February over H. R. 10419. It is possible to judge only by the result: The House bill called for \$7,500,000; the Senate bill called for \$10,500,000; the conference report called for \$9,913,000.

The Hennepin Canal and purchase of the Green River and Portage Lake improvements were retained, and at least one new item had crept in.

Like many other tyrants, the conference committee registers its will through the forms of free government. When, on February 28, the report was submitted for the action of the House, there was but one way in which it could exercise any further control over the bill: it might reject the report and simply order another conference. Four successive conference committees had been necessary to arrange the River and Harbor Bill of 1886. The time was too short for further delay. The only remaining check was to insist that the report should be comprehensible, and that it should be read. It is very difficult to secure either of these simple safeguards. The report on the bill of 1881, carrying \$11,000,000, set forth only that the Senate had receded from amendments numbered so and so, and that the House had receded from its disagreements to amendments numbered so and so. A rule of the House required with each conference report "a detailed statement sufficiently explicit to inform the House what effect . . . such amendments . . . will have upon the measure to which they relate." Chairman Reagan then submitted a report of nine and one-half lines, from which no information could be had as to one single item; and the bill was passed in fifteen minutes, under the previous question. Chairman Willis usually presents a perfectly clear analysis of the changes made by the committee. But the clearer the conference reports on appropriation bills the plainer is the fact that the House conferees yield to the Senate; only one-fourth of the Senate increase had been struck out. So far as the House of Representatives is concerned, conferences are what plébiscites in France have been defined to be—"a device for voting yes." The Chairman of the River and Harbor Committee, trying to please delegations and members in his committee, is one individual; in the House, defending his bill, he is another; in conference, facing the danger of failure, he is an-

other; and the three individuals have different opinions as to what constitutes a proper bill. It is impossible for any chairman to see his bill finally fail for want of a few concessions; and he has usually left room for concessions by cutting his original bill below what he expected to appropriate. At any rate, the House voted to consider the report. There was a feeble flickering of filibustering; at this stage, "consideration" meant only that the previous question should be ordered. It was done. The final vote was now to be taken, and both sides mustered their retainers. By a vote of 178 to 89 the House agreed to the report of the conference committee. As the rules were suspended, the amended bill was thus passed.

The day following, March 1, the Senate agreed to the report of its conferees without a division. The only objection came from a senator who wished to see the bill in print. Next day, March 2, it was duly announced that the Speaker of the House had signed the bill, and that the Senate Committee on Enrolled Bills had found it correct.

Here let us stop a moment to describe the appearance and character of the bill of which we have so long followed the fortunes. First comes the enacting clause; the second paragraph makes three hundred and fifteen appropriations for as many works; the third clause regulates the manner of doing the work; at the end is a general appropriation for eighty specified surveys. The whole bill is hedged about with provisos, the most important of which are the stipulation for the expenditure of all sums under the direction of the Secretary of War and the special supervision of a commission over the Mississippi River improvements. In many cases the appropriation is subdivided, as in the following example:

"Improving Newtown Creek and bay, New York: continuing improvement, \$10,000; of which \$2,500 is to be expended on west branch, between Maspeth Avenue and Dual Bridge, at Grand Street and Metropolitan Avenue; \$2,500 to be expended on main branch, between easterly Grand Street bridge to Metropolitan Avenue; and balance on lower end, from Maspeth Avenue to the mouth of the creek."

An analysis of the bill shows the objects for which appropriations are made, as follows: 109 harbors, 8 breakwaters, 3 harbors of refuge, 4 ice harbors, 13 channels, 162 rivers, 6 removals of obstructions, 2 purchases of improvements, 80 surveys, 8 miscellaneous. Appropriations are divided in 44 cases, making a total of 439 works upon which money is to be spent. The total is \$9,913,800.

After sixty-five years of improvement of water-ways by the government it is too late to ask whether it is constitutional, or even whether it is expedient, to appropriate money from the national treasury for national ob-

jects. The moral character of H. R. 10419 must be determined by inquiring whether this particular bill is reasonable in amount; whether the improvements would be of general benefit; whether they are all useful to any one; and whether the methods of administration are wise.

In answer to the first question, there has been a pretty steady increase since 1822; but it has not in proportion gone beyond the increase of the general expenses of the government; and the bill for 1887 is, compared with those of the nine years past, by no means excessive.

Was the bill of general utility? If not, it was from no lack of effort to make it cover the whole area of the United States. It is a little hard to judge how useful the greater number of works may be; for some of their names are not always familiar, and several of the places mentioned in the bill modestly avoid the publicity of a gazetteer. Of course, every New Englander knows precisely the location of the western channel of Lynn harbor, leading to the Point of Pines, and sees the national necessity for its receiving \$1,000. But why should Hyannis Harbor get \$5,000, Aransas Pass \$60,000, Wappoo Cut \$2,500, and Upper Willamette River \$7,500? They all seem of equal importance to the great commerce of the United States. Why should Duck Creek, Delaware, have \$3,000, and Mispillion Creek, in the same State, which has a much larger name, be put off with \$2,000? Why should Currituck Sound, Coanjok Bay, and North River Bar, North Carolina, receive conjointly only as much as Contentnia Creek, near by? Is it fair that money should be appropriated for the Big Sulphur, the Yallabusha, the Pamunkey, the Chefuncte River, and Bogue Phalia, while our own Charles is put off with a pitiful survey? What power other than a modern language association can ever hope to "improve" the Rivers Skagit, Steilaquamish, Nootsack, Snoquomish, and Snoqualmie?

There is other than geographic evidence that some of the items in the bill might well be omitted. In January, 1883, the Secretary of War made a report in which he designated ninety-two items in the previous River and Harbor Bill, carrying \$862,500, as not of general benefit. His reasons are instructive: in one port the annual revenue collected was \$23.25; in another there was no commerce whatever; in another, the real object of the appropriation was to provide hatching grounds for the Fish Commissioners. Some rivers were incapable of permanent improvement; in others, the people had themselves obstructed the stream. One creek lay wholly within the limits of the city of Philadelphia, was an open sewer and was barred by permanent bridges; all the water of another could, when examined, pass through a twelve-inch drain; and a quarter of a

million had been appropriated, practically to protect land from the effects of hydraulic mining. Thirty-one of the items considered reappear in the bill of 1887; and it would be impossible to say how many new ones are of the same sort. The great rivers and harbors in the bill of 1887, the improvement of which is at once seen to be national, take up \$5,570,000; the remaining \$4,200,000 was not likely to benefit any one outside the limits of the State within which it was spent.

In the present low state of public sentiment as to national expenditures, one might perhaps admit appropriations which do benefit some commerce, however local. But our bill, like most of its predecessors, contains provisions for the expenditure of money which will benefit only the owner of the water-front, or the contractor, or the laborer. There is an item in H. R. 10419 for "the protection of the Illinois shore opposite the mouth of the Missouri River." There is an appropriation of \$300,000 for the Missouri, purposely distributed among points where there are railroad bridges; and the understanding was, that it should be used to protect the approaches. Indeed, why should money be spent upon the channel of the Missouri? Senator Vest, of Missouri, frankly states that from St. Louis to St. Joseph there are but three steamers plying, and another member of Congress states that the draw in one of the bridges had been opened but once in a year. Some of the appropriations have left no other trace than the wages and profits of people within the district.

Here is a specific case, no worse in principle than a hundred others. Years ago the United States Government granted very valuable lands to aid in the construction of a canal connecting the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers. Having thus given the canal a value, it then proceeded to pay \$145,000 in cash for the canal, leaving, however, to the original owners the right to the water-power. It has further spent upwards of \$2,000,000 on the improvement. At the present time, according to a student in Harvard College who lives on the line of the canal, there is one small steamer making regular trips, and the only practical value of the improvement is that the government keeps up the water-power for private parties, who have recently sold it to other private parties for \$3,000,000. For improvements wholly within the State, in the bill of 1881, Florida received for each \$1,000 of valuation \$7.16; Oregon, \$4.09; New York, 21 cents; Pennsylvania, 10 cents, and Iowa, 1 cent. It is not too much to say that, under the bill of 1887, \$2,000,000 would have been absolutely wasted, and \$2,000,000 more would have been of local benefit only.*

* The writer will be greatly obliged to any person who will send him authenticated accounts of similar cases in which government appropriations have been misused.

There remains one question. Is the money spent upon undoubted national improvements wisely spent? I cannot think so. The first great defect of the system is, that too many works are undertaken at a time; every man wishes to see the wall built (by somebody else) over against his own house. Of the four hundred and thirty-nine works contemplated by H. R. 10419, in only eight cases is the appropriation sufficient to complete the work; the yearly dole is necessary in order to hold the yearly vote; whatever the estimate of the engineers, the application of the per-cent. rule by the committee makes it impossible to secure the finishing appropriation for any work. Pressing works are kept incomplete, or swept away because half finished. Yet the government is entering upon new and costly enterprises. The engineer reports no summary of the probable expenditure upon works now in progress; it can hardly be less than \$200,000,000. Every year new surveys are introduced, almost without opposition; they become the basis of new estimates and new appropriations.

The natural effect of indiscriminate expenditure is to discourage private enterprises. The government not only undertakes works for which private capital might be secured, but it has entered upon the purchase of existing canals and river improvements. The administration of the river and harbor improvements is honest; the engineers, for the most part army officers, capable; but the whole system is crippled by the constant interference of Congress. If that body choose to begin a Hennepin Canal involving twenty to thirty million dollars, the War Department has no choice but to carry it out. A certain degree of discretion the secretary does exercise; he withholds money from the grosser jobs; he accumulates balances unexpended, against the year when the bill may fail; he insists on complete and comprehensive plans before great works are undertaken; but he is subject to calls for information from either House, and to attacks to which he cannot reply. Let me quote one single sentence from one of these Congressional amenities; it appears that the Secretary of War had approved of the removal of an engineer whom the Oregon people liked, but in whom the department lacked confidence. A senator from Oregon said: "Mr. President, I desire at this time to call the attention of the Senate and the country, and especially of the people of the Pacific Northwest, who are vitally interested in the speedy opening up of the Columbia River to free and unobstructed navigation, and who are, by reason of their peculiar situation as to transportation facilities, in no humor to be trifled with by questionable arbitrary action or non-action upon the part of executive officers, civil or military, some of the latter of whom have grown in a measure officially haughty, arbitrary, and to a degree intolerant, not to

say insolent, by reason of having been for years protected in desirable assignments in Washington, mainly, as many are, through the baneful instrumentality of social influence rather than real merit, which in this great capital too often makes and unmakes men, to the manner in which, during the fall of 1886, the will of Congress was set aside, and the execution of its act in appropriating \$187,500 for the continuance of work on the canal and locks at the Cascades of the Columbia suspended, unjustifiably, to the great detriment of the people's interest, and to fix, if we can from the record, the just responsibility for this high-handed, unjustifiable, and wholly illegal act upon the official or officials justly chargeable therewith."

The administrative commissions, particularly those in charge of the Mississippi and Missouri River improvements, chiefly made up of expert engineers, fare no better. Their plans are rejected, their estimates cut down, their members assailed. The bill of 1887 takes pains to ignore the Missouri River Commission. In fact, all commissions and all secretaries are considered servants of Congress.

The secretaries are at least not appointed by or removable by Congress, but by the third member of the legislative body. We left H. R. 10419 waiting for the President's signature; it waits still. In the absence of any power to veto items in appropriation bills, a power repeatedly suggested in Congress of late, he exercised the one possible check on bills containing a mixture of good and bad provisions, and on bills which reach him too late for examination. In refusing to sign it, he followed the worthy example of Jackson, Tyler, Polk, Pierce, and Arthur; as Congress adjourned before ten days had elapsed, it did not become a law.

Let us sum up the brief existence of H. R. 10419: it was prepared by a laborious committee, and introduced by an honest chairman; it contained some provisions good and useful; and some needless, wasteful, and badly applied. There was opportunity for fair debate in the House. The Senate loaded it with amendments, some of them iniquitous; and the House conferees yielded to them. It was passed because a majority of the members of both Houses desired specific appropriations, which could not be obtained without voting the whole bill. It failed, because, while pretending to be for the public good, its real basis was a combination of private and ignoble interests.

Allen Bushnell Hart

JOURNALISM AMONG THE CHEROKEE INDIANS

No Indian nation on this continent has such a remarkable journalistic history as the Cherokee. Se-quo-yah, their great schoolmaster, in 1824 perfected for them an alphabet, the first alphabet ever invented by aborigines for more than a thousand years. Se-quo-yah, like many inventors, had been ridiculed and even accounted crazy by his tribe, and on many a fine morning his wife, who had little patience with his meditative and philosophic ways, could be heard chiding him for his laziness. In spite of all opposition he persevered, and having spent nearly as much time in persuasion as he had in inventing, he at length convinced his people of its utility. Hence it was that, in November, 1825, the Cherokee Council resolved to procure two sets of type, one fashioned after Se-quo-yah's invention and the other English, and also to procure a printing-press, and the general furniture necessary for a well equipped printing-office. By the following November the work had so far assumed shape that the Council resolved to erect "a printing office, 24 x 20 feet, one story high, shingle roof, with one fire-place, one door in the end of the house, one floor, and a window in each side of the house two lights deep and ten feet long, to be chincked and lined in the inside with narrow plank." February 21, 1828, the iron printing-press of improved construction, and fonts of Cherokee and English type, together with the entire outfit necessary for publishing a newspaper, was set up at New Echota, Georgia, and the first copy of the Cherokee *Phoenix* was given to the world. The *Phoenix* was not only the first aboriginal newspaper on this continent, but it was printed in the most perfect orthography. Elias Boudinot was the first editor. He was aided by the missionaries of the American Board. The *Phoenix* was the average size of the newspapers of the day, and one-half of it was printed in the Se-quo-yah alphabet. By resolution of the Council, the printer's apprentices were boarded and clothed at the expense of the Council, and the editor was forbidden to publish scurrilous communications, or anything of a religious nature that would savor of sectarianism. The first prospectus read as follows: "The great object of the *Phoenix* will be to benefit the Cherokees, and the following subjects will occupy the columns: First, the laws and public documents of the nation; second, accounts of the manners and customs of the Cherokees, and their progress in education, religion, and arts of civilized life, with such notices of other

Indians as our limited means of information will allow ; third, the principal interesting events of the day ; fourth, miscellaneous articles calculated to promote literature, civilization, and religion among the Cherokees." Such were the topics that were printed, and that Se-quo-yah read in letters of his own invention in the columns of the *Phœnix* within two years after the acceptance of the alphabet by the nation. No publication was ever received with such profound wonder by the world as this. Copies were ordered from all parts of the country, and the *London Times* exchanged with it on equal terms. The publication of the *Phœnix* seemed to be the key which was to unlock the intellectual faculties of the Cherokees. In November, nine months after the first copy of the *Phœnix* was published, a missionary wrote from among them, that in his opinion at least three-fourths of the nation could read and write in their new alphabet. Publications from the press at New Echota were eagerly sought. "Their enthusiasm is kindled," wrote Mr. Worcester; "great numbers have learned to read and write, and are circulating hymns and portions of the Scripture ; they are eagerly anticipating the time when they can read the white men's Bible in their own language." Within five years of the adoption of Se-quo-yah's alphabet, the press at New Echota had turned off 733,800 pages of good reading, which was eagerly read and re-read by the Cherokees. Two years after the number had increased to 1,513,800 pages, and before Se-quo-yah's death, in 1842, more than 4,000,000 pages of good literature had been printed in Cherokee, and that not including the circulation of the *Phœnix*. As early as 1830 the pages of the *Phœnix* began to forecast the doom that was inevitably to follow. Even then the Cherokees had given up all hope of receiving justice from the hands of our government. February 19, 1831, the *Phœnix* appeared with only a half sheet. "The reason is," said an editorial, "one of our printers has left us, and we expect another, who is a white man, to quit us very soon, either to be dragged to the Georgia penitentiary for a term of years, or for his personal safety to leave the nation to let us shift for ourselves. But we will not give up the ship while she is afloat. We have intelligent youth enough in the nation, and we hope before long to make up our loss. Let our patrons bear in mind that we are in the woods, and, as it is said by many, in a *savage country*, where printers are not plenty, and, therefore, they must not expect to receive the *Phœnix* regularly for a while, but we will do the best we can." One month later another printer was carried away to prison, his only misdemeanor being that he had not taken the oath of allegiance to the governor of Georgia, and dared to reside within the limits of the Cherokees. In June, 1832, the *Phœnix* remarked, "The

gigantic silver pipe which George Washington placed in the hands of the Cherokees as a memorial of his warm and abiding friendship has ceased to reciprocate ; it lies in a corner, cold, like its author, to rise no more." Only three years more was the *Phoenix* allowed to do its good work. In October, 1835, the Georgia Guard took possession of the newspaper establishment, and its further issue was prohibited unless it would uphold the course of Georgia against the Indians. Thus perished one of the most remarkable newspapers, both in its origin and results, that America has ever known. But if the newspaper died ingloriously, far more so was the fate of its editor, Elias Boudinot. In his early day he was a very promising lad, who attracted the attention of some missionaries. His name was Weite, but he was given the name of Elias Boudinot, after the governor of New Jersey and the president of the American Bible Society, for it was the custom for a Cherokee youth to be given an English name when he entered an English school. Elias Boudinot was one of those placed in the mission school at Cornwall, Connecticut. He was good-looking and pleasing in manners, and was welcomed into the homes of many of the good families in that quiet village. Among the maidens of the place was Hattie Gold, "the village pet," who was given somewhat to romantic ideas. The young Indian, so the story goes, was frequently received at her father's house, and, unthought of by the parents, a mutual attachment sprung up, which ripened into love; it was not long before the little town of Cornwall was stirred to a fever heat by the announcement that Hattie had plighted troth with Boudinot. Her parents were fiery in their opposition, but tears or entreaties were of no avail, and the words were spoken that linked their fortunes for life. Taking his bride to Georgia, Boudinot dwelt among his tribe, conspicuous as a scholar and one favored by the Great Spirit. His life was a busy one, as he aided the missionaries in their work, translating portions of the Scripture, tracts, and hymns. During the administration of Andrew Jackson he took a prominent part in administering the affairs of the Cherokees, and especially toward the last, took a leading part in making arrangements for his people to emigrate from the land they loved so well. Precious to these sons of the forest were their homes, and the burial-places of their fathers. While a few favored the treaty of 1835, the majority did not. It is a matter of historical record that the Ridges, Boudinot, Bell, Rogers, and others who signed the treaty very suddenly changed their minds in respect to the policy of a removal. They had been as forward as any of the opposite party in protesting against the acts of Georgia, and as much opposed to making any treaty or sale of their country up to the time of the mission

of Schermerhorn as any in the nation. Suspected of treachery, bribery, and corruption, the opposition was so fiercely aroused, that on June 22, 1839, these men were cruelly assassinated. Mr. Boudinot was decoyed from the house he was erecting a short distance from his residence, and set upon with knives and hatchets; he survived his wounds just long enough for his wife and friends to reach him, though he was insensible.

Thus perished the first aboriginal editor on this continent. Whether he and his comrades did betray their countrymen for gain cannot now be determined, but it hardly appears possible that one who had served his people so faithfully should at that late day have done so with traitorous intent. Indeed, a careful reader of history must feel that, while Boudinot acted not according to the will of many, that he did what he thought to be for their future welfare, and even Chief Ross, of the opposing faction, deeply regretted his hasty execution. Let the mantle of charity surround his memory; let us not believe him a traitor to the people whom he had so long served; let us revere his memory for the great work he performed.

For a long time there were no further attempts at journalism among the Cherokees. The years succeeding 1835 were years of affliction to this race. Driven from their land by the bayonet of the white man, they were obliged to go to their Western home, and during the removal nearly four thousand of them perished. The following years were spent in recuperating and reorganizing, and it was not until 1844 that the nation assumed the publication of another paper. In 1843, the Baptist Mission started a paper called the *Cherokee Messenger*, that for some years did an important work in the Cherokee country. A decade of years had, indeed, brought about a great change in the condition of the Cherokee people; the mission press had continued to do its noble work, and when the National Council had their new press in working order, three separate printing-offices were in existence. The Council called their new paper the *Cherokee Advocate*. "The object of the Council in providing for the publication of the *Advocate*," said an editorial in the first issue, "is the physical, moral, and intellectual improvement of the Cherokee people. It will be devoted to these ends, and to the defense of those rights recognized as belonging to them in treaties legally made at different times with the United States, and of such measures as seem best calculated to secure their peace and happiness, promote their prosperity, and elevate their character as a distinct community." Realizing their need of outside assistance, they called for patronage from the citizens of the United States. The executive department of the Cherokee government have among their archives copies of the *Advocate* from October, 1845, to November, 1846, but it continued

to be printed until 1853 or 1854, when it was suspended. It did not attract the attention which the *Phoenix* did, as the novelty of Cherokee journalism had subsided, and it was further removed from the people. Perhaps one of the most remarkable features of the *Advocate* was the publication from week to week in the Se-quo-yah alphabet, of chapters from Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, which was prepared also in book form. The second Cherokee *Advocate* was started in 1870, and is the official organ of the nation; it has for its object the diffusion of important news among the Cherokee people, the advancement of their general interests, and the defense of Indian rights; it is published weekly in the English and Cherokee languages, and nothing of an abusive, personal, or partisan character is admitted to its columns. Since February 10, 1881, the editor is required to have one whole page of the paper published in Cherokee, and for this purpose he is authorized to employ two Cherokee boys as apprentices for the term of two years, who read and write Cherokee and English, and pay them, during the time, a sum equal only to the cost of their board and clothes; and the bill for their services is paid quarterly by order on the treasury of the nation.

The editor is elected by joint vote of both branches of the National Council, and receives from the public treasury the sum of \$600 per annum for his services. It is the duty of the editor to exercise control over the establishment; to furnish such matter for publication from time to time as, in his judgment, will promote the object of the institution. He must see that the material and property of the concern is properly preserved and economically used; he receives the subscription moneys at the rates fixed by law, but himself fixes the rate of advertising, excepting such public advertising as may be furnished by the officers of the nation, as provided by law; he makes quarterly accounts to the treasurer, and an annual one to the principal chief, for the information of the National Council, of the condition of the paper and its interests, with an itemized account of its receipts and expenditures. It is his duty also to print and deliver, within a reasonable time, to the principal chief, such laws and treaties as may be required by the National Council; also the blanks required by the officers of the nation, and such other printing as may be required in public service. Before entering upon his duties he is required to fill a bond of a nature to satisfy the principal chief, who also appoints a translator whose duty it is to translate into the Cherokee language for publication such laws, public documents, and articles as the editor shall select for his paper. This translator receives \$400 annually for his services, and, like the editor, is subject to removal by the principal chief for improper conduct

or failure to perform prescribed duties. Though the *Advocate* is an eight wide column folio, it is furnished by the nation to all subscribers for \$1 per year, and is sent *free* to all non-English-speaking Cherokees, thus becoming an important educator to a multitude who otherwise could not read at all, as the alphabet is so well adapted to the language, being syllabic, that a smart Cherokee-speaking youth can learn to read in three days. The *Advocate* was first edited by W. P. Ross; D. Ross, David Carter, and James Vann followed. After the war, W. P. Boudinot took charge, who was followed by George Johnson and E. C. Boudinot; after which Daniel H. Ross, the present editor.

At Vinita there have been three attempts at Indian journalism; the two first were papers called the *Vidett* and the *Herald*. Each had a brief existence. The Indian *Chieftain* was established September 22, 1882. Robert L. Owen, a descendant of the old chief, Oconnostotas, became editor, February 9, 1883. Mr. Owen is now United States Indian agent at Muskogee. He was succeeded as editor by Wm. P. Ross, now Superintendent of Public Instruction for the Cherokee Nation. S. J. Thompson was the next editor. The paper is now published by M. E. Milford, and very ably edited by Mr. John L. Adair, who is a near relative of the late assistant chief, Wm. P. Adair. The *Chieftain* is printed only in English. A small paper was recently started at Dwight for the purpose of furnishing religious reading, printed in both English and Se-quo-yah's alphabet.

Geo. E. Foster

MINOR TOPICS

HOW PRESIDENT LINCOLN EARNED HIS FIRST DOLLAR

One evening when a few gentlemen, among whom was Mr. Seward, had met in the executive chamber without special business, and were talking of the past, Mr. Lincoln said, "Seward, you never heard, did you, how I earned my first dollar?" "No," said Mr. Seward. "Well," replied he, "I was about eighteen years of age, and belonged, as you know, to what they call down South the 'scrubs;' people who do not own land and slaves are nobody there, but we had succeeded in raising, chiefly by my labor, sufficient produce as I thought to justify me in taking it down the river to sell. After much persuasion I had obtained the consent of my mother to go, and had constructed a flat-boat, large enough to take the few barrels of things we had gathered down to New Orleans. A steamer was going down the river. We have, you know, no wharves on the Western streams, and the custom was, if passengers were at any of the landings, they were to go out in a boat, the steamer stopping, and taking them on board. I was contemplating my new boat, and wondering whether I could make it stronger or improve it in any part, when two men, with trunks, came down to the shore in carriages, and looking at the different boats singled out mine, and asked, 'Who owns this?' I answered modestly, 'I do.' 'Will you,' said one of them, 'take us and our trunks out to the steamer?' 'Certainly,' said I. I was very glad to have the chance of earning something, and supposed that each of them would give me a couple of bits. The trunks were put on my boat, the passengers seated themselves on them, and I sculled them out to the steamer. They got on board, and I lifted their trunks and put them on the deck. The steamer was about to put on steam again, when I called out, 'You have forgotten to pay me.' Each of them took from his pocket a silver half-dollar and threw it on the bottom of my boat. I could scarcely believe my eyes as I picked up the money. You may think it was a very little thing, and in these days it seems to me like a trifle, but it was a most important incident in my life. I could scarcely credit that I, the poor boy, had earned a dollar in less than a day; that by honest work I had earned a dollar. The world seemed wider and fairer before me; I was a more hopeful and thoughtful boy from that time. *William D Kelley in Rice's Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln.*

AMERICAN PROGRESS

[The following lines from the clever pen of Hon. Charles K. Tuckerman, one of our contributors, recently appeared in the little paper published by the American Exhibition in London.]

To thee, O Mother England, it is meet,
That we, who from thy womb inherited
The blood of nations, from thy tongue our tongue,
And from thy books the justice of our laws,
Should in maturer years our offerings bring,
And at thy feet our fruit of progress lay.

Progress, the motto of our infancy,
Taught by our sires of old in English homes ;
Progress, the seed which, in our furrows sown,
Struck deeper for the richer virgin soil,
And grew the stronger in our Western air,
Till she, in turn, was fed by those she fed.
And it was well we parted and that lands
Still more remote sent seekers to our own,
Till race with race commingling, Briton, Celt,
Teuton and Gaul, hardened by toil's alloy,
And spurred by the compulsion of their needs,
Learned the self-poise of independent thought
Thence springs Invention, born Minerva-like,
From brains of God-like men ; for they are Gods
Who o'er the thoughtless masses of mankind
Strike from the uncouth rock the precious ore
And shape it into beauty and employ ;
Who wing our words with lightning, and defy
With timeless currents distance and degree ;
Who ease the hands of labor, till a touch
Achieves what toil, with less perfection, wrought,
Saving the friction in the rush of life.

Therefore 'tis meet that to this capital,
Stirred by the breath of millions, whose deep hum
Is but the murmurous echo of the roar
Of her resounding commerce ; where the tide
Of her great river is but glimpsed between
The floating bulwarks of her argosies ;
Here, where historic names recall our own,
Caught and repeated by our States and towns ;

Here, where yon reverend Abbey's walls enshrine
Our poets and scholars mingling with her own.
 'Tis meet to bring the samples of our Art :
 For where could welcome sound more honestly
 Than where these English voices are upraised
 To greet us in our own proud kindred tongue ?
 If what we offer, then, merits applause,
 Strike on the anvil with a ringing sound,
 Welding the links of that unending chain
 Which binds us in the bonds of brotherhood :
 And where we move to criticism, strike
 With equal force and spare not ; give and take,
 That each be spurred to wholesome rivalry.
 Thus shall Invention from itself invent
 New ways to save the nations and evolve,
 From out the widening law of human needs—
 Stronger than treaties, loftier than wars—
 The pledge of *hearts* to universal Peace.

ENOCK CROSBY NOT A MYTH

Editor of Magazine of American History :—The article on Enoch Crosby, in your May number, by Mr. Guy Hatfield, contains, in the opinion of the writer, errors of statement and conclusion which call loudly for correction. In speaking of a recent article in the *Atlantic*, by Miss Susan Fenimore Cooper, he says : " But especially important is this article in an historical point of view, from its complete demolition of the myth that one Enoch Crosby was the original of Harvey Birch—an idle tale that has been told and written over and over again, in so many forms and at so many times, that perhaps half the people one meets really believe it."

Miss Cooper's article, instead of demolishing the claim of Crosby's friends, would tend, as I think, only to establish and confirm it in the mind of candid readers. She says " The leading idea " (of the Spy) " was suggested by a conversation with Governor Jay, who related a remarkable incident with which he had been himself connected. He was at that time chairman of a secret committee, appointed by Congress, to counteract the efforts of the English leaders to raise troops among the people of the country. Among other agents employed in connection with these duties was a man, poor, ignorant as far as instruction went, but cool, shrewd, and fearless. It was his office to learn in what part of the country the agents of the crown were making their secret efforts to embody men, to repair to the place, to enlist, to appear zealous in the royal cause, and to obtain as much information of the enemy's plans as possible. This man was repeatedly arrested by his country-

men. On one occasion he was condemned to the gallows, and only saved by speedy and secret orders to his jailer. The name of the agent was never revealed, and the facts stated above were the sole foundation for the character of the Spy." It is clearly established that Crosby resided at that time in the locality where these acts were performed, that he was employed by that committee for just such duties, that he performed like services and met with similar experiences. As the committee employed more than one agent, it is possible that Mr. Jay may have alluded to some other man. Crosby, who was intelligent and conscientious, believed he was the person described, and so did the men of that generation who remembered the events and knew the circumstances. Mr. Jay was the only one who could say Crosby was *not* the man; and although he lived until after the publication of Barnum's book, and must have been informed of its claims, we have never heard that he disputed it. Mr. Cooper did not know the real name of his hero; Miss Cooper knows no more in regard to it than her illustrious father, and Mr. Hatfield is no wiser than they.

The following letter recently found by Mr. C. P. Carter, of Kingston, New York, among the papers of Major Van Gaasbeck, of the Revolution, written by Nathaniel Sackett, one of Mr. Jay's associates on that famous committee, confirms the truth of Crosby's story:

"DEAR SIR: I had almost forgot to give you Directions to Give our friend an opportunity of making his escape. Upon our plan you will take him prisoner with this partie you are now watching for. His name is Enoch Crosby, alias John Brown. I could wish that he may escape before you bring him Two miles on your way to the Committee. You will be pleased to advise with Messrs. Cornwell and Captain Clark on this subject, and form such plan of conduct as your wisdom may direct, but by no means neglect this friend of ours.

I am Sir, your humble serv't,

Fishkill, January 7th, 1777.

NATH'L SACKETT."

So much as to the conclusions. Furthermore, Mr. Hatfield says, "Unfortunately for Mr. Barnum, he added a 'conclusion' to the original edition of his book, in which, unhappily forgetting the lessons taught by the author of *The Spy*, he spoiled the whole thing by pathetically saying that for all his revolutionary services Crosby received only *two hundred and fifty dollars*. This 'conclusion,' it is perhaps unnecessary to state, has been omitted in later editions of this Enoch Crosby myth." In reply, permit me to say, that the last, and probably the only edition of this work printed within the past fifty years was issued by myself and contains every sentence, word, letter and I believe punctuation contained in the original, published by J. & J. Harper, in 1828. The circumstances attending its republication were as follows. The work had a peculiar local interest in this community, as it was the old Dutch Church in this village in which Crosby was confined and

from which he made his famous escape. The book was out of print and had become exceedingly rare. Many fathers and mothers desired that their children might read a story which they had enjoyed in their youthful years. With some difficulty I procured a copy, and obtaining the consent of the Messrs. Harper, printed it as a serial in the *Fishkill Weekly Times*. From the type set for our paper we printed sheets for a few hundred books, which we had neatly bound for those who wished the narrative in a more permanent form. To the original volume we added about one-third more matter regarding Crosby's subsequent life, an account of his descendants with anecdotes and sketches of local contemporary history.

Our book is printed more closely and with narrower margins, so that the matter which makes 206 pages in one, is contained in 118 of the other. This "cheap, thin duodecimo" has unfortunately drawn this fire of adverse criticism, and having been instrumental in its production I hope to be allowed to speak in its defense.

JAMES E. DEANE

THE STUDY OF STATISTICS

Professor Herbert B. Adams writes to the New York *Independent* on the recent meeting of the American Historical Association : " Perhaps the strongest current of popular and contemporary interest was that introduced from the nation's capital by Colonel Carroll D. Wright, U. S. Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, in his vigorous plea for 'The Study of Statistics in American Colleges.' Contrary to general expectation, Colonel Wright showed that statistics form one of the most interesting and profitable lines of inquiry that can occupy students of historical and political science. Statistics, if properly collected, are history in the most concrete, accurate and imperishable form. The results of the census of any given decade, when cast into Arabic numerals, or simple mathematical tables, will endure when word-tablets have been dashed in pieces by historical criticism. Colonel Wright's plea was not alone for the teaching of statistical science in our higher colleges and universities, but also for a vital connection between higher political education and practical civil service. He said : ' I would urge upon the Government of the United States and upon the Governments of the States, the necessity of providing by law for the admission of students that have taken scientific courses in statistics as honorary attachés of, or clerks to be employed in the practical work of statistical offices.' He also urged the Government-training of educated young men for the consular and diplomatic service, and for other branches of practical administration. This thought, which is now historical, will bear political fruit."

PRESENT HOME OF THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

ITS MEMORIES AND ASSOCIATIONS

[By a member of the Delta Chapter of the Psi Upsilon Fraternity, New York University.]

The present home of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY in Scribner's building in Broadway, was for several years occupied as the rooms of the Delta (New York University) Chapter of the Psi Upsilon Fraternity. The rooms were especially hallowed, for there formerly had been the *sanctum* of that loyal Psi U., Dr. J. G. Holland.

It was sad for us to leave these old rooms with their many pleasant memories and associations indissolubly connected with them. Many graduates were present at our farewell meeting. One graduate brother in his eloquent reminiscence drifted into the speculation once announced by our late professor, John W. Draper. In substance he spoke as follows: "Every sound uttered in a room and every ray of light thrown on the walls produces a permanent change in the molecular structure of the walls. The sounds are recorded as unerringly as the foil preserves the dots and dashes in the phonograph; and the walls are ever ready and sensitive plates, always taking pictures." Now, should anyone discover a process of unraveling from these walls the sounds recorded upon them, and of developing this wonderful negative—what sounds! what scenes! Psi Upsilon would no longer be a secret society. The stirring eloquence of the Sophomore, the flashes of wit, bursts of humor, the pathos of the eulogies on our departed brethren, the melody of the songs we have sung, all would be revealed to the ears of the profane and uninitiated. And by the other process, unhallowed eyes would behold the walls adorned with scenes both terrible and sublime. The roaming of the goat (strange, none believe we have a goat), the ghastly grinning skulls, the bloody guillotine, the black coffin, the fires, the tortures, the terrible ordeals to test freshman fidelity, and all the unutterable mysteries would stand forth in fresco on the walls of our lodge room! And it would be converted into history for succeeding generations!

This delicate process will be found when the Philosopher's stone works its magic. And then the "New Zealander" will sit upon the ruined towers of our great bridge, and then the walls of the Hall of the Delta will be a dust heap; thus will Psi Upsilon preserve her mysteries. Her words are graven on the tablets of our hearts, her deeds are painted in living colors on our memories—they are immortal.

WALTER BOOTH ADAMS

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

An Interesting Private Letter of President James Buchanan.

[*Editor of Magazine of American History.*—The following letter came into my hands through the favor of a gentleman of world-wide fame, who received it from Mr. Phelps some time before his death. I am left free to publish it, but the responsibility is my own. The letter bears date December 22, 1860, two days after the secession of South Carolina. At that time there was some hope that Congress might agree to the Crittenden Compromise. An act of Congress of 17th December had authorized the issue of treasury notes; the advertisement inviting bids for them was then out, and New York was looked to for the bulk of subscriptions to the loan. Thus we may behold the key to the letter. It is evident from Mr. Buchanan's appeal to his personal and political friend that he wished to convince him that it would be for the interest of New York to take the loan. Deeply regretting the attempted secession of the cotton States as Mr. Buchanan did, this and other documents show that he never had the slightest inclination to part with them.—HORATIO KING.]

President Buchanan to Royal Phelps, Esqr.

Private.

Washington, 22nd December, 1860.

My dear Sir,

I have received your favor of the 20th inst. and rejoice to learn the change of public sentiment in your city. Still secession is far in advance of reaction and several of the Cotton States will be out of the Union before anything can be done to check their career. I think they are all wrong in their precipitation, but such I believe to be the fact.

It is now no time for resolutions of kindness from the North to the South. There must be some tangible point presented and this has been done by Mr. Crittenden in his Missouri Compromise resolutions. Without pretending to speak from authority, I believe these would be accepted though not preferred by the South. I have no reason to believe that this is at present acceptable to the Northern Senators and Representatives, though the tendency is in that direction. They may arrive at this point when it will be too late.

I cannot imagine that any adequate cause exists for the extent and violence of the existing panic in New York. Suppose most unfortunately that the Cotton States should withdraw from the Union, New York would still be the great city of this continent. We shall still have within the borders of the remaining States all the elements of wealth and prosperity. New York would doubtless be somewhat retarded in her rapid march; but possessing the necessary capital, energy, and enterprise, she will always command a very large portion of the carrying trade of

the very States which may secede. Trade cannot easily be drawn from its accustomed channels. I would sacrifice my own life at any moment to save the Union, if such were the will of God ; but this great and enterprising and brave nation is not to be destroyed by losing the Cotton States ; even if this loss were irreparable, which I do not believe unless from some unhappy accident.

I have just received an abstract from the late census.

In the appointment of Representatives the State of New York will have as many in the House (30) as Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and South Carolina united. The latter State contains 296,422 free people and 408,905 slaves, and will be entitled in the next Congress to 4 Representatives out of 233.

Why will not the great merchants of New York examine the subject closely and ascertain what will be the extent of their injuries and accommodate themselves to the changed state of things ?

If they will do this, they will probably discover they are more frightened than hurt. I hope the Treasury note Loan may be taken at a reasonable rate of interest. No security can be better, in any event, whether the Cotton States secede or not. Panic in New York, may however, prevent ; because panic has even gone to the extent of recommending that the great city of New York shall withdraw herself from the support of at least 25 millions of people and become a free city.

I had half an hour and have scribbled this off in haste for your private use.

Your friend,

very respectfully,

James Buchanan.

Royal Phelps, Esq.

Unpublished Papers Relating to the First Steamboat on Lake George.

From the Collection of Hon. T. Romeyn Beek, M.D., of Albany, now in possession of Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt.

[The multitude of pleasure seekers who frequent Lake George and its picturesque surroundings every season will appreciate the following copies from the original documents, showing how recent was the first steamboat enterprise in connection with that charming inland sea.—EDITOR.]

Clermont, 17 July, 1821

We have agreed with James Caldwell Esq. and his associates to grant them a license to build a boat or boats on Lake George and to give them our right to an exclusive Navigation thereon during the continuation of our State and United States patents upon the following terms. We will charge them nothing till they receive eighteen pr Cent clear of all expenses upon the Capital they expend in such boat or boats and if the boat or boats makes a greater dividend, we then

are to divide equally with the said Company, one half of such excess going to the Company the other half to Rob^t R. Livingston & Rob^t Fulton ; that is, if the boat clears twenty per Cent then one per Cent is to be paid to the Subscribers and so in proportion for every increased dividend. As soon as the Company is formed, a proper article of Agreement to be entered into by the said Rob. R. Livingston Rob. Fulton and the said Company.

Signed, Rob. R. Livingston
Rob. R. Livingston for Rob. Fulton.

I accept on the part of the Company the above agreement.

Signed, James Caldwell.

Subscribers to the Steam Boat to ply from Caldwell on Lake George to Ticonderoga distance $31\frac{3}{4}$ miles, The Boat to Contain about 50 Passengers and to be built and Navigated to the Best advantage as the Company may think proper ; . . .

We the Subscribers agree to the above and do hereby sign our names and do promise to fulfil the Same.

Isaac Kellogg, Ticonderoga,	3 shares
Robert R. Livingston & Rob ^t Fulton	3 do
James Caldwell	2 do
Teatherson W Haugh	1 do
Stephen Van Rensselaer	1 do
Stephen Lush	1 do
Nicholas Low,	2 do
Harris A Rogers. (Caldwell)	1 do
M ^r Ferris (Glen's Falls)	1 do
Abraham Wing (Sandy Hill)	1 do
Mathew Gregory	1 do
M ^r Tavish M ^c Gilvaray & Co Montreal	1 do
Dudley Walsh	1 do
John Read,	1 do

Shares, \$500.

Memorandum, probably addressed to Livingston & Fulton,

"We wish to have your opinion respecting the power of the engine necessary to propel a boat of the dimensions mentioned & on which plan you would advise the Machinery to be constructed—our first idea purporting the dimensions was 80 feet keel & 18 feet beam, but we thought the length would not afford sufficient accommodations aft the works, as it will be necessary to have a Cabin for the Ladies Separate from dining Cabin which ought be 30 feet long.

NOTES

THE CHARACTER OF JOSEPH II.—In his fifth volume Mr. Lecky writes : "The death of Maria Theresa, in 1780, and the accession of Joseph II. to his full power, gave a complete change to Eastern politics. The character of Joseph is a curious study. He was undoubtedly superior in intelligence to the average of European monarchs ; he was as exemplary as his mother in the industry with which he devoted himself to the duties of his office, and he had a most real desire to leave the world better than he found it ; but a deplorable want of sound judgment, of moral scruple, and of firmness and persistency of will, made him at once one of the most dangerous sovereigns of his time. Ambitious, fond of power, and at the same time feverishly restless and impatient, his mind was in the highest degree susceptible to the political ideas that were floating through the intellectual atmosphere of Europe, and he was an inveterate dreamer of dreams. Large, comprehensive, and startling schemes of policy—radical changes in institutions, manners, tendencies, habits, and traditions—had for him an irresistible fascination ; and when he saw, or thought he saw, the bourne to which political forces were tending, it was his natural impulse to endeavor to attain it at once. His policy in foreign affairs consisted chiefly of daring and adventurous enterprises, rashly undertaken and fitfully and irresolutely conducted. In domestic affairs it consisted partly of great reforms in perfect accordance with the most enlightened political speculation of his time, but forced into a precipitate maturity, with no regard for

the habits, wishes, and prejudices of his subjects, and partly of a series of unjustifiable attempts to destroy the restraints which, in some parts of his dominions, custom and law had imposed upon his authority."

POLITICAL PARTIES—The surprising tenacity with which people cling to the party of their choice very naturally directs attention to the historical character of these parties. They are like large trees which cannot be blown over, because of the years during which their roots have been striking deeply into the earth. To become acquainted with either of the great political parties of our land you must trace its roots all through those agitations which have followed each other ever since the birth of the nation, and especially through that great conflict which almost accomplished its disruption. These parties are what they are to-day because they are not a fabrication but a growth, and therefore they cannot be taken apart and built up at will.—*Levi Parsons in the Princeton Review* for June.

SATIRE AND HUMOR—We were talking over the use and abuse of satire, and it so fell out that three of the party in succession gave each an illustration of the keenest thrust he had ever heard. Probably some of them have been put in print before ; but they were new to the *Spectator*, and he ventures to assume that they will be new to some of his readers. "I think," said number one, "that the keenest sentence I ever remember to have heard, I once heard from Chauncey M. Depew in a private conversation at a

dinner-table. Whether it was original with him or was a quotation from some one else I do not remember; I only remember the aptness of the characterization. Speaking of —— (for he shall be nameless), Mr. Depew said, 'He knows less about the subjects about which he does know anything, and more about the subjects about which he does not know anything, than any man I ever knew.' "That is a pretty good characterization of the self-conceit of ignorance," said number two, "but I think that I can match it with a sentence characterizing the incompetence of an incompetent. It was said of some one, happily I do not now remember who, that considered as a success he was an utter failure, but regarded as a failure he was a magnificent success." "I have never forgotten," said number three, "a rebuke administered by a professor of mental science in college, now dead, whose patience had been exhausted—and it was not exhaustless, for he was a nervous and somewhat irritable man—by the pranks of a classmate of mine. The professor had spoken to the student two or three times in recitation, with no permanent effect. At last he turned to him, and, bringing his hand down on the table with a tremendous blow—a favorite gesture of his when aroused—he cried out: 'S——, be still! or you will rise from the dignity of a nuisance to that of a calamity.' " "What is the difference between satire and humor?" asked one of the company. "One," said the Deacon, "is concentrated frost; the other is concentrated sunshine."—*Christian Union*.

TERRITORY—On the 7th of April, 1788, General Rufus Putnam with about fifty men landed at the mouth of the Muskingum River to found a colony. A million and a half of acres had been purchased of the government, and these men and their associates, most of them officers of the Revolution, had determined to begin a settlement which they expected to be the germ of new States. The plan had been formed five years before while the army was still in camp at Newburgh, and had received the hearty approbation of the commander-in-chief. Suspended for a while, the project was renewed a few years later, and in 1787 application was made to Congress to purchase land.

This proposal of the Ohio Company to purchase land and establish a colony produced a marked impression on Congress. It interested, indeed, the whole country. It was the immediate occasion of the passage of the celebrated ordinance of 1787. The proposed settlers wanted a good government under which to live, as well as lands on which to make new homes. Congress knew that no better men could be found to whom to intrust the responsible work of building up new institutions in a new region; and without hesitation, and with a unanimity almost unexampled, enacted such an ordinance of government as they desired.

In the following winter the pioneers, leaving their families at home, made the tedious journey across the mountains, built boats in which to descend the Ohio, and landed at the destined place Monday, April 7, 1788. In a short

time came many others, and before the close of that month the machinery of government was in operation, and the County of Washington, then embracing

about half the present State of Ohio, was established by the proclamation of the Governor. I. W. ANDREWS

MARIETTA, OHIO, *June*, 1887.

QUERIES

THE STAMP ACT — *Editor Magazine of American History* :—I notice there is great want of uniformity among those who are considered good authority as to the Stamp Act of 1765. Will some of your readers please say the exact time when the British Stamp Act was passed, (the year, month, and day) and when it took effect, and also the same as to the repeal of the Act? R. W. JUDSON
OGDENSBURG, N. Y.

PITTSBURGH, NEW YORK — *Editor Magazine of American History* :—Where is (or was) Pittsburgh, Dutchess County, New York, and what is the present title of the Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, of which Rev. John Clark was pastor in 1803?

J. H. S.

BOODLE—What is the origin and meaning of the word "boodle"? N.

REPLIES

"A HISTORIC MEETING-HOUSE" [xvii. 474]—The writer of the very interesting article under the above title in the *June Magazine* considers the meeting-house of the First Baptist Church in Boston, of which he gives a sketch made by him in 1828, as the original structure. He says: "The venerable edifice was erected in 1678, and like an ancient fortress at the outpost of a frontier, had for a century and a half stood the battle and the breeze;" and again: "This meeting-house had been quietly erected, and, in 1679, was opened for public worship."

In the *Boston Almanac* for 1843, which contains historical sketches of the churches in Boston, illustrated by engravings, and evidently prepared with great care, it is said (p. 69, First Baptist Church), "in 1771, a new house was built, which was afterwards considerably enlarged." It must have been this *second*

meeting-house which is represented in the sketch, and which, in 1828, was removed, as the article states, to South Boston. This was exactly a "century and a half" after the building of the *first* meeting-house, if this was built, as stated, in 1678. The *Boston Almanac* gives the date as 1679, and the *Memorial History of Boston* (Vol. 1, p. 195), as 1680. As the house was closed by order of the General Court, March 8, 1680, it would seem that it was probably in use in 1679, and its erection may have been begun in 1678.*

The sketch is very valuable, as probably the only one in existence of either of the two meeting-houses of the First Baptist Church on Salem Street, corner

* Armitage (*History of the Baptists*, New York, 1887). "The church entered [the house] for worship, Feb. 15, [1679.]" p. 703. This perhaps should settle the question.

of ~~what~~ is now Stillman Street, * which were predecessors of the church-building on the corner of Union and Hanover streets, so long graced by the ministry of the courtly and eloquent Rollin H. Neale; and the whole article is a worthy contribution to the history of the Baptist denomination in America.

D. F. L.

MANCHESTER-BY-THE-SEA.

TIANDERRA [xvii. 350]—The word Tianderra is Mohawk, yet in a list of New York Indian names which I have made it does not appear in connection with Ticonderoga, but with Unadilla; Tianderah, or Teyonadelhough, being an early name for that Indian village. Morgan gives "Place of Meeting," as the meaning of Unadilla, the Oneida form of the name. In 1691 Peter Schuyler mentioned Chinanderoga, and I think this is the first record of the name of Ticonderoga. It is said to mean "Noisy Water," a name aptly rendered by the French term Carillon. With one of its synonyms, one name of the first Mohawk castle is almost identical, having been sometimes written Tionondoroge in early days. Onjudaracte is sometimes given as the head of Lake Champlain; *i. e.*, at Ticonderoga; but the earliest rendering of the name of the place was by Father Jaques, Andiatarocete, "Where the lake is shut in." Lake George he named at this time St. Sacrament.

W. M. B.

* "At the foot of an open lot running down from Salem Street to the mill-pond," as seen in the engraving.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN NEW YORK [xvii. 528]—Whether the Church of England was legally the Established Church in New York was a controverted point at an early day. The royal commissions to its governors all speak decidedly of their duty to maintain and promote its worship, but this was a dead letter for a long time. Practically the rulers generally favored the Church of England, but equal privileges were extended to all. The royal commission was construed after a time to have established it in what was a royal province; and similar views were held of the legal rights of the Established Church in other colonies. To this it was replied that such establishment could only take place by common, parliamentary, or colonial law, and it had no legal support. Judge William Smith, in his *History of New York* (1756), has a full statement of the question, and considers that there was no establishment.

W. M. BEAUCHAMP

BALDWINVILLE, N. Y.

PUBLIC LAND [xvii. 263]—*Editor Magazine of American History*:—The inquiry concerning the location of the "township of public land" granted by Congress to Lafayette in 1824, is answered in Donaldson's *Public Domain* (Washington), p. 211, where the statement is made "that it was afterward located in Florida."

GEO. W. KNIGHT

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

SOCIETIES

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION held its fourth annual meeting in Boston, the sessions commencing on the 21st of May and closing with a Field-day in Plymouth on the 25th. The president was Mr. Justin Winsor, of Harvard; the secretary Professor Herbert B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins; the treasurer Clarence C. Bowen, of the *New York Independent*; the executive council, Charles Deane, LL.D., vice-president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Professor Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale, Professor William F. Allen, of the University of Wisconsin, and Hon. William Wirt Henry, of Richmond, Virginia. The American Economic Association met at the same time and place, presided over by the accomplished General Francis A. Walker, and the two associations, in joint session, opened their meetings on the 21st in the Institute of Technology. Each president read an able and interesting paper—General Walker on “The efforts of manual laborers to better their condition,” and President Winsor on “The manuscript sources of American history”—both of which were received with great favor. General Walker reviewed at considerable length the changes that have occurred in economic opinion during the past twenty-five years, saying that “it would be scarcely conceivable to-day that an economist of learning and reputation should gravely argue that the employer is, in effect, the trustee of the laborer’s wages; and that it really does not matter whether in any given time and place he pays the laborer more or

pays him less, since by as much as the employer may underpay the laborer in any instance, by so much will he certainly and indefeasibly overpay him in some subsequent instance.” President Winsor’s excellent paper is published in full in another part of this magazine.

On Monday the Historical Association met in one of the banquet halls of the Brunswick hotel, seventy-five members present, among whom were S. L. Caldwell, LL.D., ex-president of Vassar College; Judge Mellen Chamberlain, of the Boston Public Library; Hon. John Jay, president of the Huguenot Society of America; Professor Johnston, of Princeton; Hon. Andrew White, LL.D., honorary president of Cornell; Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, editor of the *Magazine of American History*; Professor Moses Coit Tyler, of Cornell; Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary, New York city; Colonel Thomas W. Higginson, of Cambridge; General George W. Cullum, of New York city; Professor Arthur M. Wheeler, of Yale; Professor E. J. James, of University of Pennsylvania; B. Fernow, of the State Library, Albany; Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., of Philadelphia; Judge Charles A. Peabody, of New York city; A. A. Graham, secretary of the Ohio Historical Society, Columbus; Edmund Mills Barton, of the Antiquarian Society, Worcester; Miss Katharina Coman, professor of history at Wellesley; Professor E. N. Horsford, of Cambridge; Gordon L. Ford, of Brooklyn; Professor Richmond Smith, of Columbia College;

Colonel Carrington, of Boston. The papers read and discussed in the morning session were: "Diplomatic prelude to the Seven Years' War," by Herbert Elmer Mills, fellow in history at Cornell; "Silas Deane," by Charles Isham, of New York; "Historical grouping," by James Schouler, of Boston; and "The Constitutional relations of the American Colonies to the English Government at the commencement of the American Revolution," by Judge Chamberlain, of Boston. At the evening session papers were read as follows: "Historical sketch of the Peace Negotiations of 1783," by Hon. John Jay; "Leopold von Ranke," a memorial sketch, by Professor Herbert B. Adams; and "The Parliamentary Experiment in Germany," by Dr. Kuno Francke, of Harvard. Each of these scholarly studies was discussed with animation by several of the gentlemen present. Meanwhile the Economic Association was wrestling with grave problems at the Institute of Technology, General Walker in the chair. The "problem of transportation" was admirably treated by Professor James; "The long and short haul clauses of the inter-State commerce act," a review of the methods followed or attempted to be followed, both in the United States and abroad, to prevent unjust local discrimination, was the subject of an interesting study by Edwin R. A. Seligman, Ph.D., of Columbia College; and other papers of great interest were presented.

On Tuesday morning, May 24, "A study in Swiss history" was read before the Historical Association by Professor John Martin Vincent, of Johns Hopkins. An interesting feature of the ex-

ercises was the informal address of ex-President Andrew D. White, of Cornell University, who, from study and acquaintance with Swiss institutions, was especially qualified to speak of them. He said, by way of discussion, that the paper pleased him because of the comparative method used in it. He thought it very desirable that students and others should be led to compare the institutions of other countries with those of the United States, in order to get new ideas. Travelers in Switzerland found that in many things they do better there than here. Roads, for instance, were greatly superior to those of New York State. The next paper was "The Spaniard in New Mexico," by General W. W. H. Davis; following which came "The historic name of our country," by Professor Moses Coit Tyler, of Cornell. In the afternoon a joint session of the Historical and Economic Associations, of exceptional interest, was held in Cambridge, and the papers read were, "Our legal-tender decisions, a critical study in our Constitutional history," by Professor E. J. James; "The biography of a river and harbor bill," by Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard; and "The study of statistics in American colleges," by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, who said: "America had no counterpart to the European school of statisticians, but the European statisticians lacked the grand opportunities which were open to the American. Dr. Engel had once said to him that he would gladly exchange the training of the Prussian Bureau of Statistics for the opportunity to

accomplish what could be done in this country. Mr. Wright then went on to describe the extent to which education in statistical science in the universities of the continent was provided for. In the American institutions of learning no such provision had been made, although Professor Ely at Johns Hopkins, and Professor Smith at Columbia, were doing good work in giving instruction in statistical science. Mr. Wright next dwelt on the importance of having trained statisticians. He regretted the use of the word 'theory' of statistics, as calculated to make an unfortunate impression on the popular mind. He would substitute 'the science of statistics.' He insisted upon the need of having as statisticians men of high attainments as well as special training."

The Tuesday evening and closing session of the Historical Association was held at the Brunswick, the papers being, "The government of London," by Professor Arthur M. Wheeler, of Yale; "Religious liberty in Virginia, and Patrick Henry," by Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., of Philadelphia; "The American Chapter in Church History," by Dr. Philip Schaff, of Union Theological Seminary, New York; with a "Brief report on historical studies in Canada," by George Stewart, Jr., President of the Historical Society, Quebec. Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: president, William F. Poole, librarian Public Library, Chicago; vice-presidents, Charles Kendall Adams, president of Cornell University, Hon. John Jay of New York; secretary, Herbert B. Adams, Johns Hopkins University; treasurer, Clarence Bowen, of

New York; executive council, ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio; John W. Burgess, A. M., of New York, Professor Wheeler of Yale, Hon. William Wirt Henry of Virginia. An important committee was appointed to consult with the national legislature concerning the preservation of historical manuscripts, consisting of Justin Winsor, Hon. John Jay, Senator Hoar, ex-President Andrew D. White of Cornell, ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, A. R. Spofford of Congressional Library, and Theodore F. Dwight of the State Department library.

These sessions in Boston were agreeably varied by charming social hospitalities. Mr. and Mrs. Justin Winsor received the members of the two associations at their home in Cambridge; a delightful trip to Wellesley College was enjoyed, where tea was served by the young ladies to three hundred or more of the learned guests: and there was also a similar reception given at University Hall, Harvard College, by the professors in history and political economy. Several private breakfasts were gracefully tendered to members of the associations; and the several societies, libraries, and picture galleries of the city were thrown open to all during the meetings. On Wednesday the members of both associations went to Plymouth for the day, where they were entertained by the Pilgrim Society, and an elegant dinner served. These useful and progressive associations are to be congratulated on the success of their Boston meetings, separately and jointly, as well as upon the influence they are exerting on the community at large in the public

discussions of so many questions of vital importance to all intelligent Americans.

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC—At the annual meeting of this Society, the following gentlemen were elected office bearers for the year : president, G. Stewart, Jr., D. C. L., F.R.G.S., F.R.S.C. ; vice-presidents, W. Hossack, Cyr. Tessier, John Harper, Ph. D., George R. Renfrew ; treasurer, Edwin Pope ; librarian, F. C. Wurtele ; recording secretary, J. Elton Prower ; corresponding secretary, Wm. A. Ashe ; council secretary, A. Robertson ; curator of museum, P. B. Casgrain, M.P. ; curator of apparatus, W. C. H. Wood ; extra members of council, J. M. Lemoine, F.R.C.S., Peter Johnston, H. M. Price, W. Clint.

THE MANCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY (MASS.), recently formed, is collecting and preparing materials for a town history. The two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the town will occur in 1895. The officers are G. F. Allen, president ; D. F. Lamson, vice-president ; A. S. Jewett, recording and corresponding secretary ; D. C. Bingham, treasurer.

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held an interesting meeting May 19, at Newark. The executive committee reported that steps had been taken to secure the erection of a handsome and commodious building for its uses, on the lot owned by the Society in West Park Street, Newark. Several subscriptions had been made and more were expected, so that there was reason to hope that within another year the Society's invaluable collections would be arranged in a

fire-proof building. The Rev. Robert C. Hallock, pastor of the old Tennent Church, near Freehold, New Jersey, read an exceedingly interesting sketch of the Church made famous by the Tennents during more than half a century prior to the Revolution, and gave many facts never before published regarding the earliest history of the Church. John F. Hageman, Esq., of Princeton, read a brief sketch of a French colony located at Princeton immediately after the French Revolution of 1789, from one of which families was descended Paul Tulane, the founder of the New Orleans University, of whom he gave an interesting memoir. Judge F. W. Ricord read an eloquent eulogy of the late Marcus L. Ward, ex-governor of New Jersey, and for some years chairman of the Society's executive committee. The Rev. Aaron Lloyd, of Belleville, read a history of the Reformed Church at that place, with incidental notices of the early history of the Reformed Dutch Church and its early ministers in America. Mr. William Nelson read a short paper on "The Founding of Paterson, New Jersey, as the Intended Manufacturing Metropolis of the United States," in which he described the connection of Alexander Hamilton with that magnificent scheme, and his sagacious though futile efforts to establish at the Falls of the Passaic a manufacturing town where might be produced all the manufactures needed to make the United States independent of foreign nations. Hamilton's part in originating this grand project has never been even alluded to by his biographers, and Mr. Nelson made good use of the original materials which he had gathered for his paper.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

A PARAGRAPH running through the newspapers of late is curiously suggestive : it is entitled " True Stories from the School-Room." Mattie, after studying history for a year, wrote, " One of the principal causes of the Revolution was the *Stand Back*" (Stamp Act). Another historical genius, some inglorious Macaulay or Gibbon, was asked to name two provisions of the ordinance of 1787. His answer was, " Flour and bacon."

Perhaps the young lady of fashion had been educated under similar auspices who, while being handsomely entertained by some of the first people of Boston a year or two since, very innocently asked, " was Sir Edmund Andros really killed at the Battle of Bunker Hill ? "

Or the New York lawyer whose eloquence at the bar had made him famous in a score of States besides his own, who paid a glowing tribute in a public address to " Alexander Hamilton, lawyer, statesman, and financier, the successful advocate of liberty of the press in the great Zenger trial, the friend of Washington, and the victim of Aaron Burr's fatal bullet ! "

T. W. HIGGINSON says, " There is no danger of anyone's acquiring any great range of historic knowledge without corresponding toil ; but it is possible so to lay the foundations of such knowledge that later toil shall be a delight, and the habit of study its own exceeding great reward." What is interesting is apt to be remembered. Children in nine cases out of ten are worried and wearied with hard names and troublesome dates which have to them no meaning and give them no pleasure. History cannot be taught in our schools with the names and dates left out ; but it can, and it ought, be made something more than a dry and forbidding list to the young mind. Every name and every date should have its proper setting, picturesque, romantic, or serious, as the case may be, the whole to form a vivid and imperishable picture ; and when the charm of special investigation can be subsequently added to class studies the result will be an intellectual activity through which history never fails to become absorbing and fascinating, and we all know that it is inexhaustible in its themes. With culture in history all other culture is practically assured.

THE first pupil in Columbia College when it was revived after the Revolution was the subsequently famous De Witt Clinton. In the early part of the year 1784 the subject of education in New York was very much discussed in social circles, in the pulpits, in the newspapers, and in the various political and business assemblages, without material results. What to do with King's College, which had been arrested in its usefulness eight years before and the edifice converted into a military hospital, became a question of vital importance. The institution was finally reorganized in May of that year ; but want of funds prevented final arrangements for its opening until 1787. Meanwhile General James Clinton, the brother of the governor, arrived in New York city one bright summer morning in 1784 accompanied by his precocious son of fifteen whom he was expecting to place

in Princeton College, New Jersey. Mayor James Duane, who was one of the committee empowered to provide for the college, was unwilling that a Clinton should go out of the State for his education, and hastened to consult Rev. Dr. William Cochrane, a scholar of great eminence, and through animated argument induced him to undertake the tuition of young De Witt Clinton, and of such others as might apply, until professorships in the college could be established. The bright boy passed a creditable examination before the newly elected Regents of the University, having been prepared at Kingston under the instruction of John Addison, and was admitted to the junior class. He was graduated as Bachelor of Arts in 1786. The first lady to receive from Columbia College a similar degree [a century later] was Miss Mary Parsons Hankey, at the recent commencement exercises, in 1887. Her course of study has embraced eight languages—Latin, Greek, English, Anglo-Saxon, French, German, Italian, Spanish—besides mathematics, historical and natural science, astronomy, chemistry, and many other branches of learning, all of which have been pursued in the retirement of her own home on Staten Island. Notwithstanding the many objections made against co-education, Columbia College is justly proud of this achievement; a storm of applause greeted the young lady as she appeared on the stage in the Academy of Music to receive her well-earned honors from President Barnard.

IN some historic writings one may read more between the lines than in the printed page. The charming little romance connected with the marriage of John Tyler during his Presidency has hitherto been much clipped in its recital. The full truth we may, however, venture to tell our readers in a few words. In the winter of 1843, Miss Julia Gardiner of New York spent some weeks in Washington, and the President met her and fell in love with her. Before she left the capital he asked permission to correspond with her, and wrote many beautiful letters in the course of the following summer months, which were received and answered from her country home at Easthampton, Long Island. But no mention was made in those letters of love. When winter came the family returned to New York as usual, their residence being in Lafayette Place: and as the season advanced Miss Gardiner and her father, Hon. David Gardiner, were once more in Washington. At the White House on the evening of Washington's birthday, the President taking the young lady on his arm, promenaded through the East Room, and seriously proposed marriage. She was startled, undoubtedly somewhat bewildered, and very promptly declined the honor. But the President saw in her rosy smile more than she herself knew. That same evening arrangements were perfected for the pleasure trip down the Potomac which terminated so fatally. Miss Gardiner and her sister were taken to the White House until after the funeral of their beloved father, and then returned to New York. A few weeks later the President repeated his proposal of marriage by letter and was accepted. Then came serenades by proxy, the band from the Navy Yard and ships discoursed sweet music beneath the young lady's window in Lafayette Place; once came a song, written by the President, and set to the music of the guitar beginning with:

"Sweet lady awake, from thy slumbers awake."

But not until the day of the wedding on the 26th of June, 1844, did the bride elect again meet the President in person.

AT the recent alumni dinner at the famous West Point military school [9th June, 1887] General Isaac R. Tremble of Baltimore presided, representing the class of 1822. We can



GENERAL VIEW OF THE MILITARY SCHOOL. WEST POINT, 1860.
from J. Mather's "American Picturesque Drawings on the Hudson." Published in Paris.



PLAIN OF WEST POINT - SKETCHED AT THE MOMENT OF EXERCISES, 1866.
From J. Milbert's "Itinerant Pictorial Drawings on the Hudson" - Published in Paris.

better realize how far into the past were his cadet days by a glance at J. Milbert's picturesque drawings of West Point in 1826, published in Paris and very slightly known in this country. The opening after-dinner speech on this memorable occasion was by Major Alfred Mordecai, of the class of 1823. He told how he came to West Point on the *Chancellor Livingston*, the last steam-boat built by Fulton, and how he had skated on the ice of a pond where the present parade ground stretches away as a velvety carpet of grass. In this connection the views of Milbert will be specially interesting. At this dinner General George W. Cullum represented the class of 1833; General William T. Sherman and General Stewart Van Fleet were present from the class of 1840; General William Farrar Smith, from the class of 1845; and Colonels James Hamilton, Daniel T. Van Buren, and William W. Burns, from the class of 1847.

It is one hundred and ten years, or will be in December of the present year, since Governor George Clinton with Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt, John Jay, and one or two members of the New York legislature made observations along the Hudson for the selection of a new fort to replace Forts Montgomery and Clinton, and afterwards in council with Washington determined upon West Point. Early in the following January 1778, with the snow two feet deep, devoid of tents or suitable tools, the first embankment was thrown up under the direction of General Israel Putnam. From that hour until to-day no foreign power has ever been able to pass up and down the Hudson River without doing homage to the American flag.

THE present scattered condition of letters and manuscripts, which although in private hands are of great importance to the nation's history, has awakened general interest, as will be noticed by the action of the American Historical Association in taking measures, agreeably to President Winsor's suggestions, toward the establishment of an unpaid national commission for the preservation of such data. The committee to whom was referred the subject of assistance by the general government in collecting, preserving, and calendaring American historical manuscripts have since reported as follows:

I. The need of such assistance is abundantly shown in the present neglected and perishing condition of a great number of most valuable historical manuscripts now in private hands in this country.

II. The propriety of such assistance by the government in the general direction now indicated is already established by numerous precedents, in special cases, on the part both of the national government and of the governments of the several States.

III. For the purpose of testing public opinion upon this subject during the coming year, and especially of consulting the government respecting the establishment of a competent, unpaid national commission for the collection, preservation, and utilization of historical manuscripts, it is recommended that a committee of seven be appointed by this Association, to take such measures as may seem to them most suitable, and to report the same at our next annual meeting.

IV. It is recommended that this committee consist of Justin Winsor, George F. Hoar, John Jay, Andrew D. White, Rutherford B. Hayes, A. R. Spofford, and Theodore F. Dwight.

V. The secretary of the Association is requested to send at an early date a copy of these resolutions to each member of the committee just named.

(Signed) Moses Coit Tyler,
Geo. W. Cullum,
Mellen Chamberlain,

Herbert B. Adams, *Secretary*.

BOOK NOTICES

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND in the Eighteenth Century. By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. Vols. V. and VI. small 8vo, pp. 602 and 611. New York. 1887. D. Appleton & Co.

Mr Lecky could not have found a period in all British history better suited to his masterly pen than the ten years following 1784, with which these later volumes are concerned. The triumphant accession of William Pitt to office, and his character and administration, form the starting point from which a multitude of attractive themes fall into line and crowd each other with surprising rapidity and in consummate order, holding the reader's intense interest until the final page is reached. The evidences of unwearied industry on the part of the author of this great work are impressive. He has not only acquired the extensive knowledge of events and affairs necessary for this marvelously well sketched picture of English history, but he has (by no miraculous instinct) prepared himself through untiring study for the grasping of his material, with all its wealth and variety, and the adjusting of it in exact accordance with the severest requirements of literary art. His style is graceful, clear, forcible, and natural, and his work as a whole is by far the best on the subject that has been produced within the century.

Mr. Lecky brings all the statesmen of prominence who were factors in the movements of the period into a strong light. He says, "It is possible for a man to be immeasurably superior to his fellows in eloquence, in knowledge, in dexterity of argument, in moral energy, and in popular sympathy, and at the same time plainly inferior to the average of educated men in soundness and sobriety of judgment. The best man of business is not always the most enlightened statesman, and a great power of foreseeing and understanding the tendencies of his time may be combined with a great incapacity for managing men or for dealing with daily difficulties as they arise. No English statesman conducted the affairs of the nation at home and abroad, for a considerable period, more skillfully or more prosperously than Walpole. But he undoubtedly lowered the moral tone of public life, and he scarcely left a trace of constructive statesmanship on the Statute Book. Chatham was one of the greatest of orators, one of the greatest of war ministers, and his general views of policy often exhibited a singular genius and sagacity; but he had scarcely any talent for internal administration, and he was utterly incapable of party management. Peel far surpassed all his contemporaries in the masterly skill and comprehensiveness with which he could frame

his legislative measures, and in the commanding knowledge and ability with which he could carry them through Parliament; but he showed so little of the prescience of a statesman that on the three most important questions of the day—the questions of Catholic Emancipation, Parliamentary Reform, and Free Trade—his mistakes were disastrous to his country and almost ruinous to his party; and although he appeared for a time one of the greatest of parliamentary leaders, he left his party dislocated, impotent, and discredited. The most remarkable of all instances of the combination of the more dazzling attributes of a parliamentary statesman is to be found in the young minister elected in 1784. His position at this moment was one of the most enviable and most extraordinary in history. With one brief interval he continued to be Prime Minister of England until his death. For nearly nineteen years he was as absolute as Walpole in the Cabinet and Parliament, far more powerful than Walpole from his hold upon the affections and admiration of the people."

Mr. Lecky proceeds to draw one of the most critical and exhaustive portraits of young Pitt that we have ever seen. His college life, his experience in Parliament at twenty-one, his character as a minister, as a legislator, his skill as a financier, his first policy, and his misconception of the French Revolution, are all brought into effective review. Mr. Lecky dwells upon his untiring study as a boy—study that was neither desultory nor aimless—and upon the methods through which he acquired his facility in the use of words so essential to a great debater. At the same time our historian tells us that "those who read his speeches will derive little from them but disappointment. What especially strikes the reader is their extreme poverty of original thought. They are admirably adapted for their original purpose, but beyond this they are almost worthless." The career of the Prince of Wales, and the characters of Joseph II. of Austria, the Empress Catherine II., and Gustavus III. of Sweden, are painted in vigorous lines. The Polish question is discussed at length, and the causes of the French Revolution are brought out in imperishable colors. "It is one of the great interests in reading history in original diplomatic dispatches that it enables us to trace almost from the beginning the rise of great questions, which first appear like small clouds scarcely visible on the horizon, and gradually dilate and darken till the whole political sky is overcast," says Mr. Lecky, who then proceeds to record the first secret dispatch in 1791, which was the little cloud in the metaphor.

In the history of Continental Europe, Mr. Lecky says the nineteenth century may be truly said to begin with the French Revolution; in

English history with the opening of the French war in 1793, English parties and politics then assuming a new complexion. The close of the peaceful part of the ministry of Pitt is considered by Mr. Lecky an appropriate termination for a history of England in the eighteenth century, although he continues his narrative of that portion of his work relating to Ireland as far as the Legislative Union of 1800. One of the strong and attractive features of the second volume is the space allotted to the history of manners and morals, to industrial developments, prevailing opinions, theories, conditions, and tendencies of the different classes of the English people. It is thus the reader obtains a more comprehensive understanding of the movements and proceedings of statesmen and parliaments, and becomes better informed as to the true secret of power and its sources—the permanent forces of a great nation.

LIFE OF HENRY CLAY. By CARL SCHURZ. 2 vols., 16mo, pp. 424 and 382. (American Statesmen Series.) New York and Boston. 1887. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Considering their authorship and the circumstances immediately preceding their publication those two volumes must take a conspicuous place at once in the admirable series to which they belong. As a literary man, Mr. Schurz has held for thirty years a position well up in the roll of American authors, and probably at the very top of the list of foreign-born writers who have adopted America as their home. Mr. Schurz first became known as a writer and orator during or shortly before the presidential campaign that resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln, and his speeches were replete with a wonderful knowledge of and insight into the then hopelessly complicated political affairs of the nation. Since that time his political training has led him to make a close study of the various developments of our political field, and it is not strange that the brilliant career of Henry Clay should have attracted his attention. Probably the plain truth is, that the publishers asked him to write the volumes for the series, but his familiarity with the subject was no doubt largely acquired long before the opportunity came for him to place his conclusions in book form.

As a statesman's estimate of a statesman, the work is very suggestive. Mr. Schurz came upon the stage shortly after Mr. Clay left it. Mr. Clay's career crowned the period of the nation's early manhood, and ended just before the question of negro slavery culminated in actual warfare. Mr. Schurz took up the burden almost at once, and although he did not exactly follow the path marked out by the earlier statesman, he followed it nearly enough to be in close sym-

pathy with the methods of thought and action that prevailed in the earlier day so far as they were lofty and noble.

The politics of the time have never been more keenly or, upon the whole, more justly dealt with than in Mr. Schurz' analysis. He does not hesitate to give what he regards as the true version even when it does not present the subject of the memoir in so honorable a light as might be wished. It is in short a worthy review of the career of a man who was beyond question a power among the intellectual lights of his generation, and who commands to this day a large measure of admiration from a generation that has only known him by tradition.

THE STORY OF ASSYRIA. From the rise of the Empire to the fall of Nineveh (continued from "The Story of Chaldea"). By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN. [The Story of the Nations] 12mo, pp. 450. New York and London. 1887. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

It was our agreeable duty a few months since, to write in terms of the warmest commendation of the "Story of Chaldea," by Madam Ragozin, and we now welcome her continuation of that excellent historical study, with more than ordinary interest. In the "Story of Assyria," the author exhibits the same breadth of research and critical scholarship as in her preceding work with added charms in the way of smoothness of style, the natural effect of persistent and conscientious study in connection with continuous practice. The book opens with a chapter entitled, "The Rise of Asshur," which embraces the first conquest of Babylon. "The Sons of Canaan," their migrations, religion, and neighbors, occupy the third, fourth, and fifth chapters, although the subject is diversified in many particulars. Of all the "Sons of Canaan," the Phœnicians achieved the widest renown and performed the most universally important historical mission. They conquered the world—as much of it as was then known—not by force of arms, but by enterprise and cleverness. And they knew more of the globe upon which we live than any other people of their time, for they alone possessed a navy, and ventured out to sea. They were the first wholesale manufacturers, and they gave the alphabet to the world. The author informs us, that the prosperity of most of the Greek Islands dates from the establishment on them of Phœnician colonies. But, although their chief reputation is based upon their maritime expeditions, they were quite as intrepid travelers by land as by sea. "On the Asiatic continent, they practiced caravan trading on an immense scale; the great caravan routes of the East were almost entirely in their hands. They were the privileged traders of the world.

They were not a literary or intellectual people. Although they invented the alphabet, they used it chiefly for purposes of book-keeping and short inscriptions. They left no poetry, no historical annals, no works of science or speculation. They do not seem to have cared even to publish their own very remarkable experiences and exploits; these brought them wealth, what cared they for fame?" Another interesting chapter of the volume is entitled, "The Pride of Asshur," and treats among other themes of the fall of Samaria, the expeditions into Media, and the career of Sargon, and his wonderful palace. The work is very rich in information, and is admirably written.

JOHN SEVIER AS A COMMONWEALTH BUILDER. A Sequel to the Rear-guard of the Revolution. By JAMES R. GILMORE (Edmund Kirk). 16mo, pp. 321. New York. 1887. D. Appleton & Co.

In the character of John Sevier, Mr. Gilmore has found a comparatively unworked field for study of a half military, half political nature. "In the Rear-guard of the Revolution," he dealt more especially with the military passages of Sevier's life, and, as we noted at the time, was now and then in danger of permitting romance to overshadow history. Much of the material utilized in the former work has been found available for the latter. The author has made use of all the materials already published, and has drawn as well from the rich stores of tradition that lay open for him among the mountains of Tennessee. Tradition, indeed, must of necessity bear a conspicuous part in any history, and especially in one that deals with frontier life in a newly discovered country.

John Sevier was one of the conspicuous men of his time, but, owing to the remoteness of his field of activity from the centers of colonial population, culture, and wealth, he has not heretofore been placed where he deserved upon the roll of fame. Mr. Gilmore's two books should go far to make good the deficiency. As fine instances of the stuff that the founders of western civilization were made of, Sevier and his contemporaries must ever serve as illustrious examples.

THE UNIVERSAL COOKERY BOOK. By GERTRUDE STROHM. 8vo, pp. 245. New York. 1887. White, Stokes & Allen.

We cannot exist without cookery or cooks, and are always glad to welcome any good and really helpful work on the subject. Miss Gertrude Strohm has compiled a volume which is practical to say the least, furnishing abundant recipes for household use, the greater part of

which have been selected from eminent authorities. The work is divided into nineteen chapters, beginning with soups and closing with miscellaneous dainties for the sick, and home remedies. It has one strikingly novel feature, consisting of a series of quotations from popular writers, forty or fifty in all, which have a distinct literary flavor quite unusual in connection with cookery.

THE APPEAL TO LIFE. By THEODORE T. MUNGER. 16mo, pp. 339. Boston and New York. 1887. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Mr. Munger is not, we believe, considered a very "safe" author for young persons of an inquiring turn of mind. His previous works have been regarded as somewhat subversive of cut-and-dried opinions, and however admirable they may have been as guides to truth in the abstract they necessarily aroused the suspicions of many excellent people who believe that *all* the truth was known by the framers of the Westminster Catechism. Mr. Munger points out that among the learned professions the clergy alone decline to submit to inductive methods of reasoning, but he thinks that clergymen are slowly becoming aware that their long immunity is nearing a close, and they must consent to have their teachings questioned in the light of reason—not of dogma and revelation alone. Whatever may be the truth in this regard, our author, in the fourteen sermons here published, approaches his various subjects in a reverential mood, which is maintained to the end. The first ten sermons are designed to show the identity of faith with the action of man's nature in the natural relations of life; to show "that the truth of God is also the truth of man." The four concluding discourses were not written for pulpit delivery, but were designed to meet the needs of the great number of inquirers who, at the present time, are asking what are the relations of evolution to Christian belief. Mr. Munger's line of thought leads him much in the same direction so ably mapped out by the late Mr. Beecher. It is to be hoped that the orthodox faculties will not condemn him unheard, for his speech is of a nature that is gaining many adherents, and no mere condemnatory assertions can silence him or nullify the results of his teaching.

FAMILIAR SHORT SAYINGS OF GREAT MEN with historical and explanatory notes. By SAMUEL ARTHUR BENT, A.M. 12mo, pp. 665. Boston. 1887. Ticknor & Co.

Not the least valuable and convenient part of this work is its explanatory and biographical notes. Since it was first published a few years ago it has passed through four editions, and now the fifth appears in an enlarged and revised vol-

ume. The "short sayings" are chiefly confined to oral utterances, the author not aiming to gather into these paragraphs the bright thoughts of the makers of books except by way of comment or comparison. We note however that in a few instances the boundary line between the oral and the written has been crossed, and apparently to advantage. The great men who have distinguished themselves sufficiently for a prominent place here are scattered all along the centuries from Alexander the Great to President Cleveland. They are by no means introduced in chronological order. We find sayings of Wendell Phillips, for example, "Revolutions are not made, they come," preceding that of Phocion, an Athenian general and statesman, born about 402 B.C., who was the author of the words, "The good have no need of an advocate." Probably every cultivated person among our readers knows who said, "Put your trust in God, but be sure to see that your powder is dry," and under what circumstances it was uttered; but how many can answer, without going to the authorities, the question, "What statesman made the famous 'bag and baggage' speech?" We find in these pages short sayings from many eminent Americans, as well as kings, potentates, and notables elsewhere; one from Douglas Jerrold, the humorist and dramatic writer, born in London in 1803, is as follows: "My dear Mr. Pepper, how glad you must be to see all your friends mustered!" and one from Martin Luther will be remembered, "To pray well is the better half of study." The author says Sir Edward Coke, Speaker of the British House of Commons in 1593, is responsible for the terse sentence so much used by English-speaking people, "A man's house is his castle."

NATURAL LAW IN THE BUSINESS WORLD. By HENRY WOOD. 16mo, pp. 211. Boston. 1887. Lee & Shepard.

This little book can be cordially recommended to all classes of readers. It is full of earnest thought and sound common sense. It aims to expose the abuses and evils which masquerade under the banner of *labor*. It appeals to the honest understanding of the working man in straight-forward, simple language, and shows him that if there were no capitalists, there would be no factories, mills, railroads, machinery, or wages. It points out the popular misapprehension on many subjects. It says, "But a very small part of the wealth of this country was inherited, probably nine-tenths being the result of personal labor." Attention is called to the fact that the scientist, historian, and book-keeper are as much laborers and producers as he who handles a pick, plow, or loom. "The brakeman, in the employment of a railway company may, by industry, energy,

and ability, rise to be its president, but he is no less a laborer than before, and as a man, not necessarily any more worthy or noble. While our sympathy may go out toward the laborer who uses a shovel for eight or ten hours in a day, we should not entirely overlook the weary book-keeper or clerk who often works twelve or fourteen hours, amidst unwholesome conditions and impure air." The theory that the wage worker must go into a combination for his own safety and protection is shown to be as mischievous as it is unsound. It seems to be the aim of labor-organizations to make the laborer as inefficient and impotent as possible. Their influence is against the exercise of individual thrift and energy, and distinctly in the direction of dependency. They rob a man of his manliness, and the self-respect of every American laborer ought to rebel against such tyranny. The author's study of labor organizations has been made from the laborer's standpoint, and in his interest. "The welfare of labor is the welfare of society."

PAPERS OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I., Part I. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 94. Published by the CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. San Francisco. 1887.

The initial number of a projected series of historical publications by the recently re-incorporated and re-organized Historical Society of California is a handsome and creditable production. It is in itself a forcible illustration of the march of culture. When a community has reached a certain intellectual condition it cries out against the needless obscurity which overhangs American history. It is an unmistakable sign of promise when the educated mind, coveting all modern light, finally rebels against dwelling in the dark ages, so to speak, as to what the busy generations of men have been doing in the past. The movement to found a society of this character is always one of significance, and however modestly it may begin its good work it is sure to prosper. The contents of the elegant number before us—the new society's first issue—are of much interest. The Introduction presents a brief history of the society's struggles for existence, with the names of its present officers, and its honorary, corresponding, and active members. Four valuable papers follow, "The Local Units of History," by Martin Kellogg; "Data of Mexican and United States History," by Bernard Moses; "History of the Pious Friend of California," by John T. Doyle, President of the Society; and "The First Phase of the Conquest of California," by William Cary Jones. We congratulate the institution upon its beginnings and predict for it an honorable and useful career.



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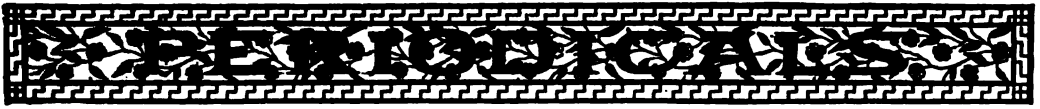
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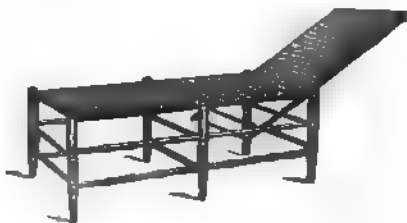
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STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1886.

ASSETS, - - - - \$114,181,963.24.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force January 1st, 1886.....	120,952	\$368,081,441 36	Policies and Annuities in force, January 1st, 1887.....	129,927	\$393,809,202 88
Risks Assumed.....	18,673	56,832,718 92	Risks Terminated.....	9,698	32,004,957 40
	139,625	\$425,814,160 28		139,625	\$425,814,160 28

Dr. Revenue Account. Cr.

To Balance from last account.....	\$99,865,644 11	By paid to Policyholders:	
Premiums.....	15,634,720 66	Endowments and Purchased Insurance.....	\$4,908,729 61
Interest and Rents.....	5,592,456 01	Dividends and Annuities.....	2,727,454 13
		Deceased Lives.....	5,492,920 00
			\$13,129,103 74
		By Other Disbursements:	
		Commissions and Commutations.....	\$1,732,632 83
		Taxes.....	277,169 85
		Expenses.....	1,091,613 91
			3,101,416 59
		By Premiums on Stocks and Bonds Purchased.....	52,566 14
		Balance to new account.....	104,719,734 31
	\$121,002,820 78		\$121,002,820 78

Dr. Balance Sheet. Cr.

To Reserve for policies in force and for risks terminated.....	\$108,460,120 25	By Bonds secured by Mortgages on Real Estate.....	\$50,118,949 66
Premiums received in advance.....	78,274 84	United States and other Bonds.....	42,071,641 00
Surplus at four per cent.....	5,643,568 15	Loans on Collaterals.....	6,172,917 25
		Real Estate.....	10,591,286 32
		Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,306,203 08
		Interest accrued.....	2,166,870 65
		Premiums deferred and in transit.....	1,565,117 28
		Sundries.....	188,978 00
	\$114,181,963 24		\$114,181,963 24

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

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Vol. XVIII.

CONTENTS FOR AUGUST, 1887.

No. 2.

	PAGE
Presentation of the Ship "Resolute" to the Queen, with Portraits. <i>Frontispiece.</i>	
Presentation of the Arctic Ship "Resolute" by the United States to the Queen of England. FESSENDEN N. OTIS, M.D.	97
ILLUSTRATIONS—Portrait and Autograph of Lady Jane Franklin—The Arctic discovery ship <i>Resolute</i> as she appeared when found in the ice after drifting nearly 1,200 miles—The Arctic discovery ship <i>Resolute</i> after she was repaired—Portrait of Commander Henry J. Hartstene.	
The First Newspaper West of the Alleghanies. WILLIAM HENRY PERRIN.	121
ILLUSTRATIONS—Fac-simile of heading to the first newspaper west of the Alleghanies—The old fort at Lexington in 1782—Portrait of John Bradford, founder of the <i>Kentucky Gazette</i> —Log cabin where the <i>Kentucky Gazette</i> was first printed—Business block on site of the old fort.	
The Latrobe Corn-Stalk Columns at Washington. EUGENE ASHTON.	128
ILLUSTRATION—The Corn-Stalk Column at the Capitol.	
Origin of the Federal Constitution. Professor FRANCIS NORTON THORPE, Ph.D.	130
Indian Land Grants in Western Massachusetts. E. W. B. CANNING.	142
A Love Romance in History. Mrs. MARTHA J. LAMB.	156
Lafayette's Visit to Missouri. Judge WILLIAM A. WOOD.	154
Minor Topics. The Value of Historical Study, by Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs—Historical Treasures, by Rev. W. M. Beauchamp—Lady Franklin in Greece, Hon. S. G. W. Benjamin—Rev. Mark Hopkins, LL.D.—Recent Words of Wisdom.	157
Original Documents. Two General Orders relating to the German troops of the Saratoga Convention, stationed at Winchester, Virginia—Two letters of Col. Beverley Robinson, never before published.	164
Notes. Our Diplomatic Service—Rev. Roswell Dwight Hitchcock, D.D.—Kings Bridge Indians.	168
Queries. Casting a Shoe after a Bride—Did Sir Henry Clinton introduce the Weeping Willow in America?—Egyptian Obelisk—Change in the English Calendar—William Swayne, David Ogden, Daniel Clarke.	169
Replies. Our Presidents as Horsemen—Boodle—At the Death Angle—Horse Chestnut.	171
Societies. New Hampshire Historical Society—Maine Historical Society—Oneida Historical Society—Rhode Island Historical Society.	173
Historic and Social Jottings.	175
ILLUSTRATION—View of the New Haven Soldiers' Monument.	
Book Notices. Year Book of the Holland Society of New York—The French in the Alleghany Valley, by Chapman—The Queen of the House of David and Mother of Jesus, by Walsh—Mrs. Hephaestus, and other short stories, by Geo. A. Baker—Final Memorials of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, by Longfellow—The Federal Constitution, by John Baker—China Travels and Investigations in the Middle Kingdom, with a glance at Japan, by Wilson—The Fishery Question, by Isham—From the Forecastle to the Cabin, by Samuels—The Story of Metlakahtla, by Melburne—The Van Gelder Papers—The Wherewithal System of Education—Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography. Vol. II.	185
Advertisements—Books, Schools, etc., 1 to 10—Periodicals and Miscellaneous, 11 to 24.	

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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XVIII

AUGUST, 1887

No. 2

PRESENTATION OF THE ARCTIC SHIP *RESOLUTE*

BY THE UNITED STATES TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND

THE last of a long line of Arctic discovery voyages projected by the government of Great Britain was entered upon in May, 1845.

The Arctic ice region had been periodically fretted by expeditions for more than three hundred years, in the hope of finding, through it, a shorter commercial route from England to India. This long-sought passage was only attainable through seas of ice, which presented a solid front, except for a few brief months of the year, when, under the influence of sun and tides, the ice packs would separate, permitting, through much labor and peril, a passage to comparatively high geographic points. Through repeated effort and disaster, it had been demonstrated that even in the event of the discovery of a northwest passage to India, it would prove worthless for commercial purposes. Much valuable information, however, was secured. The locality of the mysterious magnetic pole was established. The scanty flora and fauna of these frigid regions had been classified, and much important geographic knowledge acquired. The American side of the assumed northwest passage had been fully explored, with the exception of a stretch of country, a few miles in extent, which remained a *terra incognita*. Whether or not there existed a complete separation by sea between the American continent and the regions to the extreme north of the Arctic Circle, was still a disputed point. This purely geographic question was considered of sufficient importance to warrant a supreme effort for its settlement, and it was determined by the British government to send out a final expedition, in which all available experience in Arctic matters should be concentrated. Sir John Franklin, the renowned and trusted leader in three of the previous Arctic expeditions, was chosen for its command, and on the 19th day of May, 1845, with two ships, the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and one hundred and five picked officers and men, thoroughly equipped, he left the shores of England on his perilous mission.

The passage of this expedition across the Atlantic was safely accom-

VOL. XVIII.—No. 2.—7



plished. On the 26th day of July, a little more than two months from the date of sailing, the *Erebus* and *Terror* were sighted in Baffin's Bay, from a passing whaleship. They were fast moored to an iceberg, evidently awaiting the breaking up of an ice pack, which was seen to bar their passage into Lancaster Sound.

This was the last ever seen of the *Erebus* and *Terror*.

Two years elapsed. Anxiety for the safety of Sir John Franklin and his company increased to such an extent that an expedition was fitted out by the British government, with the sole object of searching for them and rendering any needed assistance. After reaching a high point in the Arctic regions, and after earnest and toilsome search, spending a perilous winter in the ice, this expedition returned, without tidings of the missing explorers. A second and a third expedition for the same object was in like manner dispatched, each returning after great effort, peril, and suffering, without success. Three years of disheartening, fruitless search had not weakened the practical sympathy which, from the first, had been evinced by the government and representatives of the commercial and scientific interests of Great Britain, for the men whose lives had been imperiled or lost in their service. A reward of £20,000 was offered by Great Britain for their discovery and relief, in 1850, and three more expeditions were dispatched early in that year.

To these vigorous measures of succor a new and powerful influence was now added. Inspired by the fullness of her great grief, and with the anguish of the thousand other bereaved ones concentrated in her own, Lady Jane Franklin, wife of the brave leader of the lost expedition, made fervent and eloquent appeals for aid to the peoples of the entire civilized world. With touching earnestness and simplicity she stretched out her hands to America; and in a letter to the President of the United States she implored the Americans, "as a kindred people, to join, heart and hand, in the enterprise of *snatching the lost navigators from an icy grave*." Nor was this appeal in vain. With a generosity of impulse that waited on no official formalities, Mr. Henry Grinnell, one of New York's great merchant citizens, fitted out two of his own ships, and placed them at the disposal of the United States government. These vessels, the *Advance* and the *Rescue*, the latter under command of Captain Griffin of the United States Navy, were accepted by Congress, manned by United States officers and crews, and sailed from New York, under government instructions, on the 22d of May, 1850.

It was as senior surgeon to this expedition that the lamented Dr. Elisha Kent Kane made his first Arctic voyage, and on his return, after

nearly two years in the polar zone, became the historian of its discoveries, its perils, and its hardships; and also of its failure in accomplishing the chief object of its mission.

During the same period, Lady Franklin had herself fitted out several independent search expeditions, and had incited others. Among these was another government expedition to penetrate the Arctic Circle from the Pacific Ocean, through Barrows Strait, consisting of two ships, the *Enterprise*, under Captain Collinson, and the *Investigator*, under Captain McClure. So that during the year 1850 no less than eight expeditions, including fifteen vessels, were dispatched to the Arctic regions in prosecution of the search for the lost navigators. After wintering in the ice, the spring of 1851 was devoted to expeditions by land, and nearly seven hundred miles of shore, hitherto unknown, were in

vain explored. Failure of these well organized and efficiently conducted measures, far from discouraging the energetic and devoted Lady Franklin, served only to render her more urgent in her appeals, and more lavish of her own effort and private fortune in the continued pursuit of what now seemed but a forlorn hope.



*Believe me dear Captain Collinson
with great esteem
very sincerely yours
Jane Franklin*

(Portrait and Autograph engraved through the courtesy of Mrs. Haristens.)

The year 1851 saw the failure of every expedition sent out during the previous year, besides that of two well-equipped land expeditions on the American coast. The conviction had now become fixed (among those most capable of appreciating the situation) that the only remaining hope of reaching the missing navigators lay in the possible attainment and exploration of higher points in the Arctic Circle. It was therefore determined, by the Lords of the British Admiralty, to send a large and experienced force, for a final effort, in the direction of Wellington Channel, with Beechy Island as the nearest objective point. This island was situated in latitude 75 north by longitude 94 west, and was distinguished as the burial-place of three of Sir John Franklin's men, whose graves were discovered by one of the government expeditions in 1850. This locality was also marked by evidences of the wintering of Sir John, although no record of condition, or intended movements, was found.

A fleet, consisting of three sailing vessels, the *Resolute*, the *Assistance*, and the *North Star*, and two steam tenders, the *Pioneer* and the *Intrepid*, was dispatched in April, 1852, under command of Sir Edward Belcher, and proceeded to the scene of promised discovery. Officered and manned by the flower of the British navy, this magnificent force began once more the oft-fought battle for rescue of their hapless countrymen. Whatever strength, courage, and indomitable will could do they accomplished by sea, while the moving ice permitted progress; and by land when the winter froze them fast. Thus these heroic men, types of the many who had preceded them in their holy undertaking, struggled and suffered through two dreary Arctic winters. Not entirely without recompense; for the beleaguered crew of the Barrows Strait Expedition, under the brave McClure, who, after three winters in the ice, had pushed eastward in the *Investigator* until progress was no longer possible, were discovered and rescued from impending death by an exploring party from Sir Edward Belcher's ship. Thus was the vexed problem of a northwest passage solved. A continuous passage by sea had been demonstrated; but the ship through which the western arm was navigated remained firm in the ice, and was abandoned at the point of demonstration. In the spring of 1854 the squadron attained a latitude of 74 north, longitude 101 west, where it was again caught in the ice—frozen fast—each of the four vessels, the *Resolute*, the *Intrepid*, the *Pioneer*, the *Assistance*. Sir Edward Belcher soon realized that his company, worn with the long struggle, diseased, and broken with hardships, was in no condition to brave another winter in these regions. The store-ship *North Star* was fortunately one hundred and eighty miles to the eastward and in loose ice near Beechy

Island. By a desperate effort this haven might be reached and escape made possible. To stay was certain death to many, perhaps to all. The abandonment of the ships was determined upon. An attempt would be made to reach Beechy Island on foot and by sledge over a perilous stretch of ice-floes one hundred and eighty miles in extent. The scene of final departure from the ships is touchingly described by their commander in an account published several years later :

"It was the full moon of the 25th of August, 1854, at six in the morning, when the crews were all assembled in traveling order on the floe—that of the *Resolute*, the *Assistance*, the *Pioneer*, the *Intrepid*, and the *Investigator*, the latter having been now five winters in the ice. The decks of the vessels had been clean swept; the hatchways were calked down; the colors, pendant and Jack, were so secured that they might be deemed nailed to the mast, and the last tapping of the calker's mallet at my companion hatch found an echo in many a heart as if we had encoffined some cherished object. We passed silently over the side; no cheers, indeed, no sounds, were heard. Our hearts were too full. Turning our backs upon our ships, we pursued our cheerless route over the floe, leaving behind us our homes, and seeking for aught we knew merely a change to the depot at Beechy Island." A laborious journey brought these heroes safely to their destination. An embarkation of all the crews on board the *North Star* was effected, and after an uneventful voyage they arrived safely in England in September, 1854.

To those familiar with the gigantic forces at play in the breaking up of the Arctic ice-floe, speedy and utter destruction of the deserted vessels seemed only the question of a few brief months. Enwrapped in shrouds of snow and ice, they awaited the inevitable crush—and a burial. One, however, the stanch, teak-ribbed old *Resolute*, was marked for a higher destiny. Built without regard to cost, for the service of humanity, twice sailed in the spirit of generous and self-sacrificing rivalry for rescue of many lives—she was appointed to escape from her environment, and to play a distinguished part in the comity of nations.

The return of the survivors of this great expedition, upon which so many hopes had centered, fell like a pall over the prospects of rescue for Sir John Franklin and his men. One strong heart alone resisted the seemingly inevitable conclusion to which it pointed, like the finger of Fate. This was the undaunted wife of Sir John. She omitted no effort, still devoting her energies and her now shattered fortune to the continued prosecution of the search. Meanwhile, as time passed, the abandoned ships were remembered only as landmarks among the many hopes, which each suc-

ceeding year gave place to newer hope with fainter promise of fulfillment; when in September, 1855, during the cruise of the American whaleship *George Henry* in latitude 67 north, surrounded by fields of ice, a vessel was one morning descried in the distance, and upon nearer approach it was found firmly imbedded in an immense ice-floe and apparently deserted. A toilsome journey of several miles over the uneven surface of the floe confirmed this supposition, and proved the vessel to be the Arctic ship *Resolute* of Sir Edward Belcher's expedition, left eighteen months before, more than a thousand miles distant from where she was now discovered, and to which she had been safely navigated by the unaided forces of nature. The vessel was still stanch and sound, and well filled with valuable stores. Everything on board gave evidence of sudden and utter abandonment. Across the cabin table lay a couple of swords and a commander's epaulets, as if flung down at the moment of departure; maps, logs, books, and musical instruments left as if but for an hour. All on board told the same story of rapid flight, without the means of carrying away cherished mementos or badges of distinction. Although deeply imbedded in the immense mass of ice which had accumulated around and upon it, it was determined by the captain of the whaler to abandon his fishing, and extricate and bear the *Resolute* home as a prize. This, after weeks of perilous labor, was accomplished, and Captain Buddington, of the *George Henry*, sailed his treasure trove into the harbor of New London in March, 1855.

The government of Great Britain was at once informed of the discovery of the *Resolute*, and the circumstances attendant upon her release; whereupon an official surrender of all claims upon her was promptly and generously accorded to her salvors.

The second American expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, fitted out by Mr. Henry Grinnell, of New York, and Mr. Peabody, an American resident of London, in command of Doctor Kane, had now been absent more than two years. A growing anxiety was felt lest Kane also should have met the fate of those he sailed to rescue. An expedition, composed of the bark *Release*, and the steam-brig *Arctic*, under the direction of Commander Henry J. Hartstene, of the United States Navy, was dispatched May 26, 1855, to their discovery and rescue.

This expedition made a brilliant passage into the Polar Seas, reaching nearly 80 degrees north latitude, and finally met with traces of the missing men. It was found that after two winters of great hardships the intrepid Kane had been forced to abandon his vessels and had made his way over the ice towards the Danish settlement at Upernavik. This place he reached with the shattered remnant of his company, exhausted



THE ARCTIC DISCOVERY SHIP *Resolute* AS SHE APPEARED WHEN FOUND IN THE ICE AFTER DRIFTING NEARLY 1800 MILES.
[From an engraving in possession of Dr. Foss den N. Ols.]

and starving. Captain Hartstene overtook them at Upernavik, and brought them all safely to New York, arriving October 11, 1855, having being absent less than five months, and making the first completely successful Arctic voyage on record.

The relations between Great Britain and the United States at this period were not altogether satisfactory. The official course of Sir Henry Crampton, the last resident minister to the United States from the Court of St. James, had given much dissatisfaction; so much, indeed, that diplomatic relations were suspended, and his recall had been effected, in pursuance of a direct request of the United States government to that effect. In connection with this trouble and the somewhat summary proceedings in regard to it, the Hotspurs of politics and diplomacy had, through the public journals, created much bitterness of feeling in both countries, and in extreme circles *war* was considered not improbable. The return of the *Resolute*, followed quickly by that of the Arctic expedition under Commander Hartstene—bringing Doctor Kane and his men, up to this time mourned by many as lost—caused a diversion in public sentiment. The latent forces of kinship and kindred relations, which had sprung into action at the first call for aid in prosecuting measures for the rescue of Sir John Franklin and his lost company, now demonstrated their abiding influence by renewed manifestations of sympathy with the British nation in the fate of their lost explorer. This sentiment found a definite expression, during the following session of Congress, when it was determined to purchase of her salvors, and return to her British Majesty's government the ship *Resolute*, as a gift from the American people. This proceeding and the motives which prompted it, will be best appreciated by citation of the Act of Congress, passed August 28, 1856, thus: "Whereas it has become known to Congress that the ship *Resolute*, late of the navy of her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on service in the Arctic seas in search of Sir John Franklin and the survivors of the expedition under his command, was rescued and recovered by the officers and crew of the American whaleship, *George Henry*, after the *Resolute* had been necessarily abandoned in the ice by her officers and crew, and after drifting more than one thousand miles from the place where so abandoned; and that the said ship *Resolute*, having been brought to the United States by the salvors at great risk and peril, had been generously relinquished to them by Her Majesty's government. Now in token of the deep interest felt in the United States for the service in which Her Majesty's said ship was engaged when thus necessarily abandoned: and the sense entertained by Congress of the act of Her Majesty's government in surrendering said

ship to her salvors: Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be and is hereby requested to cause the said ship *Resolute*—with all her armament and equipment and the property on board, when she arrived in the United States, and which have been preserved in good condition—to be purchased of her present owners, and that he send the said ship with everything fully repaired and equipped at one of the navy yards of the United States, back to England, under the control of the Secretary of the Navy; with a request to Her Majesty's



THE ARCTIC DISCOVERY SHIP *Resolute* AFTER SHE WAS REPAIRED.
[From an engraving in possession of Dr. Fossenden N. Otis.]

government, that the United States may be allowed to restore the said ship *Resolute* to Her Majesty's service; and for the purchase of said ship and her appurtenances the sum of forty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be required, is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated. Approved August 28, 1856."

In pursuance of the foregoing action of Congress, the vessel was purchased and taken to the navy yard in Brooklyn, Long Island, where she was thoroughly overhauled, repaired, and refitted, in a style fully equal to her original equipment. The rigging, which had been exposed for so long a time to the action of the elements, was much dilapidated, and required almost entire renewal; but below decks, aside from a great accumulation

of bilge and mold, the vessel remained unaltered. A large proportion of her stores, being put up in air-tight vessels, were still fit for use. Also her armory, the cabin furniture, wardrobes of officers, and several musical instruments were found in good condition. Great care was taken to preserve and replace everything found in and about the vessel, and to put her in a condition as nearly as possible the same as that in which she might be supposed to have been on the date of her abandonment. The vessel was then placed in charge of Commander Henry J. Hartstene, of the United States Navy, with the following instructions: "Sir: The Department has placed you in command of the *Resolute*, with a view to her restoration to the British government, in pursuance to a joint resolution of Congress, approved August 28, 1856. You will, as soon as she is in all respects ready for sea, proceed to England. Entering the port of Portsmouth, leaving her in charge of the officers under your command, you will proceed immediately to London, in order to advise with the American Minister, Mr. George M. Dallas, to whom you will deliver the inclosed dispatches from the Department of State. Accompanying these dispatches you will receive an open communication from this Department for Sir Charles Wood, First Lord of the Admiralty, who will, I presume, advise you as to the proper disposition of the ship, in the event of Her Majesty's government accepting her. You will consult freely with Mr. Dallas, and will find it convenient to be guided in your movements by one so peculiarly competent as he is. When you have performed the duty assigned to you, you will make arrangements for the return of the officers and men, exercising all prudence and economy. Previous dispatches have instructed you as to the mode of procuring funds to effect your purposes.

"I am, yours respectfully,

"J. C. DOBBIN,

"Secretary United States Navy."

Unlimited letters on the house of Baring Brothers, London, had been previously received by Commander Hartstene from the Department.

The selection of Commander Hartstene had been made, not only in view of his established reputation as an able and judicious officer, but because of the great popular esteem in which he was then held as the restorer, to an anxious people, of the missing Franklin Search Expedition, under the command of Dr. Kane; and he would thus, presumably, be most acceptable to the people of Great Britain.

But the man thus honored hesitated to accept the flattering appointment. Generous and sympathetic in his nature, accomplished in all that pertained to his profession, prompt and fearless in the performance of

every known duty ; and with a chivalric sense of the claims of his country's flag—yet he shrank from the responsibility of the position. This, he was quick to see, was no less than that of Ambassador Extraordinary to the British nation ; and with a mission of high significance. He saw also that if it was accepted in the spirit in which it had been conceived, it would carry with it the necessity of public ceremonies and diplomatic correspondence involving duties but little in harmony with his reserved and simple inclinations and habits. His reply to the Secretary was characteristic of the man. He said, " I can neither dance, speak, nor sing, and so am surely not the officer for such a service." But Mr. Dobbin, his personal friend, thought otherwise, and the appointment was insisted on, with the privilege, however, of a secretary to lighten the literary and clerical labors connected with his mission.

Lieutenants Clark H. Wells, Edward Stone, and Hunter Davidson, were then ordered to report for duty on board the *Resolute* ; also, passed Assistant Surgeon Robert H. Maccoun. Dr. Fessenden N. Otis, at the time surgeon in the United States Mail Steamship service, was, with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Navy, appointed by Captain Hartstene acting secretary to the expedition. Thirty picked American seamen were detailed for duty on board the *Resolute*. On the eleventh day of November, 1856, being in all respects ready for sea, the *Resolute* was formally turned over to Commander Hartstene, by the commander of the Navy Yard, and on the 13th instant conveyed by the steam-tug *Achilles* as far as Sandy Hook. The *Resolute* then sailed quietly out on her voyage across the Atlantic.

The conventional Arctic discovery ship, while admirably calculated to resist the crushing influences of an ice-pack, is but an indifferent sailer. But a succession of westerly gales drove the vessel with unexampled speed until after thirty days they culminated in a furious tornado, at the entrance of the English Channel. Vivid flashes of lightning, followed by heavy peals of thunder, most rare at this season, heralded the approach of the *Resolute* to the British shores. Uncertainty as to the exact position of the vessel, from inability to obtain an observation for several days prior to this, gave rise to some anxiety for her safety. On the 10th of December, at two o'clock in the morning, the sky cleared. St. Agnes' light was seen in the distance. The wind had died away, still a terrific sea was tossing the helpless vessel to and fro ; and, besides, it was soon found that an insidious current was setting the ship upon the Scilly rocks, which jut up here and there sheer an hundred feet or more from the deep waters along this coast. The sound of breakers, at first faint and ominous, gradually increased until the

doom of the ship and crew seemed certain. Commander Hartstene now prepared to battle for the last desperate effort, which was to ascend and be lashed to the top-mast cross-trees, and endeavor from thence to direct the course of the ship into some one of the narrow passages between the rocks, which were said sometimes to afford refuge for small fishing-vessels in similar extremity. But at the moment when destruction seemed inevitable a breeze sprung up from the land, faint at first, but distinctly recognized by officers and crew, all alert, and eagerly straining to catch its cool breath upon the bared forehead or upstretched wetted finger. Coquetting with their fears, it filled the sails and then died away, again returning, until at last the steadied ship gave answer to her helm and swung slowly away from the dangerous land.

Another day and another peril through a gale burst again upon this much vexed vessel just off Portland point, in the chops of the Channel. This storm, too, culminated in a most dangerous proximity to a rock-bound lee shore, and a repetition, in less degree, of the anxieties of the previous night.

Twice rescued from impending destruction by ways that seemed like special acts of Providence, the *Resolute*, now flying the British and American ensigns side by side at her peak, bore up into Portsmouth Harbor in the midst of a sudden squall of wind and rain. A single heavy peal of thunder took the place of the national salute which was under amiable discussion by the Lords of the Admiralty when the *Resolute* dropped her anchor at Spithead.

Notwithstanding the fury of the storm, the vessel was at once boarded by Captain Peale, of Her Britannic Majesty's frigate *Shannon*, with a cordial welcome and offer of every possible service.

A steam yacht from Vice-Admiral Sir George Seymour, commanding officer of the naval station at Portsmouth, brought letters of congratulation and tenders of service from Sir Charles Wood, First Lord of the Admiralty. The Chevalier Pappallardo, American vice-consul at Portsmouth, came also in the yacht, bearing a hearty welcome from the municipal authorities of Portsmouth, and an invitation from the corporation to Commander Hartstene and the officers of the *Resolute*, to partake of a municipal banquet on Thursday, or the first convenient day.

Captain Sir Thomas Maitland, who, during the temporary absence of Admiral Sir George Seymour, had become commanding officer of the station, now called with official and personal assurances of welcome and proffers of every possible service, by express instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and with the information that a bounti-

ful supply of every sort of fresh provision had been ordered on board the *Resolute*; that a hotel had been opened at Southsea, by order of Her Majesty the Queen, for the entertainment of the commander and officers



H. J. Hartstene

[From a miniature Portrait in possession of Dr. Otis]

of the *Resolute*, during their stay in England. Also a *carte blanche* on the railroads to London. All which attentions were courteously acknowledged and responded to by Commander Hartstene. On the succeeding day, as the *Resolute* had reached her final anchorage at Portsmouth, she

was greeted by cheers upon cheers from crowds of assembled citizens ; and a royal salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the flag-ship *Victory*. This salute was followed by a similar one from the fortifications of Portsmouth, and still a third, of twenty-one guns, from Her Majesty's frigate the *Shannon*, anchored at Spithead. The question of etiquette regarding the salute which should be given to the *Resolute* had been settled by her Majesty the Queen, who ordered that the *Resolute* be received with all the honors accorded to crowned heads ; thus relieving the authorities from a necessity of infringing upon long-established precedents, and at the same time gracefully acknowledging the sovereignty represented in the mission of the *Resolute*.

After the necessary official visits in Portsmouth, Commander Hartstene with his secretary proceeded at once to London, and after consultation with the then American minister, Mr. Dallas, presented the open dispatch (previously mentioned) to Sir Charles Wood, First Lord of the Admiralty, acquainting him officially with the mission of Commander Hartstene, closing as follows : " In pursuance of the resolution of Congress, the President requests Her Majesty's government to allow him to restore the ship *Resolute* to Her Majesty's service. Commander Hartstene is ordered to deliver the vessel, at any port, and to any officers, to be designated at the pleasure of Her Majesty's government. With assurances of high respect, S. C. Dobbin, Secretary of the United States Navy." It was suggested in reply by Sir Charles Wood that, as Her Majesty the Queen had expressed an intention to visit the *Resolute* in person, any definite arrangement looking towards a formal acceptance of that vessel should be deferred until Her Majesty's wishes had been consulted in the matter. Letters were received from various clubs, notably the Athenæum, the United Service, the Army and Navy, and Travelers, tendering honorary memberships to Commander Hartstene and the officers of the *Resolute* during their stay in England. An invitation to visit Lady Franklin and meet several distinguished geographers and Arctic explorers was accepted. On this occasion, the question of another Arctic search expedition was discussed, in its connection with the unlooked-for return of the *Resolute*. Lady Franklin claimed with much warmth, that the restoration of this vessel, fully equipped for another Arctic voyage, and fit for nothing else, was a special providence, appealing like a command for further effort. The still unburied sorrow could be seen in her tearful, rapt attention to the views of Commander Hartstene, in regard to it. And, when he expressed his opinion that such an effort seemed to him not only full of promise, but was a duty which England still owed to her honor to prosecute—with

painful earnestness she besought his influence with Her Majesty the Queen, for one more trial to unravel the mystery hanging over the fate of her lost husband. The correctness of this view, as is now well known, found its confirmation in the final discovery of Sir John Franklin's fate by the gallant Captain McClintock in 1859, little more than two years later, during his voyage in Lady Franklin's own unaided yacht, the *Fox*. Sir Roderick Murchison, President of the Royal Geographical Society (and a firm supporter of Lady Franklin's views), called during the visit with offers of every service at his command, and requested that a day should be named when Commander Hartstene would accept a public banquet from the Royal Geographical Club. At the close of the interview Captain Hartstene accepted an earnest invitation from Lady Franklin for himself and all his officers to dine with her at Brighton on Christmas Day.

On Monday, the 15th, the following notice was received by Commander Hartstene from the Lords of the Admiralty, dated, "Admiralty House, Dec. 15th: Sir, Her Majesty has signified her most gracious intention to visit the *Resolute*, at Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, on Tuesday, the 16th inst., in recognition of the munificence of the government of the United States in restoring that vessel to Her Majesty's service, and in compliment to the officers and crew. My Lords trust that it will be convenient for you to proceed with the *Resolute* to Cowes for the purpose. Should it meet with your views, immediate orders will be sent with your concurrence to the senior officer at Portsmouth, that the *Resolute* should be towed to her destined anchorage." The subjoined message, also, was received shortly after, dated, "Osborne House, Dec. 15th, 1856. To Capt. Hartstene. The Master of the Household has received the command of her Majesty the Queen to invite Captain Hartstene to dine and sleep at Osborne, to-morrow, December 16th. The dinner hour is eight o'clock."

Returning to Portsmouth, Captain Hartstene, in conjunction with the naval authorities, effected an immediate removal of the *Resolute* to Cowes, and initiated the necessary preparations for the reception of Her Majesty on the following day. Invitations were telegraphed to the American minister, Mr. Dallas, at London, to Mr. Crooky, the American consul-general, and to the American vice-consuls of Great Britain, and also to Mr. Cornelius Grinnell, son of the honored projector of the American Arctic Expedition, to be present at the ceremony of delivering the *Resolute* to Her Majesty the Queen. This Captain Hartstene had determined upon effecting on the occasion of the proposed reception of Her Majesty on board that vessel. Preparations were also made by the American

officers on board the *Resolute* for a generous banquet to follow the more important proceedings. Her Majesty's frigate *Retribution* was dispatched to Cowes for firing the necessary salutes. Also several gun-boats, together with Her Majesty's yachts *Fairy* and *Elfin*.

On Tuesday, the 16th, the day appointed for Her Majesty's visit, Admiral Sir George Seymour, K. C. B., and commander-in-chief of the naval forces at Portsmouth, with his suite, arrived at Cowes in his yacht, the *Fire Queen*, to supervise and complete the necessary preparations for the occasion. All things having been arranged in a satisfactory manner, the sailors, in neat attire, were stationed on the forward bulwarks of the *Resolute*. The royal standard was at the main, ready to be unfurled the moment Her Majesty passed the gangway. On the fore and mizzen masts the English colors were flying, while at the peak the Stars and Stripes waved in peaceful companionship with the Cross of St. George.

The Queen, accompanied by her royal consort, Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Alice, left Osborne House at about ten o'clock in the morning. Her Majesty was attended by the Duchess of Athol, Lady of the Bedchamber, and the Hon. Miss Cathcart, one of her maids of honor. In her suite were Sir James Clark, M.D., Physician in Ordinary to the Queen; Major-General Bouverie, and other distinguished gentlemen of the royal household. These were soon joined by Sir George Seymour, and several naval officers of rank. On arrival at the *Resolute* they were greeted by three hearty cheers.

Commander Hartstene received the royal party at the gangway, while the invited guests were ranged on the opposite side of the vessel. The Queen, in advance of his Royal Highness Prince Albert, and the rest of the royal family, passed quickly over a temporary bridge to the deck of the vessel. All heads were now uncovered. Courteously signifying her recognition of Commander Hartstene, he then advanced, with unaffected ease, and yet with a profoundly respectful manner, bowing, thus addressed the Queen:

"Will your Majesty permit me to welcome you on board the *Resolute*, and, in accordance with the wishes of my countrymen, and in obedience to my instructions from the President of the United States, to restore her to your Majesty, not only as a mark of friendly feeling to your Majesty's government, but as a token of love, admiration, and respect for your Majesty's person."

To which the Queen replied, "I thank you."

Commander Hartstene then presented his officers to the Queen, and afterward his invited guests, which ceremony concluded, with Her Majesty's

permission, he escorted her to the after part of the vessel, the ladies of her suite and the royal family following under the care of the officers of the *Resolute*. From thence the royal party passed down the narrow gangway into the commander's cabin. Here, in the snug quarters which had been occupied by Captain Kellett during two Arctic winters (and more recently had afforded accommodation to Commander Hartstene and his secretary during their boisterous voyage across the Atlantic), many articles of interest were displayed and commented upon. Commander Hartstene then spread out upon the cabin table a chart of the Arctic regions, and pointed out the precise locality where the *Resolute* had been abandoned, and also the track of her wanderings in the ice-floe up to the point where she was ultimately discovered by Captain Buddington. Commander Hartstene pointed out his own course during his voyage in search of Dr. Kane, and, in response to Her Majesty's request, gave information in regard to various points in the course of previous expeditions, as well as his own views in regard to the region where a further search would be most promising of success. After an hour thus spent, the Queen, expressing much satisfaction with her visit, left for Osborne House amid the cheers of the crew and the acclamation of the gathered crowd. The customary salutes were fired from the shipping, and the usual marks of loyalty were exhibited by the surrounding naval forces during the Queen's visit. After Her Majesty's departure a generous luncheon was served on board, in honor of their distinguished guests, during which due honors were paid to the Queen, the President of the United States, etc., subsequently to which the ship was thrown open to the English people, who thronged the vessel with apparent interest and enjoyment for the remainder of the day. On the invitation of the Master of the Queen's Household, the officers of the *Resolute* visited Osborne, and Commander Hartstene left the ship at half-past seven o'clock in the evening to dine with her Majesty and sleep at the Palace in accordance with the invitation previously cited.

Among the various communications received during this day and duly acknowledged, was a letter from the Master of the Queen's privy purse, enclosing a check for £100, to be distributed by the Queen's command, among the crew of the *Resolute*.

At ten o'clock on the following morning, December 17, Commander Hartstene's secretary and friend met him on his return from Osborne House, and received a full account of all matters of interest connected with the distinguished hospitality of which he had been the recipient. His reception and treatment had been such as is given to royalty alone. After the dinner, the honor of a personal conversation with the Queen had

been accorded to him, free from court etiquette, and with a degree of consideration which gave evidence of Her Majesty's high appreciation of the friendly act of the United States government and of her satisfaction with its representative.

At noon the *Resolute* was towed back to her former position in Portsmouth Harbor. As she neared her anchorage, a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the fortifications, and an immense concourse of people, gathered on the shore, welcomed her return with prolonged and enthusiastic cheers. A letter was this day received from Admiral Sir George Seymour, conveying to Commander Hartstene an invitation from Lord Palmerston (then Prime Minister of England), to dine and spend a night at Broadlands in company with the Admiral. Another from the mayor of Liverpool, tending a public dinner to Commander Hartstene and the officers of the *Resolute*, with many expressions of friendly feeling. Still another, from the American Chamber of Commerce of Liverpool, enclosing the following resolution: "That, highly appreciating the kindly feeling evinced by the American government, in restoring the ship *Resolute* to the British nation, said Chamber do invite Commander Hartstene and the officers in charge of such vessel, to a public dinner," etc., etc. And yet another from Colonel Eyre and the officers of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, of a similar purport, for a convenient day. Various invitations from clubs and other associations were also received during this and the following days, but it was decided by Commander Hartstene, in consequence of his desire to return to the United States at the earliest possible period, to decline all public festivities, except the municipal banquet tendered by the City of Portsmouth. This invitation was accepted for the 23d instant. Invitations to partake of the hospitalities of private individuals were numerous and cordial. Among them was one from Miss Burdett Coutts, of the celebrated banking house of Coutts & Company, tendering the use of her box at the Drury Lane Theater, and a luncheon at her banking-house. In short, nothing could exceed the generous hospitality, cordiality and attention, public and private, of which Commander Hartstene and the officers of the *Resolute* were the recipients, and which continued unabated during their entire stay in Her Majesty's dominions. Preparation for their return to the United States, however, were in active progress.

On the 19th instant the following dispatch was received from the American Minister, Mr. Dallas: "To Commander Hartstene, etc., U. S. N. My dear Sir: I send a letter transmitted to me for you. Sir Charles Wood has written me a long note and I have answered it, 'acquiescing' in his

offer to return you to the United States in a British steamer. As he will doubtless address you also it may be well and prudent in you to say that, consistently with your orders, it may not be inconvenient that the steamer should start in the course of a week. Very respectfully, G. M. Dallas." The accompanying letter read as follows. "Admiralty, London, Dec. 18th, 1856. To Commander Hartstene, etc., U. S. N. Dear Sir: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your letter informing me of the *Resolute* being in Portsmouth Harbor. I have also received a letter from the Secretary of the Navy of the United States, communicating to me the resolution of Congress in pursuance of which the government of the United States has so liberally presented that ship to Her Majesty and sent her over to this country under your command. I shall have the honor of addressing the Secretary of the Navy in acknowledgment of his letter. You are good enough to say that you are ready to deliver the *Resolute* in any manner which may be deemed advisable. I have only to say that orders will be given to Admiral Sir George Seymour, Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, to make such arrangements for receiving her as may be most convenient to yourself, your officers, and your crew. It will probably render the arrangements more suitable to your wishes if you would have the goodness to communicate with him on the subject. I have also to propose to you that you should return to the United States in one of Her Majesty's ships, which I shall be ready to order to proceed on this service, whenever it suits you to leave this country, if you accept my offer. I am anxious to show, by every means in my power, the sense which we entertain of the generous conduct of your government, and to offer every courtesy to yourself, your officers and crew. I am anxious also that we should endeavor to promote the good and friendly feeling between the United States and this country, to which, on all occasions, the naval officers of both countries have so much contributed. The frigate in which I propose to convey you to any part of the United States which you propose, is ready for sea, and would only require filling up with coals, but will, of course, wait for any time you may wish to spend in this country. I have the honor to be, dear sir, your obedient and faithful servant, Charles Wood." This generous offer of a return to the United States in a government vessel was accepted with reluctance by Commander Hartstene, as Congress was not in session, and the responsibility of the reception of the ship and her officers on arrival in America would fall upon the city authorities of New York or upon its citizens, without the opportunity of consultation concerning it; thus making possible an awkward termination of a matter which had already culminated most auspiciously, in the reception

of the ship by Her Majesty the Queen of England. While, therefore, acquiescing at the moment, the Commander expressed the hope that this proposition might ultimately be declined. The invitation to visit the Prime Minister had been accepted for December 22d, on which date, Commander Hartstene, accompanied by Vice-Admiral Sir George Seymour, left Portsmouth for Broadlands. Soon after their departure a dispatch was received from the Ship Owners' Association of Liverpool, containing notice of the intended visit of a committee of that association, with the object of presenting a congratulatory address to Commander Hartstene and the officers of the *Resolute*, at noon on the following day.

The throng of visitors on board the *Resolute* continued with undiminished enthusiasm, and a deluge of letters of congratulation, invitations, etc., was brought by every mail. An artist was on board during the day, making the necessary sketches of material for a large historic picture of the presentation ceremony, which had been ordered by Her Majesty the Queen. Instantaneous photographs had been taken at the time of the reception with the same object in view. This picture, which was painted by a distinguished London artist, was afterwards reproduced in a large steel engraving published by Messrs. Colnaghi and Company of London. The original now hangs in the gallery of the Sydenham Palace.*

On the 23d instant, at 12 o'clock, Commander Hartstene arrived from Broadlands, and reached the deck of the *Resolute* just as the deputation from the Liverpool Ship Owners' Association was announced. After a cordial reception by Commander Hartstene, Mr. Graves, chairman of the Association, delivered an eloquent address, in which the gift of the *Resolute* to the British nation was alluded to with much feeling; looking upon the preservation of this vessel as a providential act, to draw into closer union the friendly relations of both countries; concluding with graceful acknowledgments, congratulations, and kindly wishes. The address, which was elaborately engrossed upon parchment, was then delivered to Commander Hartstene. After acknowledging the honor thus conferred by the Ship Owners' Association, Commander Hartstene, in responding, expressed his sense of the distinction conferred upon himself and the officers of the *Resolute* by the Liverpool Ship Owners' Association. He felt warranted in saying that the friendly feelings expressed towards the United States government would be highly appreciated and fully reciprocated by his government and his countrymen. Closing with renewed thanks, Commander Hartstene then invited the deputation to a bountiful

* A copy of this magnificent painting will be seen in the frontispiece to this number of the Magazine.

luncheon, after which the distinguished guests departed, with many expressions of satisfaction.

During his visit to Broadlands Commander Hartstene took advantage of a suitable opportunity to discuss with Lord Palmerston and Admiral Seymour the propriety of declining the proposed return of the officers and crew of the *Resolute* to the United States by a government vessel. This resulted in a decision favorable to Commander Hartstene's views. Immediately on his return therefrom he addressed a note to the American minister, and one also to Sir Charles Wood, requesting a reconsideration of the matter, looking toward an immediate official delivery of the *Resolute*, and a return to the United States in one of the United States mail steamers. To both these letters answers were received by return post, fully approving the proposed change in the mode of returning Commander Hartstene and the officers and crew of the *Resolute* to the United States; Sir Charles Wood expressing much regret, however, that this deprived him of an opportunity of showing how much the generous act of the United States was appreciated by the British government. The municipal banquet of the City of Portsmouth to Commander Hartstene and the officers of the *Resolute* took place at 6 o'clock this evening, the Lord Mayor presiding. Distinguished guests and members of the city corporation were present to the number of about seventy. The cloth was removed at eight o'clock. The toast of "the Queen" was followed by that of "the President of the United States." "Prince Albert," "the Prince of Wales," and "the Royal Family" were given in succession. The mayor then followed in a speech full of good feeling and appreciation of the act of the United States government in presenting the *Resolute* to the British nation, and also highly complimentary to the commander and officers of that vessel. He proposed the toast of the evening, "Commander Hartstene and the officers of the *Resolute*, with three times three." This toast, which was received with thunders of applause, was responded to by Commander Hartstene in an appropriate speech. Various toasts were then proposed and speeches made until a late hour. The concluding sentiment was given, as follows: "May the natural link between the United States and Great Britain never be severed," which was received and acknowledged by repeated cheers. A very good idea of the complete fusion of interests which prevailed on this occasion may be gained through an incident which occurred during the dinner. A messenger delivered to Commander Hartstene a card, upon reading which, he rose, and bowing to a portly alderman at the foot of the table, drank a glass of wine with him in silence.

The writer's curiosity was aroused by this mysterious proceeding, and

in answer to an inquiry in regard to it, he was presented with the card, which, written in pencil, bore the following legend: "Alderman — drinks with Commodore Hartstene *to the memory of the men who threw the tea overboard at Boston.*"

On the 24th a large box of cake was received from Lady Franklin, with a "Merry Christmas for the crew of the *Resolute*." The engagement to spend Christmas day with Lady Franklin was reluctantly, and out of necessity relinquished on account of unexpected changes in the railway communications with Brighton. On the following day keepsakes taken from Lady Franklin's Christmas tree for Commander Hartstene and the officers of the *Resolute*, were received; also presents for the commander's absent wife and daughter. Lady Franklin visited the *Resolute* on the 26th instant, with her niece Miss Cracroft, to whom also a melancholy interest attached as the *fiancée* of Captain Crozier, second in command of the lost Franklin expedition. They were accompanied by Sir Roderick Murchison. Both ladies seemed profoundly affected by this, their first visit to an Arctic vessel, and spent over an hour in examining the various matters of interest on board. At Lady Franklin's urgent solicitation, Commander Hartstene accompanied them to Brighton. On the 27th instant the following dispatch was received from Admiral Sir George Seymour, dated "Flag Ship *Victory*, December 27th. Sir: I have the honor to acquaint you that I have received directions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to receive the *Resolute* whenever you may think fit to deliver her over; I have therefore sent Captain Seymour of the *Victory*, to make such arrangements as will suit your inclination and convenience. I have the honor to be, your most obedient servant, G. H. Seymour, Vice Admiral and Commander-in-chief." The following answer was at once returned: "To Vice-Admiral Sir George Seymour, Commander-in-chief of the naval forces at Portsmouth. Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of this day's date, informing me that you had received instructions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to receive the *Resolute* whenever she is ready to be delivered by us. I have also had the honor of a call from Captain Seymour of the *Victory*, with whom I have arranged that, with your approval, we will remain as we are, until Tuesday the 30th inst., so as to be certain that the steamer in which we propose returning to the United States shall have arrived at Southampton. I have proposed, that as the ship has already been delivered by me to the Queen, the hauling down of the American ensign should be done as quickly as possible. With many thanks, and under much obligation to you personally for the kind attentions we have constantly re-

ceived from yourself and your officers during our stay in England, I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant, Henry J. Hartstene." The following answer was received. "Flag Ship *Victory*, Portsmouth Harbor, Dec. 29th. To Commander Hartstene, U. S. Navy. Sir: The arrangement which you have made with Captain Seymour has been approved by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and that officer will receive charge of the *Resolute* at such hour to-morrow as you shall transfer the officers and seamen, with whom you have brought that ship to England, to the steam vessel which will convey them to Southampton. As you justly remark, the ship has been already delivered by you to our Sovereign; any succeeding ceremony is thereby rendered unnecessary. Permit me, however, to say that you and the officers who have accompanied you to England, have carried out the objects of your government in a manner which has added great personal regard for yourselves, to the satisfaction which a national act of courtesy and good-will from the United States has produced very generally in this country. And, wishing you, and those who accompanied you, a favorable voyage, I have the honor to be, sir, your very obedient servant, G. H. Seymour, Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-chief."

A generous letter from Messrs. Inman & Company had been received, tendering to the commander and officers of the *Resolute* passage to the United States in one of their steamers, which, on account of arrangements previously perfected, was gratefully declined.

On the 30th day of December, 1856, at noon, Captain Seymour of the flag-ship *Victory*, accompanied by the first and second masters of the *Victory* and a corporal's guard of marines, were received on board the *Resolute*, by Commander Hartstene, who, with his officers and crew, were assembled on her quarter-deck. The British and American ensigns had floated together at her peak, since the arrival of the vessel in port.

As the dockyard clock struck one, the Flag Ship *Victory* hoisted the "Star Spangled Banner," and fired a royal salute of twenty-one guns, during which ceremony the American ensign on board the *Resolute* was hauled down amid the cheers of the crew and the crowds on the adjacent shores, leaving the "Cross of St. George" flying alone.

Commander Hartstene, then approaching Captain Seymour, addressed him as follows:

"Sir: The closing act of my most pleasing and important mission has now to be performed. In the first place, permit me to express the hope, that long after every timber in her sturdy frame shall have decayed, the remembrance of the old *Resolute* will be cherished by the people of our respective nations. And now, sir, with a pride and pleasure wholly at

variance with our professional ideas, I strike my flag and to you give up the ship."

This having been briefly and appropriately acknowledged by Captain Seymour, Commander Hartstene, with his officers and crew, repaired on board the Admiralty tender which was lying alongside, and left for Southampton on their homeward journey, amid the hearty and prolonged acclamations of a dense multitude that crowded the neighboring wharves.

This was in the year 1856, over a quarter of a century ago. The influence of such national courtesies as have been recorded in the foregoing narrative, upon the policy of the great nations thus brought into generous and friendly contact, cannot well be over-estimated. That they were instrumental in settling grave points of difference, which at that time existed in the diplomatic relations between the two countries, cannot be denied. That the generous act of the United States is still green in the memory of the British nation, is attested by the action of the Lords of the British Admiralty, within a recent date, who, in ordering the breaking up of the old ship *Resolute*, resolved and commanded that a set of elaborate and massive library furniture be constructed out of the timbers of the old Arctic ship *Resolute*, and presented to the President of the United States, in recognition of the return to the British government of the lost vessel, and of the kindly feeling thus shown by the government and people of the United States of America towards the government and people of Great Britain.*

Frederick N. Otho

* This valuable paper was read before the New York Historical Society, February 24, 1880.

The following clippings furnish a glimpse of public sentiment in England in connection with the event above described. The *Liverpool Mercury* of December 17, 1856, said: "We feel more gratified than we can well express by this demonstration of good-will on the part of our American kinsman. May we not fairly regard this token of American good feeling as more than effacing the unpleasant reminiscences connected with our international difference, in which, whoever may have been most in the wrong, it cannot be said that we were altogether in the right? For our own part, we feel it totally impossible to resent any longer the dismissal of our envoy by a government which sends us such a message of peace as the good ship *Resolute*."

The *London Star* of December 16, said: "The eye of the whole country is, at this moment, turned upon Portsmouth, and in a manner that will be highly pleasing to the United States. The Queen herself is one of the first to appreciate the generosity of the Americans, and to prepare for a personal visit to the good ship; and every inhabitant of these islands will rejoice to know that the monarch at once comes forth to indicate a nation's joyful acceptance of this pledge of peace."

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER WEST OF THE ALLEGHANIES

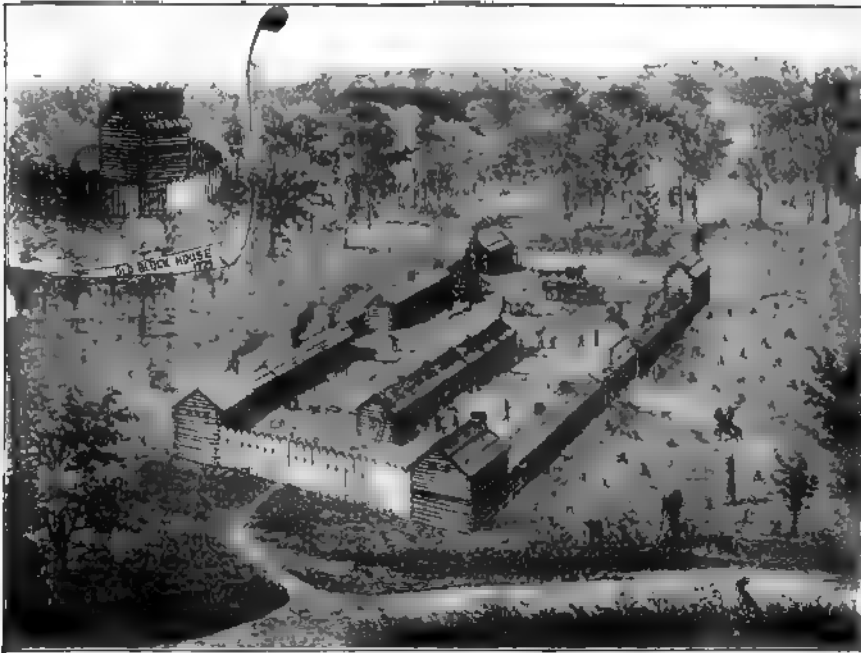
One of the best things that can be said of our great nation is, that it has a free press. No man has to be licensed or selected by the government to print a book or publish a newspaper. It is circumscribed by no law except natural selection. Any one can start a paper at any time, say almost anything he desires to say, and if he chooses not to be suppressed, there is no power to suppress him—except a “military necessity,” and once in a great while mob violence.

To make the press absolutely free, especially after the centuries of vile censorship over it, was an act of wisdom transcending in importance the original invention of moveable types. This enjoyment of a free press means free speech, free schools, free religion, and, supremest and best of all, free thought. If our government endures, and the people continue free, here will be much of the reason thereof. Thomas Jefferson, who penned the Declaration of Independence, one of the grandest documents that ever fell from the pen of mortal man, wrote also: “If I had to choose between a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should prefer the latter.” The Rev. Mr. Talmage, in a recent sermon, said: “If a man should, from childhood to old age, see only his Bible, Webster’s Dictionary, and his newspaper, he would be prepared for all the duties of this life, or all the happiness of the next.” Said Daniel Webster: “I care not how unpretending a newspaper may be, every issue contains something that is worth the subscription price.” Thanks, then, a million thanks, to our revolutionary sires for giving us the great boon of a free press.

Westward the press, with the star of empire, made its way, and contributed its part toward planting the standard of civilization in the “Dark and Bloody Ground.” On the 11th day of August, 1787, now a hundred years ago, was given to the public the first number of the first newspaper published west of the Alleghanies, unless we except one established at Pittsburg* a few weeks before. The coming of the newspaper and the printing press is an era always, anywhere, and among any people. In a young and fast growing community, it is an event of great portent to its future, for in it, above any and all other institutions, are incalculable possibilities for good, and sometimes well-grounded fears for evil. It was in no-

* Pittsburg can scarcely be termed west of the Alleghanies.

the following summer, when it was put in order, and the first issue of the *Kentucke * Gazette* (August 11, 1787) given to the community. It was printed in the style of the times—f being used for s, and the subscription price was placed at eighteen shillings per annum. The first number was a small unpretending sheet, scarcely so large as a half sheet of fools-



THE OLD-FORT AT LEXINGTON, Built in 1782.

cap. Its contents comprised two short original articles, one advertisement and the following note from the editor :

My customers will excuse this, my first publication, as I am much hurried to get an impression by the time appointed. A great part of the types fell into pi in the carriage of them from Limestone to this office, and my partner, which (who) is the only assistant I have, through an indisposition of the body, has been incapable of rendering the smallest assistance for ten days past.

JOHN BRADFORD.

When we consider the mode of transportation of that day, and the dangers attending it "by flood and field," the fact that "a great part of the types fell into pi" is no matter of wonder. They had to be trans-

* Kentucky was originally spelt with a terminal e.

ported overland from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and from there down the Ohio River by boat (a dangerous voyage, as it proved to many a band of pioneers) to Limestone, now the flourishing little city of Maysville, Kentucky. In every copse, behind almost every tree from Limestone to Lexington, lurked unseen dangers; scarcely a rod of the distance but was stained with the blood of the red man or that of his pale-faced foe. Along this dangerous trail, where ever and anon was heard the crack of the Indian's rifle or his blood-curdling yell, Bradford's types and press were transported on pack-horses to the metropolis of Kentucky. What wonder then that the types were "pied," or that they arrived at their destination at all?

John Bradford, the pioneer editor of the West, was a native of Virginia, and was born in Fauquier County in 1749. He received a good practical education, which, combined with strong common sense, made him a leader among his fellows. He served in the Revolutionary War, and after it was over (in 1785), he emigrated to Kentucky with his family, and settled in Fayette County; the next year he removed to Lexington, where the remainder of his life was spent. He was a practical printer, as was his father before him, and he brought up his sons to the same business. The next year after he established the *Gazette*, he published the "Kentucky Almanac," the first pamphlet printed west of the mountains, and the annual publication of which he continued for twenty years. Mr. Bradford, as may be seen from the old files of the *Gazette*, was not a brilliant editor, but, what was better for the times in which he lived, he was a man of practical sense and sterling honesty. He held many positions of trust and honor. He was long chairman of the board of village trustees; he was for a time chairman of the board of trustees of Transylvania University; he was the first state printer, and received from the state government one hundred pounds sterling, as the emoluments of the office. He printed books as early as 1794, and some of his early publications are still to be seen in both private and public libraries. His mind was so well stored with useful and valuable information that he was considered the town oracle, and from his decisions on local topics there was no appeal. The great confidence the people had in his judgment won for him the *sobriquet* of "Old Wisdom," a title well merited. He was high sheriff of Fayette County at the time of his death, which occurred in March, 1830. Circuit court was in session at the time, and the presiding judge alluded to his death in eloquent terms, and adjourned court in respect to his memory.

The editorial surroundings of Mr. Bradford would contrast strangely with the princely style of the great metropolitan journals of the present day. His printing office was a rude log cabin. He printed his paper upon

an old-fashioned, unwieldy hand press, which he had purchased at second hand in Philadelphia, and which, when pushed to its full capacity, would probably turn off from fifty to seventy-five sheets per hour. When he wrote at night it was by a fire-wood light, a bear-grease lamp, or a buffalo tallow candle. His "editor's easy chair" was a three-legged stool, and his editorial table corresponded in style. An ink-horn and a rifle comprised the rest of his office furniture. The advertisements to be seen in the old numbers of the *Gazette* are as quaint as was the office and its equipments.

Spinning wheels, knee buckles, buckskin for breeches, gun flints, hair powder, saddle-bag locks, were advertised. A notice states that, "Persons who subscribe to the frame meeting-house can pay in cattle or *whisky*."

Another notice warns the public not to "tamper with corn or potatoes" at a certain place, as they had been "poisoned to trap some vegetable stealing Indians."

The following appears over the signature of Charles Bland: "I will not pay a note given to Wm. Turner for three second-rate cows till he returns a rifle, blanket, and tomahawk I loaned him."

The Constitution of the United States is published, with a note to the public, that it is "just framed by the grand convention now in session." The early files show a great dearth of local items. But this is not strange when we remember that there were then no steamboat or railroad accidents—not even steamboats or railroads—and that there was no telegraph connecting the different centers of civilization like spider webs; but that the editor's steamboat, railroad, telegraph and mail carrier, were all comprised in a pack mule.

John Bradford's name was connected with the press of Lexington in one capacity or another, almost to the time of his death. He conducted the *Gazette* with great energy until 1802, when he turned it over to his son, Daniel Bradford, and he took charge of the *Kentucky Herald*, the second paper established in the West. This paper he absorbed, and finally merged into the *Gazette*, and he again became the editor. In 1809 he sold the paper to Thomas Smith, who conducted it until 1814, when it again passed into the hands of the Bradfords. In 1825 the original founder of the *Gazette*, John Bradford, again assumed its editorship, but in 1829, George J. Trotter, a man of considerable brilliance, became editor. In 1835 Daniel Bradford (John Bradford had died in 1830) once more assumed

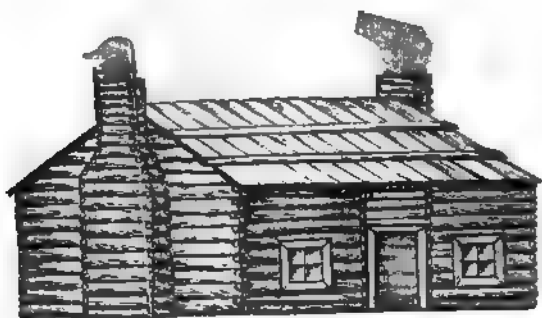


JOHN BRADFORD.

[Founder of the *Kentucky Gazette*, 1787.]

control, but in 1840 sold out to Joshua Cunningham, of Louisville, who conducted it until 1848, when its publication ceased, after a career of over sixty years.

During the existence of the *Kentucky Gazette*, political feeling at times ran very high, and the *Gazette* was no neutral organ in the discussion of the questions which agitated the public. In the Jackson campaigns it was an ardent supporter of old Hickory, and it hurled its political projectiles at the Whigs like battering rams. In 1829 Thomas R. Benning, the editor,



Kentucky Gazette Printing Office 1787. The first number of the Kentucky Gazette was issued August 1777. It was a weekly paper, published by John Bradford, who was the first printer in the West. The old building was used for the printing office until 1848, when it was burned down by fire.

(Photographed by Wybrand from original in possession of Col. R. T. Durrett.)

was shot dead on account of intense political excitement and scathing publications in his paper. After his death George J. Trotter became editor. He was a brilliant writer, and during his editorial career the paper wielded a greater influence probably than at any other period of its existence.

The old citizens of Lexington relate many interesting incidents of John Bradford. One will suffice to embellish

this sketch. John Bradford and the great statesman Henry Clay, whose home was at Lexington, although usually on opposite sides of the political fence, were socially the warmest friends. Like many of the early citizens of central Kentucky, they were, in their younger days, fond of cards, and in their social games they sometimes bet to excess. One evening, during an interesting game, betting ran unusually high, and when they quit play Clay had won \$40,000 from Bradford. The next day Bradford met him, when the following conversation occurred:

"Clay, what are you going to do about that money you won last night? My entire property won't pay the half of it."

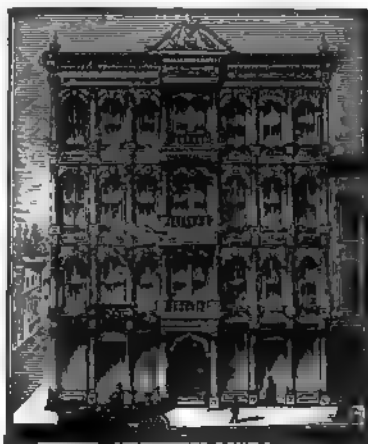
"Oh," said Clay, "give me your note for \$500, and let the balance go."

The note was given, and in a few nights they got into another game, when the fortunes of war changed, and Bradford came out \$60,000 winner. When they met next day, nearly the same conversation occurred as on a previous occasion, but Bradford settled it by saying, "Oh, give me back my note for \$500, and we'll call it square."

The second paper in Kentucky and the West was also established at

Lexington. For a number of years after settlements began to be made in Kentucky, Lexington was the metropolis. It was the first capital after the state was admitted into the Union, and was the leading town, not only of Kentucky, but all the Western country. It was the great commercial center, and Cincinnati, Vincennes, St. Louis, and Kaskaskia, for years, did their wholesale buying of goods in its markets. Thus, it became a place of business enterprise and industry. Its second newspaper was started in 1795, three years after Kentucky was admitted as a state into the Federal Union. It was called *Stewart's Kentucky Herald*, and was established by James H. Stewart. Its publication was continued for about ten years, when it was absorbed by the Bradfords and the *Kentucky Gazette*.

The *Herald* was a paper of considerable ability for that early period. It crossed swords with the *Gazette*, and their contests became often sharp and bitter, and were waged by both sides with hearty and vigorous blows. It finally became

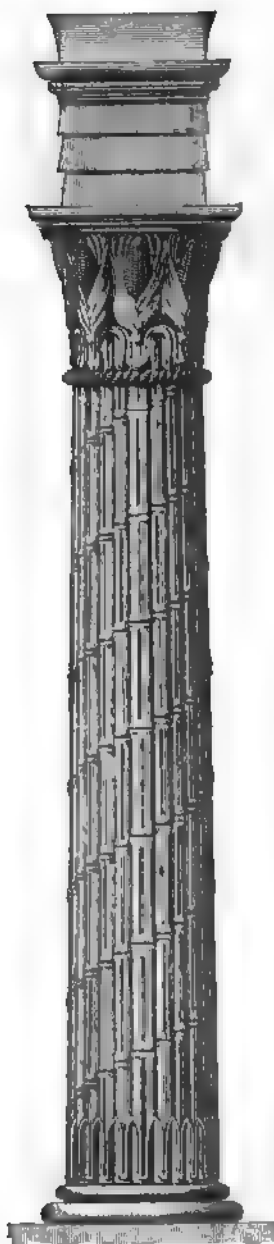


PRESENT BUSINESS BLOCK ON SITE OF OLD FORT AND BLOCK HOUSE.

apparent to the shrewd and observant Bradford, that the surest way of silencing the enemy's guns, was to capture them. With this end in view, he purchased the *Herald* and merged it into the *Gazette*. In 1798 William Hunter established the *Kentucky Mirror* at Washington, a town situated some four miles from the city of Maysville. In 1799 he established the *Palladium* in Frankfort, the present capital of the state.

The papers thus far enumerated comprised the Western press up to the year 1800. Since then it has kept pace with the marvelous march of civilization, and has prospered as the country prospered; and it is no vain boast to say that to-day the press of Kentucky—the first-born of the new confederation of states—is second to that of no state in the Union.

William Henry Perrie



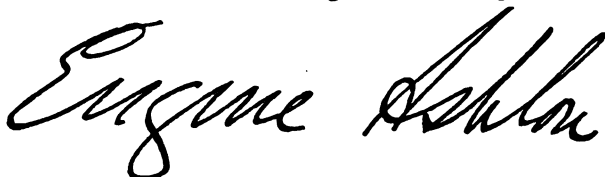
THE LATROBE CORN-STALK COLUMNS

IN THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

In the vestibule of the Capitol at Washington, beneath the office of the Marshal of the Supreme Court, are the only truly American columns in existence. If the student of architecture regrets that this country has not produced any architectural effort of its own he should be referred to this work of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, who succeeded Messrs. Hallet, Hadfield & Hoban as the Capitol architect, and perfected the designs of Dr. Thornton. In a letter of Latrobe's to Thomas Jefferson he refers as follows to his designs: "I have packed up and sent to Richmond, to be forwarded to Monticello, a box containing the model of the columns for the lower vestibule of the senatorial department of the north wing of the Capitol, which is composed of ears of maize. . . . These capitals, during the summer session, obtained me more applause from the members of Congress than all the works of magnitude or difficulty that surround them. They christened them 'corn-cob capitals;' whether for the sake of alliteration I cannot tell, but certainly not very appropriately."

This letter was addressed to Mr. Jefferson, and bears the date of August 28, 1809. Latrobe, not Jefferson, was the designer of the pillars. Many considered the latter to be their parent, because he took such interest in the erection of the Capitol, and is known to have proposed many changes to the architect. Jefferson spoke to Latrobe of the lack of individuality in our public buildings, and asked why he did not conventionalize some of our native vegetation into appropriate columnar designs. Doubtless acting upon this, Latrobe produced the corn-stalk columns which now stand in a somewhat

unnoticed portion of the Capitol. Each column is composed of a cluster of Indian corn-stalks bound together so that the joints of one stalk stand slightly above the preceding one; thus, by the recurrence of the joints in the seven divisions of every stalk, a spiral effect is produced. The capitals are composed of ears of maize with the half-open husks displaying the corn, which in its upright position has been criticised as being too stiff. Whatever the faults of the original pillars may be, they are a bold stride toward forming for ourselves an ornamentation peculiarly in keeping with our new and vigorous government. That our buildings have to be supported by the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns, unrelieved by anything of our own conception, is strange, when we consider the independence of the people of the United States. We have given to the Old World our mechanical inventions, the benefits of scientific research, yet we borrow from the East our architectural forms. Mrs. Trollope, in viewing these columns, called them the most beautiful things she saw in primitive America.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Eugene Ashmun". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the main text block.

GRAMERCY PARK, NEW YORK.

THE ORIGIN OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

A hundred years ago the Federal Constitution was framed in convention at Philadelphia. The causes that led to its formation are of an economic character. In 1787 the relation between the states and the United States was not wholly unlike that which then existed between the East India Company and the native princes of India: the princes enjoyed the forms, the company possessed the powers of government. Until after the treaty of Versailles, Congress was a revolutionary body; it had assumed the forms of government. In response to its suggestion each colony except Rhode Island had "taken up civil government," and had framed a state constitution. The Articles of Confederation, as soon as adopted, became the subject of proposed amendments. Seven states moved amendments early in 1781, of which those of New Jersey proposed to vest in Congress the exclusive power of regulating trade, domestic and foreign; of collecting duties for the general welfare; and of selling the western or crown lands for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the war. But these propositions were rejected. The Confederation remained throughout its existence without the means or the right to resort to the methods of executing its will, such as were exercised by the governments of the separate states.

For the power in government to serve processes upon individuals there can be no substitute. Under the Confederation the United States could not address itself directly to individuals; it reached the individual, if it reached him at all, through the authority of the state of which he was a citizen. The legislatures and governors of thirteen states were the rulers in America from the time of the expulsion of George III. till the inauguration of Washington. With the state governments, Congress seldom had more influence than had the Rajah of Benares with the Governor-General at Calcutta during those romance days of pride and power in the early history of the East India Company. With state authorities Congress kept up a ceaseless correspondence through garrulous committees; the committees were timorous, the governors jealous, and the legislatures unfriendly.

The executive functions which we are accustomed to see performed by a cabinet officer were then performed, somewhat ineffectually, by a committee. John Adams has left an energetic complaint that, "putting the treasury in commission violated every principle of finance." A century

later, the United States is ruled by the committees of the House of Representatives. While under the Articles of Confederation the people of the United States were on the way toward government under a Constitution, a form of government which in the nineteenth century has developed both in America and Europe into the rule of committees. The consent of nine states, which was necessary for the support of any measure of continental importance, could with greatest difficulty be obtained. Congress talked and voted, but the majority of the states invariably refused to collect quotas of money, or so long deferred collection that delay became refusal. The ablest men were no longer in Congress. Only wealthy citizens like Franklin or Adams could accept a ministry abroad; only citizens of large property could be eligible to office at home. The governor of Massachusetts must possess a freehold estate worth a thousand pounds, and the governor of South Carolina must possess an estate worth ten thousand. Pennsylvania required only the payment of taxes as a franchise qualification; elsewhere a member of assembly, a privy counselor, a judge of the superior court, must possess an estate valued at least at five hundred pounds. The higher the office, the greater was the required amount of property. A judge of the supreme court was appointed by the governor quite as much for his ability to support the dignity as to perform the duties of the bench. But the requisition of real property was a qualification not limited to government officials. The poor man could not vote. In New York an elector for state senator was required to possess a freehold worth one hundred pounds free of debt; in the Carolinas he must own an unencumbered estate of fifty acres. The adult male white population of the entire country was not half a million souls, of which the number "duly qualified to be electors" did not exceed two hundred thousand men. The freemen of America a century ago comprised about one-fifteenth of the whole population.

The dispute between the Parliament of England and the people of America chiefly concerned trade and commerce. Industrial preceded political interests. Political rights were won first, and after the lapse of a hundred years the struggle for industrial and social rights still continues. Commercial prosperity would long have held American independence in abeyance, but the essential reasons for the Revolution were held to the front by the relentless pressure of economic events. The war, begun as an industrial struggle, continued a problem in industry, and left behind grave industrial and social problems not yet settled. In attempting to solve these problems, then, the people of the United States founded the present Federal Government.

As to the best manner of establishing a revenue, Congress and the states were at perpetual variance. Congress did not resort to piracy, but it tried almost every other device to raise money known to bold men and weak governments. In 1776 it "voted supplies" which the States were to furnish. In 1778 it "urged supplies." In 1780 it printed paper money. In 1785 it begged supplies from indifferent state legislatures, and two years later public credit was prostrate. At the opening of the war eight million dollars in specie and twenty and two of paper had been in circulation. A committee of Congress in 1775 estimated the expenses of the impending war at two million dollars and continental bills to that amount were struck off. Later, another issue of three millions was made. In February, 1776, four millions were printed, a portion of which was in fractional parts of a dollar. Continental scrip began to depreciate and Congress issued five millions in July, 1777, and authorized fifteen millions more. A loan was then proposed at four per cent., the "faith of the United States" being pledged for five millions to be borrowed immediately; but money was worth six per cent., and capitalists would not lend against odds. Congress offered six per cent. and tried a lottery—that delusive scheme which for more than seventy years was the familiar and favorite procedure in America, of states and churches, of colleges, bridge-builders, and impecunious persons of every kind, to pay honest debts, raise salaries, erect houses of worship, equip college halls, and construct roads and canals at the expense of the unlucky.

The congressional lottery did not prosper, and the states were again admonished to remit their quotas. Another scheme, considered novel and sagacious, was to raise the apportionment by anticipation, and place the amounts received to the credit of the several states. This was called at the time "the same goose with a change of sauce." The people bore taxation with little grace; the poor man could not discriminate between taxation by a Congress and taxation by a Parliament. In 1777 another issue of thirteen millions was made, and the states also began to issue paper money; the amount of continental paper in circulation toward the close of the year was fifty-five and a half millions. In 1778 there were fourteen issues by Congress, amounting to sixty-three and a half millions; the states continued their issues, and the rude state of the art of printing and engraving explained the prevalence of counterfeits of every denomination. During the first quarter of 1779 sixty-five millions more were printed, and Congress attempted to negotiate a loan of twenty millions. The national sin was speculation; every tavern became a broker shop; state money bore the better price. But trade languished. Ships from

friendly powers shunned American ports. The traveler from Boston to Savannah was compelled to change his money thirteen times, paying as many discounts. The discount fell as he journeyed southward, but his gold coins became a greater treasure and curiosity. People flooded with memorials the Congress which they did not respect. Advice was freely given. There is plenty of gold and silver, but it is all shipped abroad; let Congress forbid the exportation of coin and our money will be worth something. Let every patriot devote a dish, a spoon, or a buckle, and the Federal melting pot will soon be full. Let people stop speculation, go to work, economize, and money will take care of itself. But Congress, with whom custom was an easy matter, answered all complaints by making another paper issue of five-and-forty millions. The friends of "metal money" began to calculate the time when the country would be crushed by the weight of "whole reams of depreciated paper." By the last of November the total emission of continental paper amounted to two hundred millions, of which more than one hundred and forty millions were for that year alone. Congress abandoned further issues after 1779.

Congress met for the first time under the Articles of Confederation, March 2, 1781, and at once proposed that the states surrender to it the right to issue bills of credit. The proposition was promptly rejected. Some states, in order to redeem their paper money, had confiscated the property of royalists. The United States had no authority to confiscate such property, nor had it property of its own upon which to base its own issues. Continental scrip was secured by faith alone. After the treaty of peace, in 1783, Congress was almost forgotten. Scarcely a quorum to do business could be gathered within its halls. Now and then the people heard of endless discussions about the navigation of the Mississippi, the surrender of Western forts, the speculation in Western lands, and the wicked conduct of John Jay and the Spanish minister. The energies of the people were absorbed in new activities incident to a return to civil life. Men began to talk about the West. The cloth-covered ox-cart of the emigrant from New England was seen crawling like an enormous insect, with monstrous ribs, along the main road from Albany to Black Rock. Virginia veterans were passing over the mountains into the blue lands of Kentucky. Land scrip became the title to palatinates along the Maumee and the Scioto, and the Block House at Erie became the official centre of the Northwest. Paper money possessed only a fictitious value. In later years, Secretary Woodward estimated that the depreciation of continental issues cost the people about \$200,000,000.

Soon after the meeting of Congress, Dr. Witherspoon, one of the dele-

gates from New Jersey, introduced a resolution that the States should vest Congress with the exclusive right to superintend the commercial regulations of every state, and to levy duties upon all imported articles. This plain method of securing a revenue emerged from the tedious debates as a recommendation to the states to allow Congress to levy, for the use of the United States, a duty of five per cent. upon all foreign merchandise imported into any of the states, the revenue to be applied to pay the public debt. The duty was to continue until the debt should be "fully and finally paid." When the plan came before the state legislatures, Rhode Island refused its consent, and the suggestion came to naught. In 1783 Congress asked the states to grant permission to levy a fixed duty upon spirituous liquors, tea, coffee, sugar, and molasses, and a five per cent. *ad valorem* duty upon all other articles, for the period of twenty-five years. An annual revenue of a million and a half dollars was expected from such a source, which would discharge the public debt, principal and interest. The collectors were to be appointed by the states, but to be amenable to Congress. At this time the commission of the treasury sent out its report. The revenue of the Confederation, in five months, had been only one-fourth of the amount needed to support the government for a single day. But the gloomy report from the treasury had no effect on selfish, jealous state legislators. Rhode Island again refused consent; the vote of New York was lost by division. Congress had made its last effort to obtain adequate powers to restore the public credit.

Meantime, among the people a counter revolution had begun. All classes were discussing the low condition of trade, commerce, and currency. Opinions of every shade were current. There were imposters and non-imposters, paper-money men and hard-money men. "Trade should be left to take care of itself. Congress better go home; if the states should grant such a revenue Congress would squander it, as millions had been squandered already." "The commerce of the country was at the mercy of foreign powers, and, as everybody knew that the thirteen states would never agree on the subject, Congress should be empowered to regulate the industrial interests of the country." So ran replies and rejoinders. The merchants of Boston set forth the deplorable condition of business, and formally petitioned the General Court to instruct the Massachusetts delegates in Congress to bring up the whole question again. They found a leader in Governor Bowdoin, who told the state legislature that bitter experience had shown the necessity of bestowing upon Congress the power to control trade for a limited time. He suggested that each state appoint delegates to a trade convention, in which they might settle amicably what

powers should be given to the general government. But the Massachusetts delegates, led by Rufus King, arguing that any change in the Confederation would lead to the establishment of an aristocracy, defeated the present realization of the governor's plan.

The economic errors of our fathers cannot be said to be of absorbing interest, but their faults are important when viewed in relation to other errors of the age. The economic policies of continental nations, of which that pursued by Frederick the Great may be taken as a type, had a decisive influence upon the commercial status of this country during the last years of the eighteenth century. By the American war, and the political and industrial complications in India, the British navigation system received a fatal blow. No longer could England locate the markets of the world and dictate the terms of trade. The industries of the globe, long held in arbitrary check by the jealous and stupid policies of petty, warring cabinets in small continental states, were slightly loosening from their grasp. With freedom came newness of industrial life. The United States became the one neutral nation of the civilized portion of the globe, and this unique position had a remarkable and favorable effect upon her population. The winning of American independence was the stimulus to the industrial action of the modern world.

Political economy was not taught in American schools, nor is the phrase found in the newspapers of a century ago. An examination of the constitutions of various American states, down to the close of Jackson's administration, brings out no evidence that the delegates to Constitution conventions, or to sessions of the legislature of the state called for the purpose of revising or making a constitution, troubled themselves with the doctrines of Malthus or Ricardo, nor discussed the intricate relations of international trade. A strike was then a crime. The morale of labor was low; both relatively and absolutely the laborer was worse off than he is to-day in such work as still remains in kind among us. Machinery has so changed the effectiveness of labor that only the simplest employments enter into the comparison. But a careful examination of the daily affairs of the American people of that time clearly shows that some of the elements of the present "industrial war" were not wholly undefined then. The nation was bankrupt, and a bankrupt nation has a large stock of economic difficulties on hand. These difficulties were aggravated by the jarring commercial laws of the several states. Could the merchant of Philadelphia fail to know that the discrimination against him, when he sent his goods to New York, was unjust? As he handled the curious currency of his native land, and the more curious currency made by private enterprise and

foreign speculators—coarse paper issues from fourteen governments about him—Spanish joes, pewter coins, silver-washed, imported to deceive him, and penny tokens, thinly gilded, which he must ring upon his counter and test between his teeth, could he fail to discover that public credit was rapidly ebbing away?

Amidst such prostration we might not expect to find powerful opposition to any remedy to public disorders—but opposition of this kind was common. “Congress has no right to adopt the commercial laws of one state rather than those of another; whose commercial laws would all be willing to obey? Nor will the states ever allow Congress to prescribe commercial laws of its own, for has not New York, led by Governor Clinton, repeatedly refused to Congress any right whatever to interfere in the trade of that state?” The merchants in the North and the planters in the South at last reached the same conclusion. “If Congress lays an impost,” said the merchants, “we will gain, because the duty will be paid by the consumer, and we shall no longer be troubled by the constant fluctuations in prices caused by the conflicting laws of so many states; smuggling will cease, and prices will be regulated by a common unit of measure—general commercial laws.” “If Congress fixes an impost,” said the planters, “we shall no longer be obliged to compete with raw products from abroad, and the discrimination in our favor will raise the price of our products and create a home market.” The planters and the merchants supported Congress.

As the merchants of Boston had found a friend in Governor Bowdoin, the planters of Virginia appealed to the House of Burgesses, and found an advocate in James Madison. On the last day of the session of 1786, Madison succeeded in getting the House to pass an act the consequences of which no statesman could have foreseen. He began a movement which, from obscure beginnings, gained strength and favor with every slight advance; which passed quickly and almost imperceptibly from state to state, and swelled at last into a national impulse, that found adequate expression in the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

Between Maryland and Virginia the Potomac River was the boundary—the common highway of commerce to and from the States bordering on its waters. The duties levied by these states were constantly evaded and each state accused the other of harboring smugglers. Complaints were repeatedly brought before the state legislatures. As early as 1784 Madison had made personal observation of these infractions of inter-state law and had written to Jefferson suggesting the appointment of a joint commission of the states of Virginia and Maryland in order to ascertain the re-

spective rights and powers of the states over the commerce on the river. A bill was soon brought into the Virginia House of Burgesses; three commissioners were appointed for that commonwealth; three were appointed by Maryland, and in March, 1785, the commission met at Alexandria, but soon adjourned to Mt. Vernon. As the commissioners entered upon an examination of the interests committed to their charge, many questions pertinent to the case but beyond their jurisdiction arose. Delaware and Pennsylvania were concerned in the commerce on the river; if it was to the interest of Maryland and Virginia to agree to uniform duties, was not a similar agreement beneficial to Pennsylvania and Delaware? If to these four states, why not also to all the states in the Union? These ideas, advanced by Washington, became the seed of a more perfect Union. While yet at Mt. Vernon the commissioners drew up a report suggesting that two commissioners be appointed by each of the states along the Potomac to report a uniform system next year. Maryland at once invited Pennsylvania and Delaware to participate in a common commercial policy, but Virginia, leading the way to grander things, passed a similar resolution, extending its provisions; and, sending a copy to each state, invited all to appoint delegates to meet in a Trade Convention at Annapolis, on the second Monday in September, 1786. The spirit of the planters and the merchants had taken hold of the politicians. It was this resolution that the House of Burgesses passed on the last day of the session of 1786, and Madison had inserted a clause, which met the approval of that body, that the convention about to be called should take into consideration the trade and commerce of the whole country, and that Congress should be vested with powers to regulate commerce.

The people, meanwhile, alarmed by continued industrial depression and impending bankruptcy, had sought refuge in the very evils which had caused the imminent extinction of public credit. The rage for paper money had broken out afresh and more violently than before. Legislators lost their wits. "We have no money, but let us make money and wipe out our debts." In seven states the hard-money men were outvoted. Within the year Maryland, North Carolina, New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont issued great quantities of paper money. They also attempted to enforce its circulation by law. "If a man refused to take a state bill he shall be made to suffer." Public morals fell with the currency. The worst element of the debtor class congregated in armed mobs and prevented the sittings of the courts in Massachusetts that executions might not issue against delinquent debtors. Whole counties in New England became demoralized. Blood was shed in Rhode

Island when the sheriffs attempted to carry the forcing laws into effect. Shay's rebellion raged all winter in western Massachusetts. The merchants, the lawyers, and the courts were the objects of popular hatred and abuse. The governors of Rhode Island and Vermont openly favored the insurgents in Massachusetts. The jails were alternately filled by the sheriff and emptied by the mob. Farmers refused to bring their produce to the towns. Consumers and producers were at enmity, and values were for a time upset by odious laws passed to bolster up a limp and worthless currency. Had it not been for the veterans of the war the scenes of the French revolution would have found a precedent in America.

The winter of 1786-'87 was unusually severe. The laborer complained that his occasional employment was poorly paid with a paper bill of varying value with which he could not supply his family with the necessities of life. Merchants complained that the farmers would not trade with them, and that they could not afford to barter, as their stock was imported and had been paid for in coin. Tax collectors returned men who for years had been reputed the wealthiest men of the town. Thoughtful men grew alarmed. Washington's circular letter from Newburg read like a prophecy: "We shall be left nearly in a state of nature, or we may find by our own unhappy experience that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny, and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused by licentiousness." Amidst the bankruptcy of the times many States passed laws impairing the obligation of contracts. The sense of justice seemed lost to the Republic. If the inviolability of private rights was to be lawfully ignored and formally declared void by public legislation, then after that "the deluge." "Interference with private rights and the steady dispensation with justice" wrote Madison in after years, "were the evils which above all others led to the new Constitution."

The general government had repudiated its debts, and the several states now began to scale or to repudiate theirs. When contracts no longer had the sanction of law there could be little discrimination between public credit and public debt. At Mount Vernon Washington had said to the commissioners: "The proposition is self-evident. We are either a united people or we are not so; if the former, let us in all matters of national concern act as a nation which has a national character to support. If the states individually attempt to regulate commerce, an abortion or a many-headed monster will be the issue. If we consider ourselves or wish to be considered by others as a united people, why not adopt the measures which are characteristic of it and support the honor and dignity of

one? If we are afraid to trust one another under qualified powers, there is an end of union."

During the winter of 1785-'86 Congress rarely constituted a quorum. The Confederation was falling to pieces. State legislatures found difficulty in electing delegates to Congress. The office brought neither profit, fame, nor congenial duties. On the 15th February, 1786, the committee appointed by Congress out of its own body to take into consideration the state of the Union made a remarkable report. "The states have failed to come up to their requisitions. The public embarrassments are daily increasing. It is the instant duty of Congress to declare most explicitly that the crisis has arrived when the people of the United States, by whose will and for whose benefit the Federal Government has been instituted, must speedily decide whether they will support their rank as a nation by maintaining the public faith at home and abroad, and by a timely exertion in establishing a general revenue, strengthen the Confederation, and no longer hazard not only the existence of the Union but also the existence of those great and invaluable rights for which they have so arduously and honorably contended." The helplessness of Congress and the collapse of the Confederation was thus solemnly and publicly confessed to the world.

New Jersey broke the last strand of the Confederation by refusing to pay its quota of one hundred and sixty-six thousand dollars, in 1786. In vain did the Congressional Committee plead the cause of the Union before the legislature of that state. New York granted Congress the right to impose a revenue, but destroyed the value of the grant by a special clause. When Congress feebly protested, Governor Clinton plainly told that anomalous body that he did not consider the matter of importance whether the debts were paid or not; New York was capable of managing its own affairs, and its interests were paramount to those of Congress.

Foreign affairs were in an equally bad plight. On the 5th of January, 1786, Temple wrote to the English Government: "The trade and navigation of the states appear to be now in a great measure at a stand still." On the 9th of April following, Otto wrote to the French ministry: "It is necessary either to dissolve the Confederation or to give to Congress means proportional to its wants. It calls upon the states for the last time to act as a nation. It affords them a glimpse of the fatal and inevitable consequences of bankruptcy, and it declares to the whole world that it is not to blame for the violation of the engagements which it has made in the name of its constituents. All its resources are exhausted; the payment of taxes diminishes daily, and scarcely suffices for the moderate

expenses of the government ; the present crisis concerns solely the existence of Congress and of the Confederation. The most important members of Congress are doing all in their power to add to the Act of Confederation some articles which the present situation of affairs appears to render indispensable ; they propose to give to Congress executive powers and the right to make exclusively emissions of paper money, and of regulating commerce." Franklin had written to Jefferson, then in Paris, that the disposition to furnish Congress with ample powers was augmenting daily as people became more enlightened. The newspapers teemed with the writings of "Cato" and "Camillus," "Plain Farmer" and "Cincinnatus." Numerous pamphlets labored with "the present discontents." Professors in the colleges lectured on the Greek and the Italian Republics and the needs of the American Confederation. Clergymen chose political texts and lawyers debated problems in finance and government while the court was taking recess. The interests of trade, currency, and commerce were swiftly assuming a political character.

The Trade Convention met at Annapolis in September, 1786, but the attendance of delegates was so small as to discourage the few who had assembled from taking into prolonged consideration at that time the grave questions that agitated the country. Neither Georgia nor South Carolina had sent delegates ; nor was a single New England state represented. Little was done except to meet and adjourn. But before adjourning Madison and Hamilton agreed upon a report, which, drawn with all of Hamilton's foresight, was adopted by the convention after a discussion of two days. The report urged that a new convention composed of delegates from each state, possessed of greater powers, should be called to meet in Philadelphia, on the 10th of May, 1787. Copies of this report were sent to each state. Again Virginia took the lead, and on the 9th of November the House of Burgesses passed a bill, brought in by Madison, that the state should send delegates to the Constitutional Convention. The first delegate chosen by Virginia was her foremost citizen, Washington. Madison was the fifth chosen, and his services in the convention were destined to be greater than those of any other delegate on the floor. Virginia was followed by New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, North Carolina, and Georgia, which in succession chose their ablest men. In Massachusetts, a bitter opposition delayed the election of delegates till the 21st of February, when Congress also gave its weak and formal consent to the convention. Rhode Island never sent a delegation, but before midsummer every other state was represented. On the 10th of May, 1787, the convention assembled in the Old State House where so many of the delegates had

already won their just fame. The convention closed its doors on the second day of its session, and the delegates, under oath of secrecy, proceeded to take into consideration the state of the nation. When autumn came, the work of the convention was done—a work far different than that for which the members had been elected. The Constitution of the United States was given to the people. The country had supposed that the convention was merely a trade convention. But we now know the secret history, or at least the greater portion of the history of the proceedings of the convention. It was published fifty years ago, when nearly all of the framers of our Federal Constitution were in their graves. Those wise men were equal to the grave problems before them; their names find an imperishable monument in the work of their hands; they linked together the industrial and political interests of the nation, and formed a more perfect Union. But the causes which led to the making of the Constitution were economic rather than political in character.

Francis N. Thorpe.

INDIAN LAND GRANTS IN WESTERN MASSACHUSETTS

The ownership of lands in severalty by Indians is one of the important questions of social science to-day. Its bearings are both political and humanitarian, and its proper adjustment has awakened the sympathy and employed the wisdom of philanthropists, male and female, throughout the land. It may not be within the knowledge of many of the present dwellers in Berkshire County that the experiment and its results were made facts in Stockbridge nearly one hundred and fifty years ago, and in connection with similar attempts on a smaller scale in some other of our New England commonwealths; and its repetition with the emigrant Housatonics on their present reservation in Wisconsin is exceedingly interesting.

One fateful day, the 11th of June, 1750, the dusky roamers of the lower Housatonic valley gathered at the mission meeting-house in Stockbridge, for a purpose the importance of which probably neither they nor their few pale-faced neighbors at the time fully realized. That purpose is set forth in the following document from the State archives:

" In Council, Dec. 29, 1749.

It is hereby resolved & declared that the Indians of y^e Housatonic Tribe who are & have been settlers or proprietors of land within the town of Stockbridge & their heirs or descendants are & shall be a distinct propriety, & that Timothy Dwight Esq. be, & hereby is, directed & empowered to repair to said town as soon as may be, & call a meeting of the proprietors aforesaid by posting a notification in writing on the foreside of the meeting house in said town, 14 days before the time appointed for holding said meeting, setting forth the time, place, ends & purposes of said meeting; at which meeting said proprietors are hereby empowered, by a major vote, to ascertain the number of the proprietors & what each proprietor's portion shall be, and to choose a clerk who shall be under oath to record all legal votes, grants & orders of said proprietors in a book for the purpose, & also of all the lands heretofore laid out by order of the committee formerly appointed by the General Court for that purpose. And the said proprietors are hereby empowered to call meetings hereafter at any time that ten of said proprietors shall judge necessary, they applying to the Clerk by writing under their hands for the same, setting forth the ends & purposes of said meeting, & the clerk posting the same on the foreside of the meeting house 14 days before the said meeting be held; at which meetings respectively the major part of said proprietors are hereby empowered to choose a moderator & all such officers as proprietors of general fields, by the laws of this Province may do & for the better regulating & ordering the affairs of said propriety; & to divide & dispose of their undivided lands to & amongst the said proprietors, or any of them, as they shall judge necessary for their settlement & improvement. And also may admit Indians of other tribes to live amongst them, & they make grants

of lands to such Indians in order to their improving the same ; such grants to be made with this proviso or condition—that, in case the said grantee or his descendants shall leave the settlement, & remove from said town of Stockbridge, they shall not have the power of alienating or any way disposing of said granted lands ; but the same shall revert to the proprietors.

And it is further declared that the Indian inhabitants of the town of Stockbridge are, & shall be, subjected to & receive the benefit of the laws of this Government to all intents & purposes in like manner as other, his Majesty's subjects of this Province are subjected or do receive. Provided always, that nothing in this order shall be understood to enable any of His Majesty's English subjects to become purchasers of any part of the Indian lands contrary to ye provision made by law for preventing the same.

Sent down for concurrence,

Saml Hoolbrook, Dep. Sec.

In the Ho. of Representatives, Dec. 30, 1749.

Read & concurred, J. Dwight, Spkr.

Consented to, S. Phipps."

The record closes with this addendum :

" The original, of which the above is a true copy, I posted on the foreside of the meeting house above said, on the 26th day of May above said.

Attest, Timothy Dwight."

It was a motley assemblage of aboriginal candidates for civilization who were to receive their first lesson in individual possession of real estate. Mr. Dwight was elected moderator, and Timothy Woodbridge, the mission schoolmaster, clerk. The preparation of the list of claimants and the process of allotment occupied two days. It was ascertained that sixty tawny presentors were entitled to ownership in severalty, of whom four were of other tribes, and one a negro who had married a squaw of the Housatonics, and, by virtue of the conditions of the grant, was permitted to receive and hold, but not to alienate, his allotment. Thirteen of the sixty, with Captain Konkapot at their head, had priorily, as " settlers and proprietors," assumed control of 1670 acres in varying portions of their own selection, probably as having been residents within the boundaries of the new township, while the others were gathered in from their two other centres at Great Barrington and Sheffield. It was, however, amicably agreed that these 1670 acres should be equally divided between them, and any shortage in actual due made up from the undivided lands. Of the sixty, ten received eighty acres ; ten sixty ; thirty-nine fifty ; and one ten acres. Their names (of which thirty-four have an English or Dutch prenomens), expressed in from three to six uncouth syllables, are duly recorded with the accompanying allotments in painful fidelity by the clerk, whose time and patience must have been sorely tested by the task. I observe, how-

ever, that he is not always uniform in his orthography : since the same name, when repeated elsewhere, betrays a desire to get at a result by the *phonetic* method, as being the briefest road, and beyond danger of legal censure in a point on which the owner himself of the appellative could give him no reliable information. Some of these embryo citizens are to be recognized on the records of the town with their white brethren in the capacity of selectmen, assessors, constables, fence-viewers, etc. ; two, at least, are deacons in the church, and several bearing military titles during service in the French and Indian and the Revolutionary wars. I find no mention of Lieutenant Umpachene (except once, as owner of an adjacent lot), who was the second man of the tribe when the mission was established, although it is certain that he lived many years afterwards. But Captain Konkapot, Deacon Pauguaunaupet, Benj. Kaukeenaunauwaut (Anglicè " King Ben "), who lived 104 years, and Johannes Metoxin of the sturdy lungs, who blew the great conch-shell to call to church for twenty shillings per annum—these all bore off their award of eighty acres, with dignity thrown in, on that famous day.

The six English families who had been invited to come and settle among them six years before, as pattern farmers and housekeepers, were already in possession of their respective endowments, comprising a sixtieth part of the new township each. Most, if not all of them, occupied the ridge lying directly north of the present village, which they evidently designed should be the commercial and social centre of the town. Only one of the dwellings they erected there (the second and last house of the missionary Sergeant, built, probably, in 1747) is still standing.

At their first meeting the proprietors voted that they " would make a division of but one-half of their undivided lands at present, that they might be able with convenience to admit Indians of other tribes to live among them and make grants to them for improvements, so long as said Indians, or their descendants, shall dwell in the town and do common duties with others."

The Commissioner next proceeded to lay off the lots along what is now the main street of the village, with the design—so saith the record—of describing " what each person is in possession of, and thereby laying a foundation for quiet possession hereafter, rather than attempt any new division, according to their right as proprietors in the township."

Whatever this may have meant, the next transaction was the laying off of a plat of ground twenty-six rods square, including the site of the meeting-house, as a public common and training-field. A portion of it was also assigned as a cemetery for whites and red men; the latter having pre-

viously buried their dead in the shoulder of a low bluff which breaks down toward the Housatonic just in the rear of the present residence of Colonel Dwight. A unique monument, built a few years since by the Laurel Hill Association, occupies the centre of the spot. This square was the initial point from which diverged the main street and the highways, in three directions. The former ran almost due east and nearly level for one mile, to Mill Brook, where now stands the saw mill of Mr. S. W. Comstock. It was laid $6\frac{1}{2}$ rods wide for about two-thirds of the distance, and contracted to $4\frac{1}{2}$ for the remainder. The house lots along this street varied in frontage from 6 to 22 rods on the north side, and still more on the other. From the old field-book, with a tape-line, the present villagers of Stockbridge can ascertain, though they may not be able to pronounce, the names of the original owners of their properties. The writer had the curiosity to do so, and finding that his house lot was assigned "to Capt. Konkapot and his son Robert," improved the suggestion and dubbed his residence "The Wigwam," which, although neither pretentious nor classical, has, at least, the merit of being specific and historical. These north-side village lots ran as far northward as to meet the south line of the English holdings on the hill.

And now, all the preliminaries of civil life having been finished, the novitiates settled down to its practice. It is known that the influences of their church, their school, their model farmers and housekeepers, and the social habits and examples of their white co-occupants, all operated to set them, in civil status, quite in advance of any of the aboriginal tribes of our country before or since, with the exception of the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Creeks of the present time. As has been already mentioned, they were represented among the town and church officials, bore military titles, were enrolled among the alumni of Harvard and Dartmouth, and one of them wrote an extended and creditable history of his people. I have found, on several old deeds of lands sold to the whites, excellent specimens of Indian penmanship—some of them the signatures of squaws—and as frequent as those made by mark.

The Proprietors' Record Book shows that regular annual and many special meetings were held henceforward, the last occurring in May, 1781, although surveys of lands sold or otherwise alienated are recorded to 1790. Until his decease, in 1774, the venerable Timothy Woodbridge continued both Moderator and Clerk at all these gatherings. His own minutes prove that his services were not unrequited, and probably few items which his duty obliged him to mention gave him greater satisfaction than those which, every now and then, registered a grant of "50 acres of undivided

lands" for his benefit. His twenty-four years' official work must have made him a large holder of real estate. It may be that he, in common with other managers, while looking carefully with one eye after the interests of his tawny clients, kept the other fully as widely open to his own.

A natural query may here be started: Why did this state of things continue less than forty years? Why did the grantees leave the scene of their adopted civilization and promising progress, and lapse so far into insignificance as that probably many of the present occupants of their allotments (before mentioned) may never have even heard of them? These questions find a ready solution from the time-stained pages of the Proprietors' Record Book, and in the century's experience since of our dealing with other red men within our borders.

Let us then go to the records.

At the meeting of May, 1776, it was thus voted: "Granted to Wm. Goodrich" (a white hotel-keeper, and a captain of minute-men in the Revolution) "in consideration of his having his ox killed, fifty acres of land." And again: "Voted one hundred acres . . . to Daniel Rowley, of Richmond, in consideration of his paying £37 for Jacob Unkamug, to liberate said Unkamug from prison."

Another: "Voted, that T. Woodbridge, Esq., make sale for the payment of the just debts of the Indian proprietors who have not ability otherwise to discharge their debts, all that tract of land lying," etc., etc. Again: "Voted & granted to Elias & Benj. Willard one hundred acres of land, in consideration of their discharging £50, N. York currency, debts due to them from sundry Indⁿ proprietors." At the same time fifty acres were granted to Stephen Nash . . . "to encourage him to set up his blacksmith's trade in the town of Stockbridge." In 1767 it was "Voted that one hundred acres of land belonging to the Indⁿ proprietors of Stock^o be sold for the payment of a debt of £40, due to one Moses Parsons, of Windsor."

A little of the nepotism so common in modern times looks out of one item in 1769, as follows: "Voted to Tim^y Woodbridge, son of Tim^y Woodbridge, Jr., fifty acres of land, to be laid out in the town where the said child's friends shall choose." Another item: "Voted, that two fifty-acre lots on Maple Hill, and also twenty acres adjoining the same, be sold for the payment of the proprietors' debts." At the next two meetings fifty acres more were ordered sold for the same purpose. Another vote authorizes fifty-six acres more sold for the same object.

Medical services rendered the Indians were paid in the same manner, as per the following: "Voted— That Tim^y Woodbridge pay to Dr. Ser-

geant for doctoring the Indians about £9 lawful money—to be paid out of the Indians' money for lands sold."

Here is a minute of another sort: "Voted and granted to Joseph Woodbridge and Zenas Parsons one hundred and fifty acres of land in consideration of £71:16 lawful money, which said Joseph and Zenas advanced and expended for said Indian proprietors in their endeavoring to recover the lands belonging to them for their service in the Government as soldiers."

In 1769 forty acres were sold to cancel an Indian debt, and to defray their part of the expense of fencing the burying-ground. At the same meeting Captain Daniel Nimham, owing a "large sum of money, which he cannot pay save by the sale of his original grant," is given liberty to do so. It was also "voted, that whereas George Mineturn having been long sick & thereby in debt, & still unable to do any business for a livelihood, that he have liberty to make sale of the fifty acre lot which the proprietors granted him for to pay his debts & support him under his difficulties."

The surveyors of the lands ordered sold also seem to have received remarkably good compensation in kind. In 1770, fifty acres of Indian land were sold to aid in building a bridge across the Housatonic. One of the articles in the warrant for the annual meeting of 1771 read thus—"To see if the said proprietors will order and grant some of their common lands to be sold for the payment of several Indian debts, who have judgments of courts and executions issued against them, and must unavoidably be committed to jail except relieved by the proprietors."

The sequel of this was the sale of a very large tract of mountain woodland to Colonel Williams and Deacon Brown, the former of whom was the founder of the West Stockbridge Iron Works. In 1780, it was voted to sell all the remaining undivided lands in the south part of the town for the payment of the public debts.

It seems occasionally to have occurred to these new wards of civilization that the skins of those with whom they were dealing might be whiter than some of their transactions; that the general management of their affairs was somewhat inexplicably one-sided; in short, that if there were no overt trickery on the part of their English neighbors, there was a considerable economy of intelligible honesty. A vote passed at the annual meeting of 1770 is suggestive. Thus it runs: "Voted that the Surveyor shall ascertain y^e quantity of lots laid out by the English, which have been sold by the Indians, in order to know whether such lots *do not exceed the quantity so sold*, and that said surveyor and chairman shall be under oath for the faithful discharge of said service."

The above are specimens of some sixty votes on the subject of Indian land sales, more or less comprehensive, during about thirty years, for various reasons denoted. As only the whites had the wherewithal for purchase and payment, it may be seen how, gradually, but surely, the little Indian commonwealth was swallowed and absorbed by the astute intruders. Toward the close of the residence of the tribe in Stockbridge they seemed to have awakened to the fact that the superior intelligence and greed of their neighbors were too much for them, and were surely leading them to pauperism and utter extinction. When, therefore, the friendly offer of the Oneidas of Central New York was tendered, of a share of their own reservation, it presented the alternative of tribal death or of final removal from their straitened locality, even though containing the burial-place of their fathers. Their experience had proved that "knowledge is power," and that power is not unselfish. The simple fact seems to have been that, even without attributing deliberate intention of fraud in the premises, the natural and inevitable result of the contact of simplicity with shrewdness, of ignorance with intelligence, of indolence with industry, of barbarism with civilization, happened in this case, as, methinks, it will ever happen—the weaker party must go to the wall. In the vegetable kingdom it is the invariable law, that the stronger growth will crowd out and replace the weaker; and the same law prevails in the world of mankind. Given the juxtaposition, or rather the commingling, of an enterprising, intelligent, and progressive, with a simple, untutored, and indolent people, and neither philosophy nor metaphysics need be tasked to foretell the outcome.

As tending to clinch comment on the severalty experiment, its repetition with the same people, some forty-five or fifty years ago, may here be noted. After their last removal to Shawanoe County, Wisconsin, where they now are, a fine tract of timber on their reservation attracted the notice of some white speculators who were eager to gain possession. Unable to obtain a vote of the tribe, as a body, to that end, they craftily persuaded their proposed victims that land-ownership in severalty would place them in a more independent status, and be a long step toward full citizenship. Against strong opposition by the elders of the tribe, who foresaw the results, they brought over many of the younger men, and colluding with the representatives of the congressional district, prepared a bill, engineered it through Congress, and then, with the usual machinery of agents and commissioners, made an allotment of the lands. Next, with the shining coin in hand, they obtained their timber and left their dupes to encounter the results. These were, that a large portion of the tribe, mostly the young and inexperienced, who had been bought out, found

their presence unwelcome, and, having squandered the proceeds of their allotments, were told to shift for themselves, and relieve the protestants of their support. This they did by becoming scattered, and merged with the wilder natives of the neighborhood. Thus the united and prosperous little community was reduced by more than one-third of its numbers. As soon as the mischievous tendency of the enactment was realized, through the intervention of their preachers and leaders, aided by a few philanthropic Congressmen of the present Dawes pattern, it was prepared, and matters placed in *statu quo*, except the effects of the measure, which were irremediable.

As mentioned in our prefatory remarks, our story has close relations with questions concerning our western Indians, now agitating the country. To my own mind one thing is certain—that to render any experiment of land-owning in severalty effective of solid and permanent good to the Indian, *absolute prohibition of white residence among them*, save for educational purposes, should be enacted and enforced. I understand Mr. Dawes' bill on the subject,* now pending congressional action, forbids alienations of ownership for twenty-five years; inferring, doubtless, that a quarter of a century will suffice to render the recipients competent, with proper appliances in aid, to manage their own affairs independently of white influence. This *may* suffice to save the Indians from extinction, and it may *not*. Certainly the time specified is brief enough for the demonstration of a great moral problem, on whose results we may speculate, but which are knowable only to Him "who controls events and governs futurity."

Edw. B. Tamm

STOCKBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS.

* Since become a law.

A LOVE ROMANCE IN HISTORY

Fiction has its peculiar charm for the summer reader. It occupies a certain vein of indolent thought, and is an antidote for the depressing influences of heat and weariness. But there are truths in history, invested with romance, that are far more captivating than any story evolved from the inner consciousness of practiced writers.

In the year 1797, two members of one prominent New York family—a sister and a brother—were married. The first of these weddings was a great social event, bringing together all that was distinguished in the world of politics, religion, law, science, and letters. It occurred on the 6th of June. The bride was Miss Eliza Susan Morton; the bridegroom was the celebrated Josiah Quincy, of Boston. They were young, popular, rich, fair, and talented. The ceremony was performed by Rev. Samuel Stanhope Smith, President of Princeton College, who made the long overland journey to New York (in term time) for the special purpose, Miss Morton having been much in his family, and greatly beloved by every one. She was also a favorite in the family of Judge Theodore Sedgwick, usually spending some months each summer with them, in Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The festivities, blessings, and partings over, the bridal pair departed in an elegant coach drawn by four fine horses, and, after a tour of five days through Connecticut and Massachusetts, reached their Boston home.

The second wedding was far more romantic and much less imposing. It was that of Washington Morton, the younger brother of Mrs. Quincy, in October of the same year. His bride was the beautiful Cornelia Schuyler, daughter of General Philip Schuyler of Albany, and sister of Mrs. Alexander Hamilton. Few gentlemen were better known in the New York of that period than General Jacob Morton and his brother, Washington Morton. They were both lawyers, with an honorable place at the New York bar in the most brilliant period of its history. Jacob Morton was fourteen years older than Washington, and for upwards of thirty years was major-general of the First Division of the militia of the State. During the war of 1812 he was mustered into the service of the United States, and appointed military commander of New York city. He held municipal offices of trust, also, for a long series of years, until he became almost as familiar to the eyes of New York as the City Hall itself; and so strong was his hold upon the popular regard that no change in politics

ever disturbed his position. He was a perfect gentleman of the old school; there are persons living who remember his fine presence, military bearing, erect carriage, alert air, and cordial manners—with powdered hair and faultlessly elegant costume. Washington Morton was a strikingly handsome young man of twenty-two at the time of his marriage, a graduate of Princeton in 1792, of rare fascination and tact in conversation, superb physical strength, and great athletic skill. But up to this date much more of his time had been given to the pleasures of life than to its affairs. He, on one occasion, walked to Philadelphia from New York for a wager, which created no little talk and excitement, it being then an unprecedented feat. "His walk finished, his wager won, after a refreshing bath and toilet, he spent the night with his friends who had accompanied him on horseback, and a party of Philadelphia choice spirits, over a supper-table spread in his honor, at which we may well believe that the conviviality was answerable to the greatness of the occasion."

At the attractive home of Alexander Hamilton young Morton was a favorite guest. Mrs. Hamilton's younger sister, Cornelia, came to spend the winter of 1796-1797, and Washington Morton fell madly in love with her. She was a charming girl, though by no means a belle. She had dark brown hair, which she wore parted in waves over a low white forehead; eyes of deep blue-gray, so shaded and shadowed by lashes that they seemed black in the imperfect light; complexion of that clear paleness which better interprets the varying phases of feeling than a more brilliant color, and a small, rosy mouth with all manner of little lights playing about it, and a slight compression of the lips, betokening strength of will. Her beauty was really of that soft and touching kind which wins gradually upon the heart rather than the senses. Her nature, too pliant and clinging for the rôle of social leadership, which so well became Mrs. Hamilton, had yet a firmness that promised full development through her affections. She was one of the wedding guests when the sister of her lover was married in June, and was radiant on that memorable occasion. The attachment of the handsome young pair was well known to the Morton family; and ere long Miss Cornelia returned to her home in Albany, attended by Washington Morton, who sought an immediate interview with General Schuyler, asking the hand of his daughter in marriage.

Alas! the course of true love was not destined, in this instance, to run smoothly. The sagacious old chieftain was in no hurry to consign his sweet young daughter to the care of a volatile, headstrong youth of twenty-two, however brilliant his prospects and possibilities. He refused to consider the question until the ambitious aspirant should have "slack-

ened his pace to the sober rate befitting a steady-going married man." Young Morton urgently pressed his suit, which angered General Schuyler, who imperiously ordered the ardent lover to attempt no further communication with his daughter. He even went so far as to escort the young man to a boat for New York, and saw him safely on his voyage down the Hudson.

"Come into the library," said the austere father to the blushing Cornelia, as he encountered her on the veranda upon his return to the house. When she had seated herself at his feet, in an attitude of deep dejection, he related what had passed between himself and Washington Morton, adding, "My wishes will, of course, be respected. Promise me to have nothing hereafter to do with him, either by word or letter." "I cannot, sir," was the quick response. "What! do you mean to disobey me?" "I mean that I cannot bind myself by any such pledge as you name, and—I will not."

To chronicle the scene that followed would not be an easy task. General Schuyler, whose word was law in his family, nearly lost his breath. He was amazed beyond expression, and took measures to compel the obedience so unexpectedly withheld by his hitherto amiable and dutiful daughter. Washington Morton, however, was not a man to be turned from his purpose by any such obstacle. He soon found a method whereby to smuggle a letter into the hands of the young lady, in which all a lover's fond hopes and blissful anticipations were depicted in glowing colors. He also gave her the plan of his future course of action, and asked for her co-operation, which was not denied.

Days and weeks passed on. The foliage was beginning to assume its autumn styles; and the cool days of October were being welcomed with cordial fires in the old Schuyler mansion. One night, when the stars were shining peacefully from a cloudless sky, the lover came for his bride. The hour was midnight. The lights had long since been extinguished in the Albany homes, and deep silence throughout the ancient city was unbroken by voice or footstep. Presently two figures wrapped in cloaks were moving swiftly along the deserted streets. One was of princely bearing, the other lithe and graceful. In front of the Schuyler house they paused, sprang lightly over the fence upon the velvety turf of the yard, and gave a signal. A window was gently and slowly raised; one of the gentlemen threw up a rope which was caught and tied; a rope ladder was drawn up, and after a few minutes again lowered; the gentlemen pulled forcibly to ascertain that it was securely fastened, and Cornelia Schuyler stepped out upon the ladder and slowly accomplished her descent in safety. A rapid walk fol-

lowed, and in a few moments the party reached the shores of the Hudson, where a small row-boat was in waiting to convey them to the opposite shore. As they landed a pair of fine horses were to be seen pawing the earth impatiently. The young lady was lifted upon one of these, and her gallant cavalier mounted the other. They bade a hasty adieu to the friends who had assisted in the escapade, and rode off gayly toward the rising sun. Between thirty and forty miles distant was the town of Stockbridge, and straightway to the home of Judge Theodore Sedgwick the runaways proceeded, as he was the common and intimate friend of both families. Presenting themselves before that excellent magistrate, who doubted the evidence of his own eyes when he beheld the singular apparition, they told the story of their engagement and their flight. Of course there was but one thing to do. The clergyman of the place was summoned to the Sedgwick homestead, and the handsome twain were made one with all convenient dispatch. It was a sad blow to General Schuyler, and many months elapsed before he consented to indulge in a forgiving spirit; but he loved his daughter, and had in reality no very grave objections to her dashing husband further than his youth—which, with time enough, might be cured—and in the end he yielded to what he could not help, with the best grace that he could muster.

Martha J Lamb

LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO MISSOURI

The year 1825 was fraught with many events which will always be among the most interesting in the history of Missouri, then a rather youthful but prosperous member of the galaxy of states composing our Union.

On the 29th of April of that year, St. Louis entertained that distinguished patron of Liberty and friend to our Republic, Marquis de Lafayette, known best to Americans by the more democratic title of "General," who was accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, named for one whom the Marquis, in common with all true lovers of freedom, regarded as the most noble of men. This last visit of Lafayette to the United States was made after an absence of forty years, on an invitation from President Monroe, and when the distinguished French patriot was in his sixty-eighth year. He came to revisit the friends and comrades with whom he had been associated during our Revolutionary struggle, and again to look upon the scenes of his youthful exploits in behalf of American independence. He was the beloved guest of a proud and prosperous nation, and his journeys from state to state and city to city were triumphal ovations. Colonel Thomas H. Benton said of this visit: "To the survivors of the Revolution it was the return of a brother; to the new generation, born since that time, it was an apparition of an historical character familiar from the cradle. He visited every state in the Union, as the friend and pupil of Washington. He had spilt his blood and lavished his fortune for their independence. Many were the happy meetings he had with old comrades, survivors for near half a century of those early hardships and dangers. Three of his old associates, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, he found ex-Presidents, enjoying the respect and affection of their country, after having reached its highest honors. Another, and the last one that time would admit to the Presidency, Mr. Monroe, was now in the Presidential chair, and inviting him to revisit the land of his adoption. Many of his early associates were seen in the two Houses of Congress, many in state governments, and many more in the walks of private life, patriarchal sires, respected for their characters and venerated for their patriotic services."

Lafayette came to St. Louis, Missouri, from where he was visiting in New Orleans, in response to an invitation from the citizens of St. Louis.

He made the journey up the Mississippi on one of the fine steamers of that period, reaching Carondelet on the evening of April 28, 1825, where he remained for the night, while the news of his arrival was carried to St. Louis. On the following morning he and his party again boarded their steamer, which had been literally covered with flags and gay streamers by the people of Carondelet, thus striving to show their admiration for their honored visitor, and were borne to the foot of Market, then the principal street of St. Louis, where they landed, and were received by Dr. William Carr Lane, the accomplished mayor of the city, who was accompanied by Colonel Stephen Hempstead (the father of the late Honorable Edward Hempstead), an officer of the Revolution, and by Colonel Auguste Chocteau, an early companion of Laclede, and Captains Gamble and Hill, who commanded the two military companies of St. Louis at that time, that had been called out to act as escort to the distinguished visitor. More than half the population of the city, then somewhat over five thousand, were assembled along the wharf and streets, and eagerly voiced the high esteem in which they held this noble volunteer who had aided in establishing their freedom, by enthusiastic cheers and demonstrations, while the bands of the military and those on the steamers at the wharf quickened the pulses of all present with sweet strains of martial music. Many of the people present felt the more pride in the occasion because they were natives of the same country as Lafayette, and had become citizens of America by adoption, and of their own volition.

The General and his son, accompanied by Dr. Lane and Colonel Hempstead, entered an open barouche, and, followed by carriages conveying other visitors and members of the reception committee, proceeded with their escort up Market to Main Street, and along Main to the corner of Locust Street, where they found the elegant chateau of M. Pierre Chocteau * thrown open to receive them. This beautiful home was fashioned after those of the proprietor's native country, and was surrounded by broad porticos, affording genial promenades and protection from sun and storm. The chateau grounds were inclosed by a strong stone wall, at the northeast angle of which was a handsome watch-tower, adding greatly to the embellishment of the place as well as to its security; within the inclosure were extensive and tastefully cultivated fruit and flower gardens, and a spacious court-yard. In this courtly mansion, or rather castle, the party spent some time, enjoying the hospitalities of the generous owner.

* This family is still among the most aristocratic and highly respected of St. Louis; still retaining much of the valuable property acquired by their ancestor, M. Pierre, at the early date of his settlement in Missouri.

Taking leave of M. Choteau and his family, the visitors and their escort proceeded to the Mansion House, then the leading public-house of the city, situated on the northeast corner of Third and Market Streets, where they attended a magnificent banquet and ball, at which the beauty and chivalry of the "Old French City" did their utmost to contribute to the pleasure of their guest and his party. Later in the evening Lafayette and his son visited Missouri Lodge No. 1 of Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons, to which order they both belonged, where they were received by about sixty brethren and welcomed by the late Archibald Gamble, and were both elected honorary members of that Lodge.

This Lodge is still in existence, and distinguished as being the oldest and strongest lodge in Missouri.

The following morning the General was escorted to his boat by a large concourse of citizens, who demonstrated their regard for him and their appreciation of his visit by wild bursts of enthusiasm, continuing to send up cheer after cheer as the boat left the shore to bear its distinguished passenger on his journey to Kaskaskia.

From Kaskaskia General Lafayette proceeded to Washington; and Congress, then in session, placed at his disposal the frigate *Brandywine*, an elegant new vessel, to bear him back to his home in France. Circumstances made this a pleasing compliment to him, as the vessel had been named in honor of the river on whose banks he fought his first battle, September 11, 1777, and was wounded in the cause of liberty.

Dr. William Carr Lane, who was mayor of St. Louis at the time of Lafayette's visit, was a gentleman of rare gifts and accomplishments, and a most indefatigable worker in any enterprise he undertook, and to him, and his four or five administrations as chief officer of the city, does St. Louis owe much of her high commercial and social position of to-day; and Missouri is also in a great measure indebted to his wisdom for her early development, and enviable rank among her sister States.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in black ink, reading "William A. Hood". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the left and then loops back under the name.

KINGSTON, MISSOURI.

MINOR TOPICS

THE VALUE OF HISTORICAL STUDY

Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs, in his recent brilliant address at Amherst College, said :

The mind is always expanded and liberalized by what puts distant lands and times, with the exacting and disciplinary experiences of one's own ancestors or of other peoples, distinctly before it. To a certain extent foreign travel does this, as it sets the immeasurably wider expanses, filled with energetic and laborious life, in contrast with the narrower scenes with which one before had been familiar. But history, when carefully studied—studied as it should be, with maps, topographic plans, careful itineraries, photographs of monuments or of sights—does the same thing for the home-keeping student, and does it in some important respects in a yet freer and bolder fashion. The centuries of the past present themselves in perspective. We see the vast cosmical movements from which States have been born, in which subsequent civilizations took rise and in which the devout mind discovers the silent procedures of Providence. We learn how far removed from us were initial influences that are now only flowering into results, and how our life is affected at this hour by political combinations and military collisions which preceded by ages the invasion of England by the Normans or the splendid schemes of Charlemagne. It is quite impossible that one who reads with comprehensive attention till this immense and vital picture is in a measure opened before him should not be consciously broadened in thought, expanded even in mental power ; that he should not freshly and deeply feel how limited is his individual sphere ; how local, although so multiplied by endowments from the past, are his personal opportunities ; what a vast scheme it is which is being evolved through stir of discussion, rush of emigration, competitions of industry, crash of conflict, by the Power which gives its unity to history and which is perpetually educing great harmonies out of whatever seeming discords.

Not merely a general expansion of thought, and, one may say, of the compass of the mind comes with this outreaching study of history. It trains directly, with vigorous force, in fine proportion, each chief intellectual faculty. I am satisfied that in either of the professions, in journalism, in educational work, or in the simply private life of an educated citizen, the effect will appear ; that one accustomed to wide and searching historical inquiries will be more expert in judging even of practical questions presented to-day and will have a more discerning apprehension of the forces working to modify legislation and mold society—forces which are often more formidable or more replete with victorious energy, because subtle and occult.

We may wait years, or we may journey thousands of miles, to meet in the present the special spirit whose office it is, and whose sovereign prerogative, to kindle and ennoble ours. It is but to step to the library shelf, to come face to face with such in the past, if we know where to find them. Nay, it is but to let the thought go backward, over what has become distinct in our minds, and the silent company is around us ; the communion of rejoicing and consecrated souls, the illustrious fellowships, in the presence of whom our meanness is rebuked, our cowardice is shamed, and we become the freer children of God and of the truth. Not only the romance of the world is in history, but influences so high in source and in force as to be even sacred descend through it. Benedictory, sacramental is its touch upon responsive souls. We become comparatively careless of circumstances ; aware of kinship, in whatsoever heroic element may be in us, with the choice transcendent spirits ; regardless of the criticism, or snarling scoffs, which may here surround us, if only conscious of deeper and of more generous correspondence with those whose elate and unsubduable temper remains among the treasures of mankind.

I think that to our times, especially, the careful and large study of history is among the most essential sources of moral inspiration. The cultivation of it, in ever larger and richer measure, is one of the best and noblest exercises proposed to young minds. The importance of individual life and effort is magnified by it, instead of being diminished or disguised, as men sometimes fancy ; since one is continually reminded afresh of the power which belongs to those spiritual forces which all may assist, in animating and molding civilization. Of course, an imperfect study of history, however rapid and rudimental, shows how often the individual decision and the restraining or inspiring action of great personalities have furnished the pivots on which the multitudinous consequences have turned ; how, even after long intervals of time, the effects of such have made themselves evident, in changed conditions and tendencies of peoples ; and so it reminds us, with incessant iteration, of the vital interlocking of every energetic personal life with the series of lives which unconsciously depend upon it, of the reach of its influence upon the great complex of historical progress, and of the service which each capable or eminent spirit may render to the cause of universal culture and peace. But those to whom our thoughts are thus turned have been for the most part signal men in their times, remarkable in power, distinguished in opportunity, intuitively discerning the needs of the age, and with peculiar competence to meet them.

History is a department of study leaving, in my judgment, as distinct and salutary religious impressions as does any form of secular knowledge opened to man. Ours is a historical religion, coming to us through historical books, exhibiting its energy, through two thousand years, in the recorded advancement of mankind, which can be studied almost as distinctly in the moral and social progress of peoples under its inspiration, as in the writings of narrative and epistle, which open to our view the source and the guidance of that progress. Divine purpose in all history becomes gradually apparent to him who, with attentive thought, surveys

its annals. The Bible proceeds upon the assumption of such a plan, though perhaps no one of its separated writers had a full conception of that which he was in part portraying. Back, beyond the beginnings of history, onward to the secure consummation, lovely and immortal, which prophecies prefigure, extends this plan. Parts of it are yet inscrutable to us, as parts of the heavens are still unsounded by any instrument. But the conviction becomes constantly clearer, among those to whom the records of the past unfold in a measure not contents only, but glowing portents, that a divine mind has presided over all ; that every remotest people or tribe has had its part to do or to bear in the general progress ; and that at last, when all is interpreted, the unity of the race, with the incessant interaction of its parts, under the control and in the concord of a divine scheme, will come distinctly into view. Mysterious movements as of the peoples who from woods and untamed wastes inundated Europe, and before whose irresistible momentum bastions and ramparts, the armies and ensigns of the Mistress of the World went hopelessly down, will be seen to have had their impulse and direction as well as their end. Great passive empires, as of China, will be found to have served some sovereign purpose ; and the mind which sees the end from the beginning will be evidenced in the ultimate human development as truly as it is in the swing of suns, or in the conformation of unmeasured constellations.

The British Empire a week ago was ringing and flaming with the august and brilliant ceremonies which marked the completion of fifty years in the reign of one whose name is with us, almost as generally as in her own realms, a household word. American hearts joined those of her kinsmen across the sea, around the world, in giving God thanks for the purity and piety with which the young maiden of fifty years since has borne herself, amid gladness and grief, overshadowing change and vast prosperity ; and for the progress of industry and of liberty, of commerce, education, and Christian faith, by which her times have been distinguished. But something more than the wisdom of statesmen, or the valor of captains, or the silent or resonant work of man, has been involved in all this. An unseen Power has been guiding events to the fulfillment of plans wide as the world, and far more ancient than Dover Cliffs, or the narrow seas which gleam around them. The ultimate kingdom of righteousness and peace is nearer for these remarkable years. It was well to render grateful praise in church and chapel, in cathedral and abbey, in quiet homes and in great universities, to Him who has given such luster to the fame, and such success to the reign, of the wise and womanly and queenly Victoria. But as with her reign so with all that advancing history of mankind in connection with which this brilliant half-century of feminine supremacy and imperial expansion reveals its significance. It discloses the silent touch and the sweeping command of Divine forecasts. It reverberates with echoes to superlative designs. I know of no other department of study, outside of the Scriptures, more essentially or profoundly religious. A Christian college may well hold it in honoring esteem, and give it in permanence an eminent place among the studies which it proposes. In

our recent country, in our times of rapid and tumultuous change, it seems to me that we specially need this, as the thoughtful among us are specially inclined to it ; since it is vital to the dignity and self-poise of our national life that we feel ourselves interknit with the life of the world, from which the ocean does not divide us, that we recognize our distinctive inheritance in the opulent results of the effort and the struggle of other generations. It is a bright and encouraging indication of the best qualities of the American spirit, as well as of the vigor and vivacity of the American mind and the variety of its attainments, that such studies are eagerly prosecuted among us, and that those who have given to them, with splendid enthusiasm, laborious leivs—like Prescott, Motley, our honored Bancroft—have been among the most inspiring of our teachers, have gained and will keep their principal places in that Republic of letters from which the Republic of political fame must always take grace and renown.

HISTORICAL TREASURES

Onondaga County will some day regret the loss of many things which might now be permanently secured, and this thought arose as we looked over the three large volumes containing the valuable autograph collections of Henry C. Van Schaack, Esq., of Manlius, a well-known member of some of our prominent historical societies, who has written much on the period of the Revolution, to which most of his collection relates. Collating his father's papers half a century since, he secured many valuable mementoes of that period, to which were added many documents from the Mohawk Valley and other sources, until the series is almost unequaled in the country. The arrangement has been a labor of love, each letter or autograph being securely placed in the volume, and accompanied with explanatory notes, a vast amount of printed matter, and many views and portraits. All the signers of the Declaration of Independence are represented, and Washington's familiar signature several times appears. John Hancock's sturdy stroke and Stephen Hopkins' trembling hand attract attention at once. Lafayette's neat writing is seen in several letters written in English, and Gates and the captive Burgoyne are both represented. General Greene, the able general who led Cornwallis such a chase ; Hull, of Detroit notoriety ; Harmar, afterward unfortunate in Indian wars ; Montgomery, who fell in the assault on Quebec ; Warren, of Bunker Hill fame ; Sullivan, who raided the country of the Cayugas and Senecas ; Philip Schuyler, to whom Burgoyne's defeat was really due ; Gansevoort and Willett, the defenders of Fort Stanwix ; Knox, Morgan, Lee, Moultrie, Colonel Washington, and others have prominent places. Here is seen the small, distinct writing of Aaron Burr, and of Alexander Hamilton, whom he slew ; and the Livingstons, Jefferson, the Adams family, the Pinckneys, Bushrod Washington, John Jay, Arthur Lee, Boudinot, Gouverneur and Robert Morris have many memorials.

Any one will look with interest on Benedict Arnold's writing, and will attentively peruse Colonel Brown's denunciation of him "in the camp before Quebec." That camp is well represented, and there is a curious sentence of a court-martial on three deserters, who were to sit three hours under a gallows with halters around their necks, and then receive thirty lashes each.

An autograph poem by Captain Nathan Hale, the unfortunate spy, will not be overlooked, and the pleasant correspondence between some of the American leaders and their refugee friends, after the war, is of great interest. Indeed, one of the execrated Butlers showed great kindness to some of his Mohawk Valley friends when they were prisoners in Canada; but little can be said favorably of the cruel Walter Butler, whose autograph here appears. Sir William, Guy and John Johnson, and Daniel Claesse, are among the prominent signatures on Indian affairs, among which appears a statement by an Indian chief, with a name too long for our columns.

Paul Revere's autograph is in the collection, with all the accounts of his famous ride. In a neat note from James Madison his name appears at the beginning, not at the end: "James Madison desires," etc. There are letters from Governor Carleton, of Canada, and from colonial governors, as Colden and Delancey; from the first governors of the State of New York, as George Clinton and others, as well as British officers of the war of the Revolution, and some later celebrities. Among the miscellaneous matter are manifestoes of committees of safety, bills for supplies, secret letters, lists of houses destroyed and persons killed or wounded, public seals, Continental money, autographs of Presidents of Congress and state officers. One curious legal decision, on the raising of a liberty pole, must be noticed. It was determined that this was lawful, and as pikes and pitchforks might be needed in the work, to bring these did not constitute a violent assembly. One letter was written from Fort Brewerton, at the foot of Oneida Lake, but most of this valuable collection relates to places farther east.—*Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, in Gazette and Farmers' Journal.*

LADY FRANKLIN IN GREECE

Editor of Magazine of American History :—In looking at the portrait of Lady Franklin, I am reminded of the time when she visited Greece, early in her married life. The interior of the country was yet in a disturbed condition, and brigands abounded. She traveled through that country on horseback, a feat accomplished by only two foreign ladies until 1855, Lady Franklin and Mrs. Mary G. Benjamin, my mother, both journeys being previous to 1844.

Respectfully yours,

S. G. W. BENJAMIN

REV. MARK HOPKINS, LL.D.

The career of the eminent Christian scholar, Rev. Mark Hopkins, LL.D., who died on the 17th of June, 1887, is exceptionally interesting. He has long been recognized as the greatest man who has presided over an American college within the present century. He was an original, fearless, athletic thinker, and philosophical writer, a master of the art of expression, either by voice or pen, and one of the most beloved of teachers. All over the world men in highest positions speak of him as once their instructor, and as the prince of all teachers. It was our martyred President, Garfield, who said: "Give me a log cabin in the centre of the state of Ohio, with one room in it, and a bench with Mark Hopkins on one end of it and me on the other, that would be a good enough college for me."

The story of President Hopkins's life is largely a history of Williams College, of which he was president thirty-six years, in addition to nearly two dozen years of industrious instruction in the institution, exercising great influence. At the recent meeting of the alumni of Williams, President Carter pictured with graceful humor the conditions that surround commencement week, and then passed to tender words of the great dead. The resolutions on Mark Hopkins were as follows:

"The alumni of Williams College, recalling with gratitude the inestimable service which they have each and all received from their venerated teacher, Mark Hopkins, do not attempt at this time to estimate the value of his life work, nor to measure a man who embodied in himself all that his teaching impressed upon them. They desire simply to record their love and reverence for one who by his life bore witness to the highest truth, and by his death bequeathed to the college the inspiring memory of his devotion to knowledge, his greatness of mind and heart, and his sustained and fruitful activity. Identified with the college as a teacher and president for more than half a century, Dr. Hopkins greatly advanced its standing, its usefulness and its power. A patient, fearless, open-minded student, he gave his instruction the large and fruitful method which is the possession of the great teachers alone. Holding truth always as that which makes for character, he charged his teaching with the ethical completeness which is the end of education. Enforcing knowledge with unbroken appeal to obligation, he identified it to generations of students with purity of life and with unselfish consecration to humanity.

The great loss which the college feels so keenly is felt most keenly in the home where Dr. Hopkins's genial and benignant nature reached its kindest aspects. To her who bears his honored name and to the family, so long and so intimately associated with the college, the alumni extend their sincerest sympathy.

Gathered in the place which has been consecrated by his life work, the pupils of Dr. Hopkins resolve to perpetuate his name by a memorial, which shall be both an enlargement of the power and usefulness of the college, and an enduring witness to his personality. To this end they pledge their personal effort, con-

ceiving that they can honor their great teacher in no more lasting manner than by broadening the foundations of the college to which he gave his noble life."

The Boston Association of Alumni of Williams College entered the following minute upon their records :

"The death of Mark Hopkins, theologian, philosopher, teacher, is to every son of Williams a personal loss. His noble presence has remained clear and distinct in the memory of students after scenes in their college life have become dim and forgotten. It has stood to them for an influence strong and vital. He taught them to think, and by his devotion to noble aims, as well as by his counsels and prayers, he taught them to live. He was a city set on a hill, that could not be hid, and while he has been for half a century a great figure in American thought, he has been in all that time the inspiration and the friend of multitudes who now rise and call him blessed. His students honor his memory ; they mourn with his family, and they renew their devotion to the college which he, a master of workmen, hewed out of the mountains of New England."

RECENT WORDS OF WISDOM

Men act according to their sentiments. Not what he knows, but what he feels, is a man's real motive power. The powder does not furnish itself with the spark for its own explosion, and human thoughts, all knowledge, all science, though having the vastest capability, do not, cannot move men till kindled by some fire of feeling, which they themselves are utterly unable to evoke.—*President Seelye, at Amherst.*

The scholar in politics is the man quite as useful as the man who reads only partisan papers and believes that honesty and integrity are merely theoretic.—*George William Curtis, at Amherst.*

It is certainly a critical period in the experience of the world, and specially of our own nation, at which the young men of these passing years are entering upon their life's work. In material things our people are moving, as if in an hour, out of the limitations and moderation of the past into all the resources and wealth of the most luxurious nations.—*President Dwight, at Yale.*

Great writers and orators are commonly economists in the use of words. They compel common words to bear a burden of thought and emotion which mere rhetoricians, with all the language at their disposal, would never dream of imposing upon them. It is said that Jeremiah Mason cured Daniel Webster of the florid foolery of his early rhetorical style. Mason relentlessly pricked all rhetorical bubbles, reducing them at once to the small amount of ignominious suds which the orator's breath had converted into colored globes having some appearance of stability as well as splendor.—*Edwin Percy Whipple.*

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Two General orders relating to those of the German troops of the Saratoga Convention stationed at Winchester, Virginia.

[From the manuscript collection of William L. Stone.]

"G. O. Winchester, 11th April, 1781.

The Parole of the German officers is to be in future Ten Miles in circumference around the Borough of Winchester.

(Signed)

F. Wood, *Col. Com."*

"Gen. Order, 12th April, 1781.

The Brunswick Troops will be removed by Detachments as fast as the Huts can be procured for them. The Hesse-Hanau Regiment will have only their proportion of those already built. Col. Holme will please to direct the manner of building the Huts, & will stimulate the Troops, already in the Barracks, to build for themselves as soon as possible, as they must give up those they occupy at present to the Brunswick Troops in a few days. The Troops at the Barracks are limited to one mile in circumference; & if they are found at any greater distance, they will be committed to Goal & there closely confined.

(Signed)

F. Wood, *Col. Com."*

Two Letters of Colonel Beverley Robinson, never before published.

[Contributed by William L. Pelletreau.]

[The following letters written by Colonel Robinson to his brother-in-law, Frederick Philipse, and to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Margaret Ogilvie (widow of Philip Philipse, who afterwards married Rev. John Ogilvie), have been recently found among the Philipse papers. Mortlake, where he resided after his banishment to England, is a village on the Surrey side of the Thames, about eight miles from London. He afterwards lived at Thornbury, and died there in 1792.—WILLIAM L. PELLETREAU.]

(First Letter)

Mort Lake May 5 1786

D^r Fred^k

I must now trouble you with a memorandum on my own account which I did not think of time enough to give it you yesterday. It is suspected that the Com-

missioners * mean to regulate their allowances to us by the sales of our Lands under the Confiscation Laws. If so some of us will have but a very scant pittance indeed, and I am afraid I shall be worse off than almost any other person if that should be their guide to value my estate by : but for all the accounts I have ever had concerning the sale of my lands, they were sold, or rather given away, for mere trifles in a private way. I am informed that the greatest & most valuable part of my lands particularly those at Fredericksburg, were disposed of during the war, long before the peace, or any certainty that Independence would be granted to the Americans. That the sales were not publicly advertised, only a written advertisement put up by ye Commissioners who sold them, at a country tavern door, a few days before the sale, for only a farm or two at a time, & at last sold without being put up to the highest bidder. That several of the tenants who were their friends had their farms for little or nothing, as a reward for their services, & to make a beginning of the sales. If that was ye method of selling, there is no wonder that they sold so low & so much under what they would have been valued at by good judges before the war. As I suppose no person is better acquainted with the Patent than Mr. Belden I must beg you will give my best respects to him, and request him to make an enquiry into these matters as soon as he can : and if he can get proof of the time and manner of the sales & who were the purchasers, and secondly to get two or three honest reputable men, who are good Judges of the value of Lands & are acquainted with mine, to give their opinion on oath what they thought they were worth before the war, he will do me an essential service & I shall be much obliged to him. Any expense he may be at I will readily pay. I should be glad to know if any demand has been made on my tenants for their arrears of rent due me and for what they owed me on Bond and note.

Wishing you all Happiness

I am D^r Fred^k your

affectionate friend &c

Bev. Robinson.

(Second Letter)

Mort Lake April 28 1787.

My Dear Sister

I really am ashamed to acknowledge that this is only the second time I have wrote to you since I have been in England. I hope you will forgive me for so great a neglect, and not attribute it to the want of regard and respect for I assure you my love and friendship for you does not abate in the least, and it gives me great pleasure whenever I hear of your health and happiness.

* Appointed by British Government to fix compensation to royalists.

As have nothing to say to you on business having before mentioned everything I knew of or can recollect to be necessary, and also gave Fred^k when he left us every information about ye Highlands material for him to know, I shall therefore only give you a short account of our family. Morris was married the 13th, of this month to a Miss Waring, a very agreeable good young lady & of worthy family but a small fortune. He has taken a house and some land at Llantrossent in Glamorganshire, one hundred and sixty-seven miles from London which is a trifling distance in this country being only two moderate days traveling, he has his place very reasonable it being a very cheap country he hopes by industry & frugality to live very comfortably & save a little of his small income and I really believe he will be very happy.

William is appointed Commissary of Masters in the West Indies for the islands of Dominica, Antigua, St. Kitts, Munserat and Neviss, the first island is his headquarters. He sailed the 17th of last month and left us in high spirits, being much pleased with his appointment. Phil* is with his Regiment now at Plymouth and as ye Regiment frequently move their quarters I dont expect we shall see him very often. he is worse off than any of his brothers having nothing but his pay to subsist on & it not being in my power to assist him he is poor fellow often in great distress. Beverley and John you know are in New Brunswick where I hope they will do very well. Bev. and his wife make it a rule to have a son every September, they now have five sons and all very fine healthy boys. I have not heard from them since the beginning of Jan. last at which time they were all very well.

My family now consists only of my wife the two girls and myself and I have the pleasure to tell you we are all very well and all unite in love & best respects to you with our most ardent wishes for your health and happiness. My wife requests the favor of you to send her the ages of her brothers and sisters out of the Dutch Bible. I have received two letters from my old servants in which they express their love and regard for us. In return I send them the enclosed answers which I beg you will send to them. I fear old Belinder having no master to provide for her may be in a suffering situation, I must therefore my dear sister beg ye favor of you to make some enquiry about her, and if you find she is in distress that you will supply her with such necessaries as she may want from time to time to prevent her from suffering and draw upon me for ye cost of them which shall be punctually paid, tho I was glad to see by an Act of the State that there was a provision made for all slaves in her situation, I was also glad to hear that all ye young negroes I had put out in the country were by an Act of the Legislature to be made free, which I suppose was ye reason why their parents in one of their letters desired to know if I had sold any of them. I beg you will assure them I never did sell one of them, nor ever had any intention so to do.†

* Frederick Philipse Robinson.

† Colonel Robinson was owner in the right of his wife of one-third of Philipse Patent, now Putnam County, New York. The various farms on his estate were sold by the Commissioners of

I intended to have wrote a long letter to Fred^k but I am told he is expected over here before this can reach you, which I am very sorry to hear because the reason of his coming is, that they will not repeal the Act that affects him, but I shall be glad to see him. My wife & I desire you will give our best respects to Mrs. Barclay Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Williams and all enquiring friends.

I am dear sister with

great respect & esteem

your ever faithful & afft

Bev. Robinson.

I suppose you have heard of Miss Morris marriage which she is very well to a very Hon^{ble} good man with a handsome fortune.* Mrs. Philipse and all her family are at Chester & very well.

To Mrs. Ogilvie New York, North America, by favor of Mrs. White.

Forfeitures by auction, and in most cases to men who had previously held them as tenants. His oldest son Beverley, lived during the latter part of his life in New York, where his descendants may yet be found. His tombstone in the southeast corner of St. Paul's church-yard bears the following: "Sacred to the Memory of the Hon. Beverley Robinson, late of Frederickton, in the Province of New Brunswick. Born on the 8th of March, 1751, and died on the 6th of October, 1816."

*The "Miss Morris," was Joanna, daughter of Colonel Roger Morris, wife of Thomas Cowper Hincks, and niece of Colonel Robinson.

NOTES

OUR DIPLOMATIC SERVICE—In a report made to President Jackson, in 1833, by Edward Livingston, then Secretary of State, the whole of which is worth attentive study, it is said : “ Ministers are considered as favorites, selected to enjoy the pleasures of foreign travel at the expense of the people ; their places as sinecures ; and their residence abroad as a continued scene of luxurious enjoyment. Their exertions, their embarrassments, their laborious intercourse with the governments to which they are sent, their anxious care to avoid anything that might, on the one hand, give just cause of offense, or to neglect or to abandon the rights of their country or its citizens, on the other, are all unknown at home. Even the merit of their correspondence, from which at least the reward of honor might be derived, is hid in the archives of the department, and rarely sees the light ; and, except in the instances of a successful negotiation for claims, a minister returns to his country, after years of the most laborious exertion of the highest talent, with an injured, if not a broken fortune, his countrymen ignorant of his exertions, and undervaluing them, perhaps, if known. On the whole, there is scarcely an office of which the duties, properly performed, are more arduous, more responsible, and less fairly appreciated than that of minister to a country with which we have important commercial relations.”—*Schuyler's American Diplomacy*.

REV. ROSWELL DWIGHT HITCHCOCK, D.D.—In the sudden death, on the 17th

of June, 1887, of President Hitchcock, of Union Theological Seminary, New York, the American public have sustained an overwhelming loss. This great Christian educator is universally recognized as “one of the very ablest men who ever presided over any theological institution in this country, and his scholastic achievements have won distinguished honors, and commanded respectful consideration in other lands. He was an accomplished theologian, an earnest thinker, a charming companion, and a most gifted and impressive public speaker. Whatever the occasion, he was never found unprepared or uninteresting; in the fewest words he could hold an audience, and produce powerful effects. No matter, says the *New York Tribune*, whether the occasion was the introduction of a distinguished visitor from abroad to a large audience, or simply familiar talk with one of his classes, Dr. Hitchcock always said something that could be carried away and remembered. He would often begin or close a lecture in church history, that necessarily consisted mainly of dates or theological opinions, with a few personal words of great interest from his own experience and observation, or give a forecast in regard to the subject under discussion. In introducing Archdeacon Farrar to one of the large Chickering Hall audiences he illustrated his well-known habit of condensing a column into a paragraph, as follows :

‘ I am glad to be your representative to-night in introducing Archdeacon Farrar to this metropolis—this commer-

cial metropolis—of the United States. In him we welcome no alien. There is an old England that stretches from Northumberland to Cornwall; there is a young England that belts the world—that leads the world in enterprise, in civilization, in Christianity. Dr. Farrar was born in the Asiatic division of this England; he has been reared in the European; but he is not an alien in American-England. In the second place, he is no stranger here. The learning and eloquence of the scholar and preacher have preceded him across the ocean. His books are found in our households and we greet him not as a stranger, but rather as an old acquaintance.'

In announcing that the seminary would be closed on the day of Mr. Beecher's funeral, Dr. Hitchcock said:

'The boy is the father of the man—that tells the whole story. No man knew his own limitations better than Mr. Beecher, but this is not the time to speak of these. He was a poet without rhythm; a philosopher without method; a theologian without system. Mr. Beecher may

well be called the apostle of the humanities; in no man has the philanthropic and reformatory spirit been more prominent. In this he was a bright and a shining light. The high-water mark of Mr. Beecher's eloquence was reached when he faced those hostile, supercilious English audiences at the time of the Civil War, and beat them down and threshed them with the awful flail of his mighty eloquence.' "

KINGS BRIDGE INDIANS—In his history of the town of Kings Bridge, New York, Mr. Thomas H. Edsall says: "The Indian name of this section was *Weck-quaeskeek*—'the birch-bark country'—and its residents were known to the first settlers *Wickerscreek* Indians. In person they were tolerably stout. Their hair was worn shorn to a coxcomb on top with a long lock depending on one side. They wore beaver and other skins, with the fur inside in winter and outside in summer, and also coats of Turkey feathers. They were valiant warriors."

QUERIES

CASTING A SHOE AFTER A BRIDE—*Editor of Magazine of American History*:—What gave rise to the custom of casting a shoe after a bride?

EDGAR BOWDOIN

SAN FRANCISCO, July 4, 1887.

DID SIR HENRY CLINTON INTRODUCE THE WEEPING WILLOW IN AMERICA?—I cut the following scrap from the *Living Church*, of Chicago, of July 2, 1887: "The weeping willow seems to have a romantic history. The first scion was

sent from Smyrna in a box of figs to Alexander Pope. Gen. Clinton brought a shoot from Pope's tree to America in the time of the Revolution, which, passing into the hands of John Parke Custis, was planted on his estate in Virginia, thus becoming the progenitor of the weeping willow in America." Is there any truth in this "story," as to Sir Henry Clinton? X. Y. Z

EGYPTIAN OBELISK—Will some one of the readers of the *Magazine of American*

History give us the history of the Egyptian Obelisk in Central Park, New York?

AMOS H. FULLER

NEW ROCHELLE.

CHANGE IN THE ENGLISH CALENDAR
—When were eleven days dropped out of the English calendar to make the year agree with that of Continental countries?

Q. P. MANSFIELD

SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS.

WILLIAM SWAYNE, DAVID OGDEN, DANIEL CLARKE, OR CLARK—Information is wanted of the birthplace and ancestry of the Swaynes. William Swayne, or Swaine, came to this country from England in 1635, in the *Elizabeth and Ann*, at the same time as Thomas Lord, of Hartford. His age was 50, and he was recorded "gentleman." He "settled in Watertown, afterwards removed to Wethersfield, Connecticut, where he was appointed commissioner to rule the new settlement; afterwards removed to Branford." He held high offices and was a leading man. His son, Samuel, was

representative in Connecticut in 1663; afterwards leader of a new colony to Newark, New Jersey, from which he was a representative.

Captain David Ogden, grandson of John Ogden, founder of Elizabeth, New Jersey, 1678–1760, was a lawyer in Newark, and married "Abigail" —. Is her family name known to any of the descendants? Or anything of her ancestry?

Daniel Clarke, or Clark, came to America in 1639; died 1710, aged 87. One of his descendants, Ann Clarke, of Northampton (now deceased), said he was a nephew of Rev. Ephraim Hunt, former minister at Wraxhall, or Wroxhall, near Kenilworth, and to have come from Chester or Westchester. "Hon. Daniel Clark" was "Captain," "Secretary of the Colony," and held other high offices. Is anything further known concerning the ancestry of Daniel Clarke, or of his relationship to Rev. Mr. Hunt? The above data are desired for a genealogical work. Address,

MRS. EDWARD E. SALISBURY

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

REPLIES

OUR PRESIDENTS AS HORSEMEN [xvii. 483]—"De minimis non curantur" seems the maxim that governs some writers. Mr. Carpenter has written a lively article with the above title. On p. 482 he says: "Washington rode a fine chestnut charger when he received the sword of Cornwallis, Oct. 19, 1781."

It was a condition of the capitulation that the officers should retain their side arms, so, of course, Cornwallis retained his sword and Washington did not re-

ceive it. Cornwallis was not even present at the surrender "*through indisposition*" as announced by General O'Hara, who made the formal surrender of the garrison to Major-General Lincoln as appointed by Washington! See *Irving's Life of Washington*, Vol. iv., p. 384. Mr. Carpenter, on p. 485, says: "Washington rode in his southern tour, in 1791, 1900 miles behind two horses in his white chariot." This statement places Washington's judgment in his plan of so long a

journey over execrable roads—fords and dangerous ferries and to be prolonged into the summer—at a very low point. He was *facile princeps* of all the Presidents in his knowledge and management of horses. He excelled in his logic in all practical matters in adapting means to the end in view. It is said that his Secretary of War estimated that 7,000 men would be sufficient to put down the whisky insurrection in Pennsylvania. Washington then called out 15,000. He is now, nearly at the close of a century, placed as it were on his defense for cruelty to his *two horses*.

The following paragraph is found in his "Diary, edited by B. J. Lossing, New York, 1860," p. 154: "March 21st 1791. *My equipage & attendance consisted of a chariot and four horses drove in hand—a light baggage waggon & two horses, four saddle horses, besides a led one for myself, & five attendants.*" At Colchester ferry, April 7, soon after leaving Mount Vernon "with the *four horses* hitched to the chariot, one of the leaders got overboard 50 yards from the shore, and the others, one after another, all got overboard harnessed and fastened as they were, and were saved with no damage to horses, carriage, or harness" (pp. 162, 163, *Ib.*) On the 15th, he took two hired horses for a stage of twenty miles to relieve those in the baggage wagon.

"On the 16th, he crossed the Roanoke in a flat boat which took in *a carriage and four horses at once*" (p. 170). After his return to Mount Vernon, he wrote, June 13th, to Alexander Hamilton that he "performed the tour with *the same set of horses*" (*Sparks' Writings of Wash-*

ington, V. x., p. 167). He wrote 20th July to David Humphreys, "The *same horses* performed the whole tour, and although much reduced in flesh kept up their full spirits to the last day" (*Ib.* p. 170). Irving (Vol. v., p. 40), says: "Washington set out on his Eastern tour from New York in his carriage *and four horses.*" This was his custom in traveling, and we inquire how Mr. Carpenter could have so entirely misapprehended the facts? He doubtless adopted the positive language of Mr. Lossing. "Diary, p. 15, note (of the Southern tour in 1791) he performed a journey of about 1900 miles in 3 *months* with the *same span of horses.*" Lossing virtually repeats this with variations on p. 202, "a journey of more than 1700 miles in 66 *days* with the *same team of horses.*" Mr. Lossing's error arose from his misconception of Washington's ideas and practice, and interpreting his phrase "*same set of horses,*" numbering eleven, by "*a span*" or "*team of horses.*"

O. P. H.

NEW YORK, July 10.

"BOODLE" [xviii. 82] — 'Bode' is Scotch signifying "to proffer, often as implying the idea of some degree of constraint."—*Jameson's Scottish Dictionary*.

This *may be* the root of the new word lately added to our language.

WM. KITE

GERMANTOWN LIBRARY.

AT THE DEATH ANGLE [xvi. 176]—*Editor of Magazine of American History*:—There is a remarkable similarity between the paper above named, by Charles A. Patch, and "From the Wilderness to

Spottsylvania," by R. S. Robertson, published in December, 1884, as well as some errors, particularly where the author speaks of the "celebrated oak, upon whose trunk the Confederate colors were lashed, causing it to become the centre of such a furious rain of lead, that, although twenty-two inches in diameter, it was literally cut in twain, and falling, injured many of the foe." This incident is also mentioned in "From the Wilderness to Spottsylvania," but the Confederate colors were not lashed to the tree, nor did it, in falling, injure many of the foe, for the very good reason that none but Union troops were near it when it fell. Again, in describing the dragging off of the abandoned Confederate gun, Mr. Patch falls into a serious error when he says, "After a number of shots the firing was suddenly stopped, and a team of horses quickly run out, attached to the piece, and it was brought in triumphantly to the Union lines." The stoppage of the firing and the team of horses are creatures of imagination and not facts. Under a heavy fire, a squad of gallant volunteers from the 26th Michigan Infantry, belonging to First Brigade, First Division, Second Army Corps, crept out to the gun with a long rope and dragged it into our lines without the aid of any horses.

R. S. ROBERTSON,
Brevet Captain U. S. Volunteers.
Brevet Colonel N. Y. Volunteers.

HORSE CHESTNUTS.—[xvii. 263, 352, 529] The nuts of this tree furnish a very useful kind of food for cattle. Horses will eat them readily, so will cows, sheep, and poultry. They improve the milk of cows wonderfully, make it much richer in quality; and horses subject to coughs are benefited by a diet of it. When they are given to sheep, it is considered desirable to steep them in lime water in order to take off the bitterness; then wash them well in water, and boil them. They should be prepared for poultry feeding in a similar way, but for cows and horses they simply need crushing. The tree possesses many useful qualities. Its bark is medicinal; it is an astringent, and a powder is made of it in combination with the bark of a willow, and the roots of gentian, sweet flag, and avens, which equals (so foreign M. D.'s say) powder of Cinchona. The prickly husks of the nuts are employed on the Continent in tanning leather. A German, named Spogel, has prepared a kind of paste or size from the fruit, which has the peculiar property of preventing moths or vermin from breeding in cases cemented by it. The receipt for preparing this is: Clear the nuts of the hard shell, as well as of the inner skin, cut them into four pieces, dry them in the oven, and pound them into a fine flour, take rain-water, with a small quantity of alum dissolved in it, and work the flour with it into a proper consistence.—RABY, in *Land and Water*.

SOCIETIES

NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The sixty-fourth annual meeting was held in the society's building in Concord on June 8, the president in the chair. The reports of the several officers were read, by which it appeared that the balance in the treasury amounted to \$9,420.11, and that the additions to the library during the year past numbered 467 books and pamphlets.

Before proceeding to the election of officers, the president, Charles H. Bell, briefly addressed the society, thanking them for the honor of nineteen successive elections to the chair, and announcing that he was not a candidate for reelection. The society then made choice of the following officers for the ensuing year. President, Jonathan E. Sargent, of Concord; vice-presidents, Samuel C. Eastman, of Concord, George L. Balcom, of Claremont; corresponding secretary, John J. Bell, of Exeter; recording secretary, Amos Hadley, of Concord; librarian, Isaac W. Hammond, of Concord; treasurer, William P. Fiske, of Concord; auditor, Woodbridge Odlin, of Concord; necrologist, Irving A. Watson, of Concord; standing committee, Joseph B. Walker and J. C. A. Hill, of Concord, Isaac K. Gage, of Penacook; publication committee, Chas. H. Bell, of Exeter, I. W. Hammond, of Concord, A. S. Batchellor, of Littleton; library committee, J. E. Pecker, of Concord, E. H. Spalding, of Wilton, J. C. Ordway, of Concord.

The newly elected president took the chair, with appropriate remarks. A vote of thanks to the retiring president

was unanimously adopted. Charlestown ("Number Four") was fixed upon as the place for holding the annual "field-day," and September as the time; the exact day to be designated by the president. During the meeting several new members were chosen; some gifts to the society were presented, and various matters of interest and of business were discussed and disposed of.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its spring meeting on the 10th of June in Portland, the Hon. James W. Bradbury in the chair. A very interesting report was read by H. W. Bryant, the librarian and cabinet-keeper, and papers were read, by Hon. Wm. Goold, on "The First Treaty of the United States;" by Hon. Joseph Williamson on "The Visits of the Presidents of the United States to Maine," and by Geo. F. Talbot, on "The Capture of the *Margarita* at Machias; the first naval battle of the Revolution." The society then proceeded to the dinner it had ordered in honor of President Bradbury, and after many courses, wit and eloquence took the floor, and never deserted it until a late hour. Many distinguished men were present.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its final meeting for this season on the evening of June 27, in the Library building. President Ellis H. Roberts in the chair.

In the absence of the secretary, Alexander Seward was appointed secretary *pro tem*. General Darling, correspond-

ing secretary, reported a large number of donations to the Society library, and President Roberts read the following communication :

CLINTON, N. Y., *June 14, 1887.*

Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, President Oneida Historical Society :

Dear Sir : The citizens of Clinton will celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of this village July 13, 1887. It being a historical event and a matter of interest to the society you represent, as well as to our own people, we, as representatives of the citizens of Clinton, would cordially extend to your society an invitation to visit Clinton on that occasion, and by your presence aid in making our jubilee a complete success. An early reply as to your acceptance will very much oblige yours very respectfully,

E. S. WILLIAMS, *President.*

On motion of Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley, the invitation was accepted, and a committee appointed to officially represent the society at the celebration.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The quarterly meeting of this society was held on the 5th of July, President William Gammell in the chair. A communication on the spelling of Rhode Island Indian names was laid before the Society, and after remarks by the president was referred to the special committee on Indian localities. President Gammell spoke of the great impulse given to historical pursuits by the American Historical Association, and at his request Mr. William B. Weeden gave a graphic account of the recent meetings of that Association, held in Boston, Cambridge, and Plymouth. He spoke of Mr. Justin Winsor's paper, which explained an organized movement in Great

Britain, not only to preserve historical papers, but to have various depositories of historical documents searched and their treasures utilized. The Association indorsed a movement to the same end in the American Union. President Gammell read extracts from a paper prepared by ex-Governor Dyer, entitled "A History of the Application of Steam Power from 1663 to 1781." In the sketch the names of Zachariah Allen and other eminent citizens were duly honored. President Gammell called attention to the remains of a musket recently found at Gaspee Point, and presented to the society by Mr. Frank W. Miner. This is supposed to have belonged to a member of the party that destroyed the British schooner *Gaspee* near that place, June 10, 1772.

Among the highly prized gifts received by the society during the past quarter is a quarto volume containing a commentary on the Book of Genesis, by Andrew Willett, believed to have been the father of Thomas Willett, the first mayor of New York. Dr. Parsons, who presented this book to the society, is a descendant of Thomas Willett. A copy of his sketch of Willett, read before this society and printed in the *Magazine of American History*, was sent first to his uncle, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and by the latter to a gentleman in England, who repaid the compliment with this volume, that once belonged to Charles I., and has upon its cover the coat of arms of that unfortunate king. The remarks called out from Dr. Parsons and the Rev. Mr. Bartow were listened to with much interest.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

THE accomplished critical essayist, Edwin P. Whipple, gives in his work on American literature a unique pen-portrait of Washington Irving. He says: "The 'revival' of American literature in New York differed much in character from its revival in New England. In New York it was purely human in tone; in New England it was a little superhuman in tone. In New England they feared the devil; in New York they dared the devil; and the greatest and most original literary dare-devil in New York was a young gentleman of good family whose 'schooling' ended with his sixteenth year; who had rambled much about the island of Manhattan; who had in his saunterings gleaned and brooded over many Dutch legends of an elder time; who had read much, but had studied little; who possessed fine observation, quick intelligence, a genial disposition, and an indolently original genius in detecting the ludicrous side of things, and whose name was Washington Irving. After some preliminary essays in humorous literature, his genius arrived at the age of indiscretion, and he produced at the age of twenty-six the most deliciously audacious work of humor in our literature, namely, 'The History of New York, by Diedrich Knickerbocker.'"

THE citizens of the village of Clinton, New York, celebrated on the 13th of July (1887) the centennial anniversary of the beginnings of that interesting and intellectual place. The first settlement west of "German Flats" was made at Whitestown by Hugh White, in 1784. Clinton was settled in 1787, by seven or eight families, five of whom were from Plymouth, Connecticut. The name of the heroic and self-denying missionary, Samuel Kirkland, is identified with the early history of the village. The great Oneida chieftain, Skenandoa, was one of his converts and pupils. The "Hamilton Oneida Academy," which developed into Hamilton College, was the work of Kirkland. The village was named in honor of George Clinton, the first governor of the state of New York. The settlers were men of steady New England courage and faith; and the church and school flourished from the first. The earliest religious service was held on the 8th of April, 1787, and in August, 1791, the younger Edwards visited Clinton and organized the church. Hamilton College received its charter in 1812. The old "Property line" of 1768 passes this village, near the foot of College Hill. Clinton has, indeed, a history of which it may well be proud. The historic address on the centennial occasion was by the accomplished scholar, Professor S. G. Hopkins, and contained a mine of valuable information; the brilliant oration of the day was by Professor Oren Root. The presence of the President and Mrs. Cleveland added greatly to the interest of the occasion.

THE Rev. E. P. Powell, in his address of welcome at the Clinton celebration, made this graceful allusion to the presence of the distinguished guests of the day:

"We welcome the Chief Executive of the greatest nation now existing on the globe, a man summoned by the vote of 60,000,000 out of the crowd of our Clinton school-boys to stand as Chief Executive for forty States, each one larger than a kingdom. We welcome him as a man who has never forgotten that he stands for the whole people and not for a

party, a statesman and not a politician, honored and loved by all parties and by all sections."

The President responded :

"I am by no means certain of my standing here among those who celebrate the centennial of Clinton's existence as a village. My recollections of the place reach backward but about thirty-six years, and my residence here covered but a very brief period. But these recollections are fresh and distinct to-day, and pleasant, too, though not entirely free from somber coloring. It was here in the school at the foot of College Hill that I began my preparation for college life and enjoyed the anticipation of a collegiate education. We had two teachers in our school. One became afterward a judge in Chicago, and the other passed through the legal profession to the ministry, and within the last two years was living further West. I read a little Latin with two other boys in the class. I think I floundered through four books of the *Æneid*. The other boys had nice large, modern editions of Virgil, with big print and plenty of notes to help one over hard places. Mine was a little old-fashioned copy, which my father used before me, with no notes, and which was only translated by hard knocks. I believe I have forgiven those other boys for their persistent refusal to allow me the use of their notes in their books. At any rate they do not seem to have been overtaken by any dire retribution, as one of them is now a rich and prosperous lawyer in Buffalo, and the other a professor in your college and orator of to-day's celebration. Struggles with ten lines of Virgil, which at first made up my daily task, are amusing as remembered now ; but with them I am also forced to remember that instead of being the beginning of higher education, for which I honestly longed, they occurred near the end of school advantages. This suggests disappointment, which no lapse of time can alleviate, and a deprivation I have sadly felt with every passing year.

"I remember Benoni Butler and his store. I don't know whether he was an habitual poet or not, but I heard him recite one poem of his own manufacture which embodied an account of a travel to or from Clinton in the early days. I can recall but two lines of the poem, as follows :

' Paris Hill next came in sight,
And there we tarried over night.'

"I remember the next-door neighbors, Drs. Bissell and Scollard—and good, kind neighbors they were, too—not your cross, crabbed kind, who could not bear to see a boy about. It always seemed to me that they drove very fine horses, and for that reason I thought they must be extremely rich. I don't know that I should indulge in further recollections that must seem very little like a centennial history, but I want to establish as well as I can my right to be here. I might have spoken of the college faculty, who cast such a pleasing though sober shade of dignity over the place, and who, with other educated and substantial citizens, made up the best of social life. I was a boy then, but notwithstanding, I believe I absorbed a lasting appreciation of the intelligence, of the refinement which made this a delightful home. I know that you will bear with me, my friends, if I yield to the impulse which the mention of home creates and speak of my own home here, and how through the memories which cluster about it I may claim a tender relationship to your village. Here it was that our family circle entire, parents and children, lived day after day in loving and affectionate converse, and here, for the last time, we met around the family altar and thanked God that our household was unbroken

in death or separation. We never met together at an other home after leaving this one dear home. Closest of our separation and this is the day with advancing years, survive the never dead his track and the thoughts of my dear home become more sacred. The remembrance of his pleasant spot or relatives are treasured and cherished. Can our and my thanks for the privilege of being with you today and wish to the village of Clinton in the future a continuation and increase of the blessings of the now.

An elegant banquet followed the dinner, at which a Clinton in which these hundred guests participated. President Cleveland responded to the toast, "The President of the United States," saying:

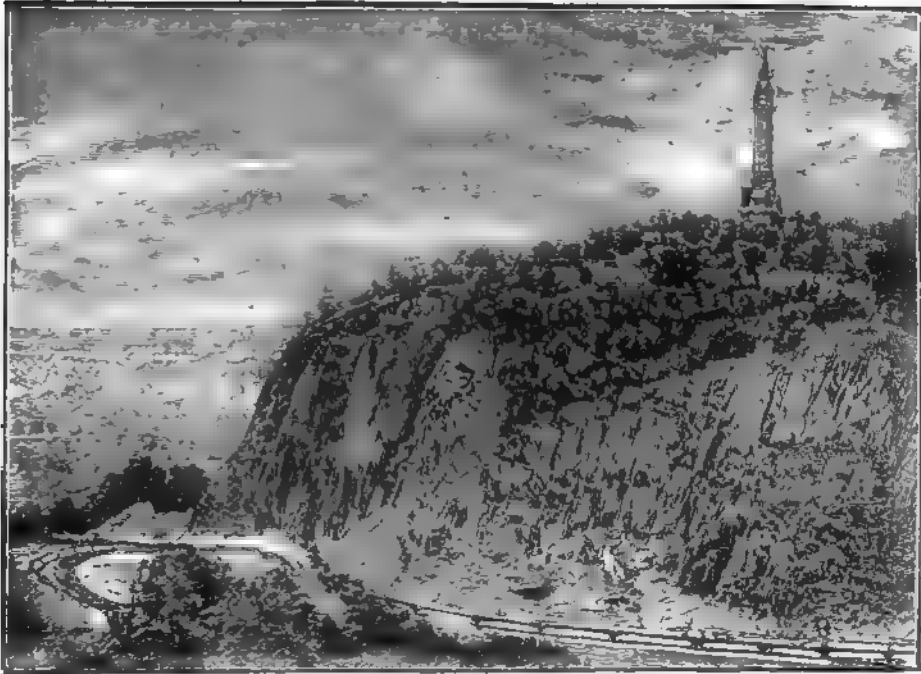
"I am inclined to content myself on this occasion with an acknowledgment on behalf of the people of the United States of the compliment which you have paid to the office which represents their sovereignty. But such an acknowledgment suggests an idea which I cannot refrain from dwelling upon for a moment. That the office of President of the United States does represent the sovereignty of sixty millions of people is to my mind a statement full of solemnity for this sovereignty I conceive to be the working act, or enforcement, of the divine gift of man to govern himself and a manifestation of God's plans concerning the human race. Though the struggles of political parties to secure the incumbency of this office, and the questionable methods sometimes resorted to for its possession, may not be in keeping with this idea, and though the decent practices to mislead the people in their choice, and its too frequent influences on their suffrage may surprise us, these things should never lead us astray in our estimate of this exalted position and its value and dignity. And though your fellow-citizens who may be chosen to perform for a time the duties of this high place should be badly selected, and though the best attainable results may not be reached by his administration, yet the exacting watchfulness of the people, freed from the disturbing turmoil of political excitement, ought to prevent mischance to the office which represents their sovereignty, and should reduce to a minimum the danger of harm to the State. I by no means underestimate the importance of the utmost care and circumspection in the selection of the incumbent. On the contrary, I believe there is no obligation of citizenship that demands more thought and conscientious deliberation than this. But I am speaking of the citizen's duty to the office and its selected incumbent. This duty is only performed when in the interest of the entire people the full exercise of the powers of the Chief Magistracy is insisted on, and when for the people's safety a due regard for the limitations placed upon the office is exacted. These things should be enforced by the manifestation of a calm and enlightened public opinion. But this should not be simulated by the mad clamor of disappointed interest which, without regard for the general good or allowance for the exercise of official judgments, would degrade the office by forcing compliance with selfish demands. If your President should not be of the people and one of your fellow-citizens he would be utterly unfit for the position, incapable of understanding the people's wants and careless of their desires. That he is one of the people implies that he is subject to human frailty and error, but he should be permitted to claim a little toleration for mistakes. The generosity of his fellow-citizens should alone decree how far good intentions should excuse his short-comings. Watch well, then, this high office, the most precious possession of American citizenship. Demand for it the most complete devotion on the part of him, to whose custody it may be intrusted, and protect it not less vigilantly from without. Thus you will perform a sacred duty to yourselves, and to those

who may follow you in the enjoyment of the freest institutions which heaven has ever vouchsafed to man."

THE progress of central New York, since the early part of the century, is aptly illustrated through some characteristic anecdotes of Thurlow Weed. In 1812 he answered the following advertisement, which appeared in the *Tocsin*, a little newspaper published at Union Springs: "*A boy who has worked some at the business is wanted as an apprentice at this office.*" He secured the situation, and boarded with the editor's family at a farm two miles from the office. He did not remain long, however, and the next year was employed in a printing-house in Auburn, then an "exceedingly muddy, rough-hewn, and straggling village." Again he boarded in an editor's family. He said: "Out of my seven weeks' residence there Mr. Dickens would have found characters and incidents for a novel as rich and original as that of *David Copperfield* or *Nicholas Nickleby*. Mr. Brown, the editor, was an even-tempered, easy-going, good-natured man, who took no thought of what he should eat, or what he should drink, or wherewithal he should be clothed. He wrote his editorials and his *History of the War* upon his knee, with two or three children about him, playing or crying, as the humor took them. Mrs. Brown was placid, emotionless, and slipshod. Both were imperturbable. Nothing disturbed either. There was no regular hour for breakfast or dinner, but meals were always under or overdone. In short, like a household described by an early English author, 'everything upon the table was sour except the vinegar.' The printing sympathized with the housekeeping. We worked at intervals during the day, and while making a pretense of working in the evening, those hours were generally devoted to blindman's-buff with two or three neighboring girls, or to juvenile concerts by Richard Oliphant, an amateur vocalist and type-setter, to whom I became much attached."

WHEN Professor Newberry, of Columbia College, was asked how New York City would be benefited by the coming meeting of scientists in August, he replied: "The association is the great promoter of science in the United States. Its influence has been incalculable. It has met in all the principal cities East and West, and has left behind it an influence which has been powerful and permanent. Schools, colleges, geological surveys have sprung up in its track, as flowers bloom in the path of spring. New York is the centre of intellectual activity in this country. Yet with all the evidences of progress and culture which we see around us, there is one great lack. It is the want of organization and coherence among those who represent scientific, literary, and artistic ideas. This city is full of leaders of thought, yet they are buried and lost in the great tide of commercialism. There is, then, in this city, a great work for the American Association to do. It is the same work which it has accomplished elsewhere on a smaller scale. It is to bring together the scattered workers in science in this city; bring them face to face with each other and with the scientific delegates representing every section of our country. The effect will be to give to scientific influences, which are the modern civilizers, the benefit of that organization which they still lack. Thus the meeting will do something to diminish the absorption of our New York population in its pursuit of pleasure and profit, which now constitutes its chief occupation."

NEW HAVEN has had a celebration. The 17th of June 1897 will go into history as



THE NEW HAVEN MONUMENT FROM THE FOOT OF EAST ROCK

"New Haven's Monument Day." On a commanding eminence, in full view of the city, of the swift-flying trains through its boundaries, and of all passing mariners near its coasts, New Haven has erected a monument in memory of her heroic sons who fell in the four principal wars in which our country has been engaged—that of the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, and the late Civil War—and this monument was formally unveiled and dedicated in presence of the largest concourse of people ever assembled on any occasion in the State of Connecticut. The famous East Rock upon which it stands, crowned with the form of an angel of peace, was some time since converted into a park of great beauty, and has become New Haven's favorite pleasure drive. The procession of the great Monument Day was of such magnitude that in parading the richly decorated streets it was some five hours in passing any one point. The military display was creditable to the city and the State. The school-boys formed a guard in one of the divisions that was extremely picturesque and effective—like a moving mass of red, white, and blue. Closely following was one of the most interesting and suggestive displays that has ever been witnessed in any city. It was the unbroken sisterhood of States, represented by girls from the schools, in lavishly ornamented barges, thirty-eight in number, each barge having some special characteristics shown in its decorations and emblems of the State it represented, with the exact date of its admission into the Union.

BOOK NOTICES

YEAR BOOK OF THE HOLLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK. 1886-1887.

Royal octavo, pp. 191. By the Secretary.

This superb volume does credit to the taste and public spirit of its projectors. The sons of Holland have established an institution in New York, of which the first fruit is a fitting chronicle of their pilgrimages, speeches, and successful dinners throughout the year. To read the book is the next best thing to being a Dutchman and participating in the festivities. For a society only a year old this Holland Society runs about the country with remarkable facility and vigor. It made its formal *début* at the banquet-table on the 8th of January, 1886, and conducted itself with mature propriety, as far as reported in the volume. It made its first railway journey July 18, of the same year, having been invited to Albany on the occasion of the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of that city. It made its pioneer effort to found a Glee Club from its own membership during the same summer, intending to invent its own Dutch music; and its first failure was in evolving this musical talent. One member said, "Yes, I can sing, but if you tell what part after hearing me, you can do much more than I have been able to accomplish thus far. If old King David had heard me in his day and generation he would never have recovered from his lunacy. I am in earnest. I advise you, as a friend, and as a member of the society, to keep me out of the Glee Club." Another said, "Like Artemus Ward, I am saddest when I sing—and so are my friends." And still another, "Can I sing? Yes, very high and very low, and always loud when my pain catches me." The secretary became hopelessly bewildered with the responses of some one hundred and twenty Vans in the society, who declared they could "neither sing nor read music;" and the Glee Club remains a myth.

The society made its first pilgrimage, with an active force of one hundred and eighty-four, September 11, 1886. It reached Kingston on the Hudson in safety, lunched, then adjourned to a church, gorgeously decorated, with a side room devoted to a loan exhibition of Dutch relics, and listened to brilliant addresses by Rev. Dr. Van Slyke and General George H. Sharpe; after which it climbed the "Kaaterskills" with as much agility as Rip Van Winkle of old. Upon these historic heights it was royally entertained by Samuel D. Coykendall, and nothing in the published accounts would give the impression that the young and dashing Holland Society was backward about coming forward, or in doing its full duty, when summoned

to the magnificent banquet prepared by its hospitable host.

Its first anniversary dinner took place at the Hotel Brunswick, January 27, 1887. Judging from its after-dinner speeches, the society has reached its majority. The book is well conceived, and while it contains much of wit and pleasantry, it is a valuable historic memento, touching upon the works and exploits of the Dutch people in all the past. The elegant illustrations render the work especially valuable. It has portraits of such men as David Van Nostrand, General Sharpe, Judge Augustus Van Wyck, Judge Hooper C. Van Voorst, George W. Van Siclen, Rev. Dr. Hoes, Aaron J. Vanderpoel, Gen. Stewart Van Vliet, Tunis G. Bergen, Rev. Dr. Duryee, Dr. Van der Veer, Rev. Dr. J. Howard Suydam, John R. Planten, and William Waldorf Astor, with excellent pictures of several of the old Kingston homesteads, the church, and the historic Senate-house.

THE FRENCH IN THE ALLEGHENY VALLEY. By T. J. CHAPMAN, M.A. 12mo, pp. 209. Cleveland, Ohio. 1887. W. W. Williams. Author's residence, 20 Crawford Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

This is the only monograph on the subject that has yet been published. Some of its chapters have already appeared in the pages of the *Magazine of American History*, the author being one of our well known and valued contributors. The information he has embodied in the work has been culled from various sources, and is presented in a concise and readable form. It embraces the period beginning with the voyage of Celoron down the Allegheny in 1749 and ending with the siege of Fort Pitt and the fall of the northern military posts in 1763. All the statements of the author seem to have been carefully verified; and concerning, as it does, an important feature in our local annals, the little volume will be a treasure to historic scholars. It is printed in good type, on fine paper, and is neatly bound in cloth. Only a very small edition has been published. Price \$1.25.

THE QUEEN OF THE HOUSE OF DAVID AND MOTHER OF JESUS.

The story of her life. By the REV. A. STEWART WALSH, D.D. 16mo, pp. 626. New York: Henry S. Allen.

Two books are inevitably suggested alike by the title, the motive, and the subject-matter of this book, namely, "The Prince of the House of David" and "Ben Hur." The similarity is

not wholly confined to the title, though nothing is further from our intention than to intimate that it is an imitation of either. It is certainly highly original in conception and execution, and coming from the pen of a Protestant clergyman is sure to command a wide audience. It is not a little singular that such a character as that of the Virgin Mary should not have been made conspicuous by Protestant as well as by Roman Catholic teachers. Probably the exaltation of the Virgin by Catholics has repelled Protestants from one of the most beautiful of the characters portrayed in Scripture narrative, but this is all wrong, for assuredly there is much of sacred divinity in the conception of the Mother of God. Doctor Talmadge has written an appreciative introduction, but the narrative is well able to speak for itself, and no scrupulous Protestant need fear that the dreaded "mariolatry"—so called by those who know not the teachings of Rome in regard to it—shall receive a word of encouragement. Dr. Talmadge's name, indeed, is a guarantee against anything unscriptural, heterodox, or heretical, and will doubtless secure thousands of readers for the very able narrative.

MRS. HEPHAESTUS AND OTHER SHORT STORIES, together with "West Point." A Comedy in three Acts. By **GEORGE A. BAKER**. Small 16mo, pp. 210. New York: White, Stokes & Allen.

Mr. Baker's "Point Lace and Diamonds," and "Bad Habits of Good Society," make with the present volume a dainty triplet of books, of a quality in light literature that justifies their great popularity. The present volume is prefaced by an announcement which must be almost unique, to the effect that two of the included selections were already accepted and paid for by the Century Company, but are freely permitted to appear in their present form. Anything more charming than "The Child of the Regiment," and "West Point," it would be hard to find in the literature of the day.

FINAL MEMORIALS OF HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Edited by **SAMUEL LONGFELLOW**. 8vo, pp. 447. Boston. 1887. Ticknor & Co.

In this supplementary volume to the biography of Mr. Longfellow we have some very clear, beautiful pictures of the poet in his later years. The editor has selected from the material excluded in preparing the original work, which was, in his opinion, becoming too large in size. In response to criticisms on the part of many readers, and the request for a fuller memorial, this volume has been issued. It is devoted to the period in which the sweetness and dignity

of the poet's character seemed most attractive—the fifteen years prior to his death. The passages from his diary are selected with remarkable discrimination and good taste, showing the man in all his charming simplicity and serenity of temperament, when active, absorbing work had been laid aside, and intercourse with wits, scholars, and loving friends his sweetest pastime. The character of Mr. Longfellow was of that particular kind which grows more and more beautiful as it ripens with age. Thus his biographer has won our everlasting gratitude by the publication of this excellent and captivating book. Of his abundant and playful humor as well as his universal kindness we are given many examples. "Longfellow liked to talk of young poets, and he had an equally humorous and kind way of noticing the foibles of the literary character. Standing in the porch one summer day, and observing the noble elms in front of his house, he recalled a visit made to him long before by one of the many bards now extinct who are embalmed in Griswold. Then, suddenly assuming a burly martial air, he seemed to reproduce for me the exact figure and manner of the youthful enthusiast who had tossed back his long hair, gazed approvingly on the elms, and in a deep voice exclaimed: 'I see. Mr. Longfellow, that you have many trees; I love trees!!' 'It was,' said the poet, 'as if he gave a certificate to all the neighboring vegetation.' A few words like these, said in Mr. Longfellow's peculiar, dry, humorous manner, with a twinkle of the eye and a quietly droll inflection of the voice, had a certain charm of mirth that cannot be described. It was that same demure playfulness which led him, when writing, to speak of the lady who wore flowers 'on the congregation side of her bonnet,' or to extol those broad, magnificent Western roads which 'dwindle to a squirrel track and run up a tree.'"

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. An Essay. By **JOHN BAKER, LL.B.** 12mo, pp. 126. New York and London. 1887. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The study of the origin, growth, and principles of the Constitution under which we have become one of the great nations of the world is by no means a profitless undertaking. The more the science of government becomes intelligently understood and comprehended by our younger men in the varied walks of life, the better will be the prospects for the country at large. The aim of the author in this work is to present in brief space and in clear light an outline of the engrossing subject in all its bearings; and many a reader will discern through his terse sentences the windings through which we have passed from the political labyrinth of over

a century ago. He says, truly, "The real enemy of freedom is ignorance. The people should be constantly educated in liberty. In a government like our own, every man according to his place and capacity should strive to diffuse knowledge of political economy, and to inculcate virtue in the citizen. The jealousy of parties tends, doubtless, to keep the stream of politics pure, even as the planets are held in their orbits by opposing forces. The citizen should be taught to be just. The struggles, the political upheavals, and the wars through which our nation has passed, were caused not so much from the ignorance of the members as from the incompatible elements and institutions in the several States. But these trials have not weakened the system, but rather strengthened the organism. They have developed its real character, and enabled the people to administer the government with more confidence and unity." The little volume is a complete hand-book of suggestion as well as information, and of great permanent value.

CHINA. TRAVELS AND INVESTIGATIONS IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM, WITH A GLANCE AT JAPAN. By JAMES HARRISON WILSON. 16mo, pp. 376. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

This handsome volume is the result of a journey undertaken for a purpose. Impressed by the unaccountable depression of traffic where once a thriving trade had inured to the mutual benefit of all concerned, the author determined to investigate for himself, with special reference to the practicability of introducing railways and a modern system of communication into China and Japan. An interview with Li Hung Chang, Chief Secretary of the Empire, and perhaps the most intelligently progressive man in China, led to an extended journey involving more than 1500 miles in the saddle and untold distances by canal and other modes of travel. Japan and Formosa were visited after China, and the author returned to New York about a year after his departure. All this, as the author himself frankly admits, would not justify a new book on China and Japan, were it not that the tour had a semi-official character, and led to meetings with many of the most distinguished native leaders resident in the different countries visited. General Wilson recognizes the value of the work of Dr. S. Welles Williams, in "The Middle Kingdom," and does not propose trenching upon his province. He confines himself to what foreign influences have accomplished for China and the other members of the same geographical and ethnological group, and endeavors to point out what still remains for them to do. His conclusion is that there is lacking only

the necessary combination of circumstances to arouse the Imperial Chinese Government to a sense of its peril and its necessities, and induce it to adopt those modern methods which alone can secure it against foreign aggression and place it in a secure position among the great powers of the earth.

DRONE'S HONEY. By SOPHIE MAY. 16mo, pp. 281. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Sophie May's stories are all sprightly, witty, and full of action. The present one takes a hero from Chicago, and a brace of heroines from the woods of Maine, and their loves and losses form the basis of a tale that is very pleasant reading, and introduces some amusing and ingenious episodes of Eastern and Western life.

THE FISHERY QUESTION. By CHARLES ISHAM. 16mo, pp. 89. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

There is no telling how soon the fishery question may become of tremendous international importance, and this compact and well-conceived volume goes far to make clear the principles involved. It is neither safe nor right for Americans to assume that there is only one side to the question, namely, their own. Our wasteful methods have nearly destroyed many of our once valuable in-shore fisheries, and our Canadian neighbors are fully justified in seeking to preserve their own from a similar fate. With the aid of a map and abundant references, Mr. Isham makes clear the history of the fishery dispute from the earliest explorations till the present day, shows the local distribution of the different kinds of valuable sea-fishes, and cites the opinions of the different statesmen who from time to time have given the matter the most profound consideration. The volume is No. XLI. of the valuable series brought out by the Putnams under the title *Questions of the Day*, and the clear type in which it is printed is refreshing to eyes that are beginning to rebel against the microscopic letter-press of the period.

THE AMERICAN ELECTORAL SYSTEM. By CHARLES A. O'NEIL, LL.B. 16mo, pp. 284. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The standard histories of the United States have little or nothing to say about the various complications that have from time to time arisen concerning the mode of electing the President of the United States, and Mr. O'Neil's attempt to classify and elucidate the facts that bear upon the subject is amply justified by the lack of authorities. In order to reach the truth con-

cerning the subject of his research, files of daily newspapers beginning with 1788, Congressional debates, and "Niles Register," have been diligently searched, with a result that seems to justify the amount of labor that has been so faithfully bestowed. No one who has watched the increasing danger of revolution that threatens with every recurring close contest for the presidency can fail to recognize the importance of anything that can contribute to our knowledge of the difficulties that surround the problem. Every such contribution does its share to fix attention upon the questions involved, and eventually our law-makers may—nay, must—be forced into revising the laws so that no President can be counted out or counted in, as is too often the case with lower offices within the gift of the people. A copious index renders it easy to refer to any of the several instances where a presidential election has been in doubt. If the average politician could be persuaded to consider seriously anything beyond his own interests it would be well to compel him to read this book. To the average politician, however, it seems an eminently desirable state of things if a door is left open whereby the cleverest and most unscrupulous party can distort the returns to its own advantage.

FROM THE FORECASTLE TO THE CABIN. By CAPTAIN S. SAMUELS. 16mo, pp. 308. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The line is pretty sharply drawn between people who enjoy sea-stories and those who do not; but we can almost venture to recommend Captain Samuels' book to every one. In these days when lies are written and printed by the wholesale, it is refreshing to read a personal narrative so full of thrilling adventures that actually befell the narrator. The palmy days of the American merchant marine, when our ships competed with those of England for the carrying trade of the world, were full of opportunities for personal prowess and daring. Captain Samuels ran away to sea when a boy, in the orthodox fashion, and had worked his way up to a captaincy when he reached his majority. There is not a dull page in his book. Encounters with pirates, with mutineers, and with the elements in their most stupendous violence, are described with a calm, matter-of-fact air that carries with it a conviction of their truth. The story of the famous clipper *Dreadnaught* and her performances is one of the most interesting passages. When our legislators can find time to consider really important matters we may regain, in part, at least, the maritime supremacy that was ours in Captain Samuels' day, and we may develop a class of men whose services are of the greatest value to the nation whenever there is a call for volunteers on land or sea.

THE STORY OF METLAKAHTLA. By HENRY L. WELLCOME. 16mo, pp. 483. London & New York: Saxon & Co.

From the remote regions bordering the Northwestern Pacific territory rumors have from time to time reached the centres of population concerning a struggling little colony there which, under the charge of Mr. James Duncan, had made a wonderful record for itself. Metlakahla is the name of the village, and its history is for the first time given to the world in the present volume. Mr. Duncan went out to the British possessions many years ago with some very well-defined ideas as to the duties of a missionary in dealing with savages. He established himself under the protection of a British military post while learning the native language, and by the time that was accomplished he had made up his mind that the only way to influence the savages was to take his life in his hand and live among them. His portrait, which prefaces the volume, shows a strong and strikingly benevolent face, and the pages which follow must ever represent a remarkable passage in the history of the Northwest. The representatives of the Church of England are rather severely arraigned for their interference with Mr. Duncan's plans, and he, with characteristic energy, has sought refuge for himself and his colony under the Stars and Stripes.

THE VAN GELDER PAPERS, and other Sketches. Edited by J. T. I. 16mo, pp. 316. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

To say that the Van Gelder Papers are modeled upon the "Legend of Sleepy Hollow" and its kindred tales might imply a compliment, or the reverse. There are certainly passages that forcibly recall Washington Irving's style. And this is the more apparent since nearly all the motives are found among the early Dutch settlements of Long Island, a region almost as rich in legendary lore as are the historic reaches of the Hudson. That the Van Gelden Papers will do for Long Island what Irving's classic tales have done for the Hudson can hardly be expected, but they are not unworthily aimed in the same direction.

THE WHEREWITHAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION. A book complete in two pages. 12mo. The Wherewithal Manufacturing-Publishing Company. Philadelphia.

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cidents? 5. It Illustrates? 6. Its Effect? 7. Conclusions? The novelty of the device cannot fail to attract attention. It is suggestive, and promises to be of great use as an aid to the thoughtful.

APPLETON'S CYCLOPÆDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Edited by JAMES GRANT WILSON and JOHN FISKE. Vol. II. Crane-Grimshaw. 8vo, pp. 768. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

In January of the present year the first volume of this important biographical dictionary was given to the American public, and now the second volume appears in a handsome dress to join its predecessor upon the library shelf. The editors and the publishers are alike to be congratulated upon the successful results of their important undertaking as far as it has progressed. The present installment of the work includes the names of prominent Americans from Crane to Grimshaw — and some who were not born in this country but Americans by adoption. It contains ten portraits, exquisitely engraved on steel, of which is one of General Grant, forming the frontispiece to the volume. The biographical sketch of General Grant, carefully written by General Horace Porter, and covering some seventeen pages, is, we believe, the largest individual notice in the entire work. The portrait of Garfield is an excellent likeness of the murdered President; the biographical sketch of him, covering six pages, is from the pen of William Walter Phelps. Horace Greeley is given about seven and one-half pages, and an admirable portrait; his biographer is Whitelaw Reid, the editor of the *New York Tribune*.

The portraits of ex-President Fillmore, Robert Fulton, Dr. Benjamin Franklin, General Nathaneal Green, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Admiral Farragut are also superbly engraved on steel. The sketch of Admiral Farragut occupies some seven pages, and is by Rossiter Johnson, author of the "History of the War of 1812." A little more than fourteen pages are given to the great philosopher, Dr. Franklin, written by John Fiske, who says, and justly, "The abilities of Franklin were so vast and so various, he touched human life at so many points, that it would re-

quire an elaborate essay to characterize him properly. He was at once philosopher, statesman, diplomatist, scientific discoverer, inventor, philanthropist, moralist, and wit, while as a writer of English he was surpassed by few writers of his time. History presents few examples of a career starting from such humble beginnings and attaining to such great and enduring splendor." Mr. Fiske also contributes the biographical sketch of Robert Fulton, which is skillfully condensed into a page and a half; while that of Ralph Waldo Emerson, by George Parsons Lathrop, is spread over five and one-half pages, through the more diffuse and unsatisfactory method of the writer. We notice a sketch and portrait of Lord Dufferin, who was born in Florence, Italy, and in 1872 became Governor-general of Canada. The volume abounds in good illustrations other than those in steel; some of the smaller vignette portraits, from original drawings by Jacques Reich, are extremely well executed likenesses, as for instance those of Chauncey M. Depew, Rev. Dr. Thomas De Witt, William M. Evarts, Senator Dawes, Richard H. Dana, Jr., and Edward Everett. S. Austin Allibon, LL.D., is the author of the sketches of the Everetts, Alexander H. and Edward, which, it is needless to add, are extremely well written. Among other illustrative pictures in the work are views of birthplaces, residences, monuments, and tombs famous in history. The portraits are nearly all accompanied by facsimile autographs. The editors seem to have worked with conscientious and untiring industry in collecting valuable material from original sources, and are, in consequence, producing a highly creditable cyclopædia of biography for this country, which is educational as well as entertaining and instructive, through the fact that in the sketches of public characters the accounts of public measures are recorded as well, and they are generally full and carefully authenticated.

As we remarked in our review of the first volume, this biographical dictionary will naturally become a necessity for all scholars, in whatever country they may reside, and we have such confidence in the judgment and taste of its projectors that we believe no effort will be spared to make it as perfect in its complete execution as it has been commendable in its conception and progress. As a specimen of the book-making art it has no superior in its field.

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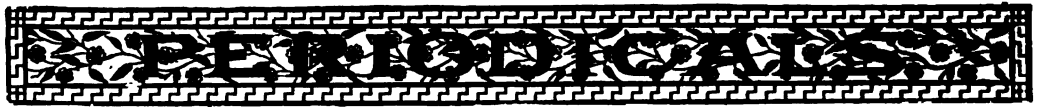
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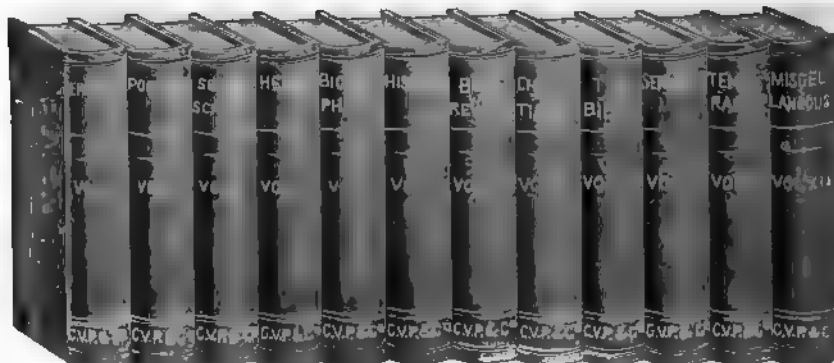
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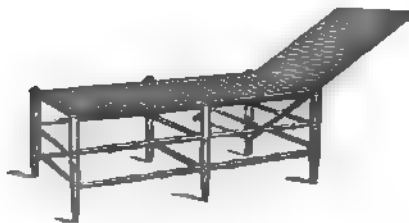
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STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1886.

ASSETS, - - - - \$114,181,963.24.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force January 1st, 1886.....	120,952	\$368,981,441 36	Policies and Annuities in force, January 1st, 1887.....	129,927	\$393,809,202 88
Risks Assumed.....	18,673	56,832,718 92	Risks Terminated.....	9,698	32,004,957 40
	139,625	\$425,814,160 28		130,625	\$425,814,160 28

Dr. Revenue Account. Cr.

To Balance from last account.....	\$99,865,644 11	By paid to Policyholders: Endowments and Purchased Insurance.....	\$4,908,729 61
Premiums.....	15,634,720 66	Dividends and Annuities.....	2,727,454 13
Interest and Rents.....	5,407,416 01	Deceased Lives.....	5,492,920 00
			\$13,129,103 74
		By Other Disbursements: Commissions and Commutations.....	\$1,732,632 83
		Taxes.....	277,169 85
		Expenses.....	1,091,613 91
			3,101,416 59
		By Premiums on Stocks and Bonds Purchased.....	52,566 14
		Balance to new account.....	104,719,734 31
	\$121,002,820 78		\$121,002,820 78

Dr. Balance Sheet. Cr.

To Reserve for policies in force and for risks terminated.....	\$108,460,120 25	By Bonds secured by Mortgages on Real Estate.....	\$50,118,949 66
Premiums received in advance.....	78,274 84	United States and other Bonds.....	42,071,641 00
Surplus at four per cent.....	5,643,568 15	Loans on Collaterals.....	6,172,917 23
		Real Estate.....	10,591,286 32
		Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest, Interest accrued.....	2,306,203 08
		Premiums deferred and in transit.....	1,166,870 63
		Sundries.....	1,565,117 28
	\$114,181,963 24		188,978 00
			\$114,181,963 24

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

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CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1887.

No. 3.

	PAGE
Portrait of General James M. Varnum.	Frontispiece.
General James M. Varnum, of the Continental Army:	
Judge-Advocate ASA BIRD GARDINER, LL. D.	185
ILLUSTRATIONS—Residence of Gen. James M. Varnum, East Greenwich, Rhode Island—Parlor in the Old Varnum Homestead—Bedchamber occupied by Washington in the Varnum Homestead—Punch Bowl presented to General Varnum by Lafayette—Portrait of Honorable Joseph B. Varnum, from Painting by Elliott, in possession of James M. Varnum, of New York City.	
How California was Secured.	HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT. 194
Our Revolutionary Thunder.	JAMES D. BUTLER. 203
Union, Secession, Abolition. As illustrated in the careers of Webster, Calhoun, Sumner.	W. M. DICKSON. 206
The United States and the Greek Revolution.	Hon. CHARLES K. TUCKERMAN. 217
The Mayas: Their Customs, Laws, and Religion.	Mrs. ALICE D. LE PLONGEON. 233
A Patriotic Parson.	Rev. D. F. LAMSON, D.D. 239
Running-Antelope's Autobiography. Historic Pictographs.	243
Nine Illustrations of the Indian method of chronicling events.	
Minor Topics. H. C. Van Schaack's Historical Treasures.—The Story of the Charleston Earthquake, by Carl McKinley—The Captured Battle Flags, by Armstrong.	249
Original Documents. Memorandum of Route pursued by Colonel Campbell in 1779, from Savannah to Augusta, Georgia. I. Annotated by Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL.D.	256
Notes. Souvenirs of the Arctic Ship "Resolute"—The Umbrella in History—Postal Service in the Spanish-Portuguese Colonies in America, 1800.	259
Queries. Barges in Fifth Avenue—The Sabbath Day—Church Bells—Alien Disabilities.	260
Replies. Casting a Shoe after a Bride—Pittsburg, Dutchess County, New York—Boodle—Change in the English Calendar, 1, 2, 3.	261
Societies. Society of the Cincinnati—The Ohio Historical Society—The American Association for the Advancement of Science.	264
Historic and Social Jottings.	265
Book Notices. Year Book of the City of Charleston, 1886—Beecher Memorial, by Edward W. Bok—Norway Nights and Russian Days, by Mrs. Davis—The Margin of Profits, by Atkinson—Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, by Waddell—Rural Hours, by Susan Fennimore Cooper—Biographical Sketch of Lyman C. Draper and Mortimer Melville Jackson, by Thwaites and Butterfield—Select Poems, by Swinburne—Zury, the Meanest Man in Spring County, by Kirkland—The Dedham Records, by Hill.	269
Advertisements—Books, Schools, etc., 1 to 10—Periodicals and Miscellaneous, 11 to 22.	

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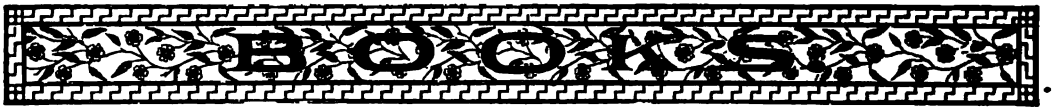
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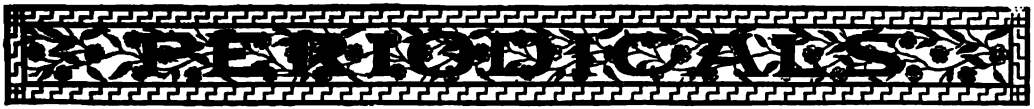
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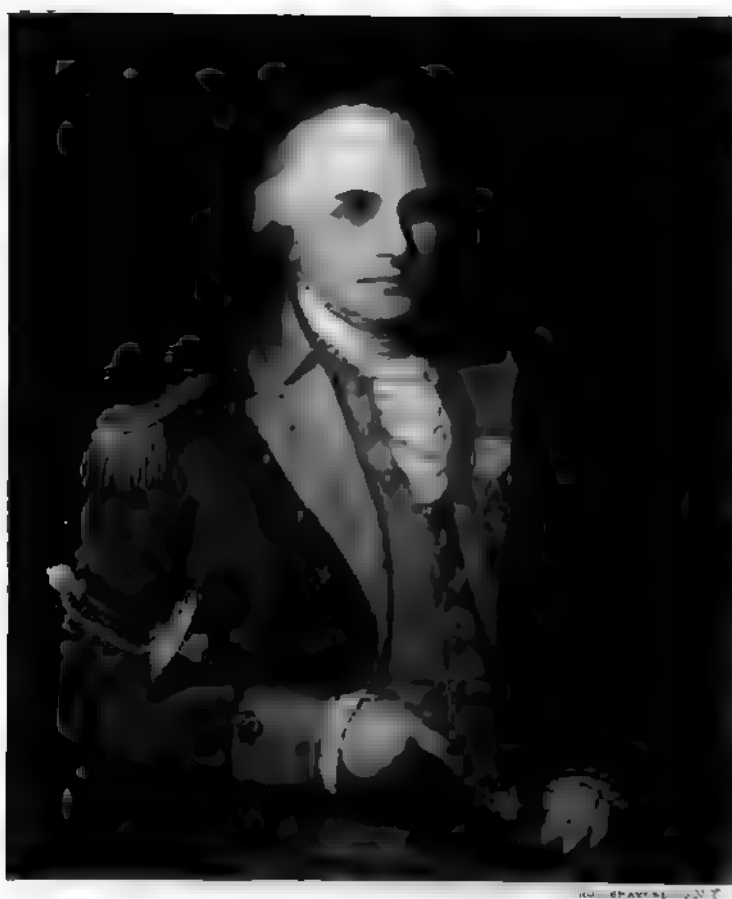
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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XVIII

SEPTEMBER, 1887

No. 3

GENERAL JAMES M. VARNUM

OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

AT the first Commencement of Brown University, then Rhode Island College, on the seventh day of September, 1769, the prominent feature of the occasion was a "forensic disputation" upon the question "*Whether British America can, under the present circumstances, consistent with good policy, affect to become an independent State?*" The disputants were William Williams, afterward a distinguished divine, in the affirmative, and James M. Varnum, who on the negative in the debate made an able and eloquent address, deprecating a separation from England and the formation of an independent state as unwise and impracticable under the circumstances. It may be that Mr. Varnum took this view purely as the result of an arbitrary assignment by the Faculty of the College; but if not, then it is evident that with the lapse of time, and changed circumstances, his ideas underwent a radical change, for we shall find him barely seven years later one of the strongest supporters by voice, pen, and sword of the great cause of American Independence.

He was born in Dracut, Massachusetts, December 17, 1748. His great-great-grandfather, George Varnum, came from Great Britain before 1635, and settled near Ipswich, Massachusetts; and his father, Major Samuel Varnum, was a large landowner on the banks of the Merrimac, and a man of prominence and influence in the community. Young Varnum spent a short time at Harvard University, then entered Rhode Island College, where he was graduated. He is said to have early developed a singular capacity for learning, and "made liberal acquisitions in general knowledge and literature." On leaving college he taught a classical school for a while, studied law with Hon. Oliver Arnold, the attorney-general of Rhode Island, was admitted to the bar in 1771, and soon after established himself at East Greenwich, where he rapidly rose to distinction in his profession. He married Martha, daughter of Hon. Cromel Child. His house at East Greenwich, built in 1767, which is still standing (1887), was regarded in his day as one of the finest in the colony, and under its hospi-



RESIDENCE OF GENERAL JAMES M. VARNUM, EAST GREENWICK, RHODE ISLAND.
[Built in 1769. Engraved from a photograph made in 1887.]

table roof he entertained in great state Generals Washington, Lafayette, Greene, Sullivan, and other distinguished officers of the American and French armies, while stationed in Rhode Island during the war, and in subsequent years. Commissary-General Blanchard, of the French army, relates that when he dined with General Varnum at his pleasant home, in August, 1780, their conversation was in Latin.

From early life General Varnum evinced a decided taste for military affairs, and in 1774 became commander, with the rank of colonel of the "Kentish Guards," an organization which furnished from its ranks many distinguished officers to the American army. Upon the outbreak of the Revolution he at once offered his services to the government, which were accepted, and he was appointed, on the eighth day of May, 1775, by the Rhode Island Provincial General Assembly, colonel of the First Regiment of Rhode Island Infantry. On the 8th of June, 1775, Colonel Varnum arrived with his regiment at Roxbury, Massachusetts, and was under fire during the shelling of that place, June 17, 1775. His regiment was present at the siege of Boston, thence went to Providence and New York, and on the 3d of May, 1776, crossed to Brooklyn and began to fortify the heights, and during the month of June was garrisoned at Fort Box and the "Oblong" Redoubt at Brooklyn. It was in the action at Harlem Heights, and was afterward stationed at Fort Lee, and employed in maneuvers against the enemy in Westchester County, taking part in the battle of White Plains.

In October, 1776, General Washington specially recommended Varnum for retention in the army on its proposed rearrangement "for the war," and in December, 1776, he was sent to Rhode Island to hasten by his influence and presence the recruitment of the army, as the terms of enlistment of the Rhode Island regiments were drawing to a close. Soon after his return, Varnum was appointed brigadier-general, December 12, 1776, of the militia of Rhode Island, and of the Rhode Island brigade on the Continental establishment, and on February 21, 1777, received the same rank in the Continental army, and was notified thereof by General Washington in very complimentary terms. General Varnum, with his brigade, was at Peekskill, New York, in June, 1777, thence went to Middlebrook, New Jersey, and was afterward successively at Fort Montgomery, White Plains, and Peekskill; and in October, 1787, at Fort Mercer, New Jersey.

From Peekskill, August 27, 1777, he wrote to Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island, appealing for immediate supplies of clothing and other necessities for his troops, in which letter he says: "The naked situation

of the troops when observed parading for duty is sufficient to extort the tears of compassion from every human being. . . . There are not two in five who have a shoe, stocking, or so much as breeches to render them decent." On November 1, 1777, he was directed by Washington to take supervision of Fort Mercer, Red Bank, and Fort Mifflin. During the bombardment of Fort Mifflin, or Mud Island, and its heroic defense, November 5, 1777, he reported to General Washington as follows: "We have lost a great many men to-day; a great many officers are killed and



PARLOR IN THE OLD VARNUM HOMESTEAD.

[The woodwork is the original of one hundred and twenty years ago.]

wounded. My fine company of artillery is almost destroyed. We shall be obliged to evacuate the fort this night."

General Varnum's brigade subsequently joined the main army, and went into winter quarters at Valley Forge in December, 1777.

General Varnum, in a letter to General Greene from Valley Forge, February 1, 1778, speaks of General Washington as follows: "I know, the great General in this, as in all his other measures, acts from goodness of soul and with a view only to the public weal. . . . You have often heard me say, and I assure you I feel happy in the truth of it, that next to God Almighty and my country, I revere General Washington, and noth-

ing fills me with so much indignation as the villainy of some who dare speak disrespectfully of him."

Early in June, 1778, General Varnum was sent by General Washington on special duty to Rhode Island, where he was joined at Providence by his brigade about August 3, preparatory to the campaign before Newport, and was assigned to the command of the right wing of the first line of the army in Rhode Island. In the battle of Rhode Island his brigade bore the principal part of the fighting against the forces of General Pigot.



BEDCHAMBER IN THE VARNUM HOMESTEAD.

[Occupied on various occasions by Washington, Lafayette, and other revolutionary generals.]

During the absence of Major-General Sullivan in January, 1779, Varnum was placed temporarily in command of the Department of Rhode Island.

The necessity of attending to his private affairs, and the inadequacy of the compensation received from Congress, in depreciated paper currency, to support his family, compelled him reluctantly to tender his resignation to Congress, and on March 5, 1779, he was honorably discharged from the service, and resumed the practice of law in East Greenwich. Major-General Sullivan issued a general order March 18, 1779, announcing with regret the resignation of General Varnum, and expressing in the highest terms his

appreciation of his character, and of his "brave, spirited, and soldier-like conduct" while in the army.

General Varnum was appointed by the Rhode Island General Assembly, on May 5, 1779, major-general of the militia of the state, and continued to hold that office by annual reappointments until May 7, 1788. From July 25 to August 8, 1780, he was called into the actual service of the United States under Lieutenant-General Comte de Rochambeau.

From May 3, 1780, to May 1, 1782, and from May 1, 1786, to May 2, 1787, he was a member of the Continental Congress from Rhode Island. "As that body sat with closed doors, his voice could not be heard by the public, but his name appeared oftener on the published journals than many others of that body." The Honorable William Samuel Johnson, of Connecticut, who was with him in Congress, referring to his congressional career, says "that he was a man of uncommon talents and the most brilliant eloquence."

At the end of the war he recommenced the practice of the law at East Greenwich, and soon became one of the leading lawyers of the state. Many great and important cases arose, growing out of the relations of the nation to the state. Among these the case of Trevett against Weeden, tried in September, 1786, and involving the legality of the legislative act requiring under severe penalties the taking of paper money issued by the state at the same value as gold, was the most important, and "stirred the community to its very foundation." General Varnum, appearing for the defendant, took what was then the unpopular side, the legislature and the general public being in favor of paper money; and his argument was not that of an advocate alone, but that of a citizen advocating upon the highest grounds the cause of an honest and reliable currency. His argument, copies of which are still extant, was so able and so forcible that the court adjudged the paper money acts unconstitutional and void.

For rendering this just and honorable decision, the judges were impeached by the legislature, and were defended by General Varnum in a "copious, argumentative, and eloquent" speech. The impeachment proceedings were subsequently defeated, a result due in no small measure, as was generally admitted, to Varnum's efforts. Of his personal appearance, in 1786, it will be interesting, perhaps, to quote a description of him from "Updyke's Memoirs of the Rhode Island Bar": "On the other hand appeared General Varnum with his brick-colored coat, trimmed with gold lace, buckskin small-clothes with gold lace knee-bands, silk stockings, and boots (General Barton and himself being the only gentlemen who wore boots all day at that period), with a high, delicate, and white forehead, with a

cowlick on the right side, eyes prominent and of a dark hue, his complexion rather florid—somewhat corpulent, well proportioned, and finely formed for strength and agility, large eyebrows, nose straight and rather broad, teeth perfectly white, a profuse head of hair, short on the forehead, turned up some, and deeply powdered and clubbed. When he took off his cocked hat he would lightly brush up his hair forward, while with a fascinating smile lighting up his countenance he took his seat in court opposite his opponent."



PUNCH BOWL PRESENTED TO GENERAL JAMES M. VARNUM BY LAFAYETTE.

[From the original in possession of Francis Lawton, Esq.]

Elkanah Watson, in his Memoirs, says: "Mr. Varnum was one of the most eminent lawyers and distinguished orators in the Colonies. I first heard him deliver a Masonic oration in 1774. Until that moment I had formed no conception of the powers and charm of oratory. The effect of his splendid exhibition has remained for forty-eight years indelibly fixed upon my mind. I then compared his mind to a beautiful parterre from which he was enabled to pluck the most gorgeous and fanciful flowers, in his progress, to enrich and embellish his subject. Lavater would have pronounced him an orator from the vivid flashing of his eye and the delicate beauty of his classic mouth.

In August, 1787, General Varnum became one of the directors in the "Ohio Company of Associates," and in the following October was ap-



HONORABLE JOSEPH BRADLEY VARNUM, 1750-1821.

[From a painting by Elliott in possession of James M. Varnum, of New York.]

pointed by Congress one of the judges of the territory northwest of the Ohio. He arrived at Marietta, Ohio, early in June, 1788, to assume his

official duties, and on the Fourth of July delivered an oration there which was subsequently published by the Ohio Company. The oration was short, but contained many beauties both in sentiment and language.

He assisted Governor Le Clair and the other officials in framing a code of laws for the territory, but this was his last official act; for his health, which had been declining when he left home, rapidly became worse, and the disease from which he suffered terminated fatally on the 10th day of January, 1789.

General Varnum's career was active but brief. Admitted to the bar at twenty-two, he was a colonel in the army at twenty-six, a brigadier-general at twenty-eight, resigned his commission and was elected to Congress at thirty-one, appointed judge and emigrated to the West at thirty-nine, and died at forty. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati, in 1783, and the second president of the Rhode Island society of that distinguished Order, presiding for the last time at the annual meeting, July 4, 1787.

General Varnum's next younger brother, the Honorable Joseph B. Varnum, of Massachusetts, was born at Dracut, Massachusetts, 29th of February, 1750, and died there 11th September, 1821. He was appointed, in 1776, captain of the 10th company, Seventh Regiment of Massachusetts Militia; and was a state senator from 1785 to 1795, inclusive, and in 1817, 1818, 1820, and 1821.

During "Shay's rebellion" he marched at the head of his company, and was on duty at Pittsfield, when General Lincoln highly commended him for his patriotic example and services. He served also as sheriff of Middlesex, and justice of the court of Common Pleas, and chief justice of the court of General Sessions of the same county, and was a member of the Massachusetts state convention which ratified the United States Constitution.

On April 4, 1787, he was appointed colonel of the Seventh Regiment, Massachusetts militia; on November 22, 1802, promoted to a brigadier-general in the Third Division, and on June 12, 1805, was created major-general of the same division. From 1795 to 1811 he was a Representative in the National Congress, and was Speaker of the House during the Tenth and Eleventh Congresses, after which he was elected United States Senator from Massachusetts, holding his seat six years, from 1811 to 1817; and was president *pro tempore* of the Senate, and acting Vice-President of the United States, from December 6, 1813, to April 17, 1814.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Asa Bird Gardiner". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

HOW CALIFORNIA WAS SECURED

Americans in general fondly believe that California was seized by their government just in time to save her from the grasp of England. Indeed, some color of truth is given to this belief by the writings of travelers who visited the province. They had praised California highly, and had predicted that she would not long remain a Mexican possession. And they had shown what an advantage it would be to her and to England to have her under the British flag, rather than under the stars and stripes. Popular writers had echoed these sentiments and had ridiculed the claims of the United States to any exclusive rights there. Some of the English holders of Mexican bonds were in favor of accepting California lands in settlement of their claims, but this project had died out at the beginning of the Mexican war. No official utterance is at hand to indicate that England had the slightest intention or desire of obtaining California by conquest or purchase, and no evidence to show that she encouraged the colonization plans of the bondholders. The bulky testimony in favor of the English scheme is made up wholly of mere statements of belief by men who had no means of penetrating the court secrets in London. It is apparent that England did not desire California at the price of serious complications with the United States, and she seems never to have had a definite plan of making the territory a British possession.

England, however, made no secret of her opposition to the further extension of American territory on the Pacific. She wished to prevent it, if she could do so by diplomacy, or by any other means than war. Therefore the theory that she contemplated a protectorate has more plausibility. Her squadron and that of the United States were hovering about Mazatlan when the war with Mexico began, and Commodore Sloat, the American commander, was under standing and positive orders to take California as soon as hostilities opened. Was the English commander also under instructions to raise his flag at Monterey, or was Admiral Seymour likely to assume the responsibility of such an act? Many writers have told of the race up the coast between the two flag-ships, and have assumed that California was won because Sloat reached the goal first. But the different accounts of this race hopelessly conflict with each other, and the contest evidently had no other foundation than in vivid imaginations. While it is bold to assert that previous writers have fallen into error in regard to

the protectorate, yet, in the absence of all positive proofs, the attendant circumstances seem to be against them. A careful examination of the facts at hand almost irresistibly gives the conclusion that the danger of British intervention was a mere bugbear.

Had Admiral Seymour designed to take possession of California as soon as war was declared between Mexico and the United States, the course of the American commander gave him ample opportunity. The gallant commodore did not act with all the dash and brilliance that commonly have been ascribed to him. His instructions from Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy, were positive, and indicate—what writers have repeatedly inferred from the course of naval operations on the Pacific—that naval commanders there were for a number of years under standing orders to occupy California in case of war with Mexico, and in any event to prevent the country from falling into the hands of England or France. On June 24, 1845, after Congress had ratified the measure which Mexico had declared would be a *casus belli*, Bancroft wrote "secret and confidential instructions" to Commodore Sloat: "The Mexican ports on the Pacific are said to be open and defenceless. If you ascertain with certainty that Mexico has declared war against the United States, you will at once possess yourself of the port of San Francisco, and blockade or occupy such other ports as your forces may permit. Yet . . . you will be careful to preserve, if possible, the most friendly relations with the inhabitants, and . . . will encourage them to adopt a course of neutrality." On August 5 and October 17 of the same year, Bancroft called Sloat's attention anew to the importance of acting upon his instructions promptly. In the first of these the phrase "in the event of war" was used, instead of "if you ascertain with certainty that Mexico has declared war," and in the second the term "in the event of actual hostilities" was used.

On May 13, 1846, Bancroft wrote to Sloat: "The state of things alluded to in my letter of June 24, 1845, has occurred. You will therefore now be governed by the instructions therein contained, and carry into effect the orders then communicated, with energy and promptitude." Two days later he wrote: "You will consider the most important public object to be to take and to hold possession of San Francisco, and this you will do without fail. You will also take possession of Mazatlan and of Monterey, one or both, as your force will permit. If information received here is correct, you can establish friendly relations between your squadron and the inhabitants of each of these three places. . . . You will, as opportunity offers, conciliate the confidence of the people of California, and also in Sonora, toward the government of the United States; and you will en-

deavor to render their relations with the United States as intimate and friendly as possible. It is important that you should hold possession, at least of San Francisco, even while you encourage the people to neutrality, self-government, and friendship." The following passages are from a similar communication of the 8th of June: "It is rumored that the province of California is well disposed to accede to friendly relations. You will, if possible endeavor to establish the supremacy of the American flag without any strife with the people of California. If California separates herself from our enemy, the central Mexican government, and establishes a government of its own under the auspices of the American flag, you will take such measures as will best promote the attachment of the people of California to the United States. You will bear in mind generally that this country desires to find in California a friend, and not an enemy; to be connected with it by near ties; to hold possession of it, at least during the war; and to hold that possession, if possible, with the consent of its inhabitants."

These instructions of 1846, however, did not reach the Pacific before Monterey had been taken, but in spirit they had been followed out, and in some instances with remarkable fidelity to detail. The policy of the administration in regard to California was, therefore, thoroughly understood. The instructions of 1846 do more than show an intention to take military possession of California; they indicate a purpose to retain possession permanently. And in January, 1847, the Secretary of the Navy, in a communication to the commander of the Pacific fleet, "foresees no contingency in which the United States will ever surrender or relinquish possession of the Californias."

On account of difficulties that might arise from the Oregon question, the American and English squadrons were closely watching each other in the Pacific. Sloat, at least, was waiting for the announcement of Mexican hostilities that he might make a move on California. Such an announcement he received from the interior of Mexico on May 17, 1846, and he at once sent the *Cyane* north, bearing a confidential communication to Larkin, the United States consul at Monterey. In this he stated that he would follow immediately with the remainder of his vessels. But though his first act was prompt enough to rival English energy, Sloat changed his mind, and did not start for California. It does not appear that he had received any contradictory reports in regard to the opening of war, or that he had any other reasons for delay except his natural indecision of character. On May 31st he heard of General Taylor's battles of the 8th and 9th on the Rio Grande; this news so restored his wavering

determination, that on the same day he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy: "I have received such intelligence as I think will justify my acting upon your order of the 24th of June, and shall sail immediately to see what can be done." His renewed enthusiasm did not last long, although about this time he dispatched the *Levant* to Monterey.

On June 5, according to the log of the flag-ship, the news of Taylor's battles was confirmed, and the capture of Matamoros was announced. This, however, was by no means enough for the irresolute commodore, and he wrote next day to Secretary Bancroft: "I have, upon more mature reflection, come to the conclusion that your instructions of the 24th of June last, and every subsequent order, will not justify my taking possession of any part of California, or any hostile measures against Mexico (notwithstanding their attack upon our troops), as neither party have declared war. I shall therefore, in conformity with those instructions, be careful to avoid any act of aggression until I am certain one or the other party have done so, or until I find that our squadron in the Gulf have commenced offensive operations." He announced, however, his intention of proceeding to California to await further intelligence. This extraordinary determination was of course not approved at Washington, and brought out a severe reprimand for the dilatory commander. "The department willingly believes in the purity of your intentions; but your anxiety not to do wrong has led you into a most unfortunate and unwarranted inactivity," wrote Bancroft, after dwelling on the previous orders and hints to act promptly; and on the same day Sloat was relieved of command, in accordance with his own earlier request on account of failing health, "and for other reasons."

Yet again Sloat changed his mind, in time practically to nullify the censure of the government and to escape the dishonor which his removal would have involved him in. In a report he writes: "On the 7th of June I received at Mazatlan information that the Mexican troops, six or seven thousand strong, had by order of the Mexican government invaded the territory of the United States north of the Rio Grande, and had attacked the forces under General Taylor; and that the squadron of the United States were blockading the coast of Mexico on the Gulf. These hostilities I considered would justify my commencing offensive operations on the west coast. I therefore sailed on the 8th in the *Savannah* for the coast of California, to carry out the orders of the department of the 24th of June, 1845, leaving the *Warren* at Mazatlan to bring me any dispatches or information that might reach there."

Meanwhile, in California, a new and strange factor had entered the

problem of the conquest of that province. It was the course of Frémont, in command of his exploring expedition. As he was in the service of the army department, his course could be justified only by instructions from his government, which were a new and radical departure from the policy outlined to the navy and to Larkin at Monterey. The settled policy hitherto had been to conciliate the Californians, and by securing their good will to induce them voluntarily to declare their independence of Mexico, as a preparatory step to joining their fortunes with our Republic. This had been Larkin's work, and he had been so successful that a majority of the leading Californians had been brought to favor the plan. In general, a most friendly feeling was entertained toward the United States; but Frémont's movements were out of harmony with this plan, and tended to nullify what Larkin had accomplished.

At the beginning of 1846, Frémont's exploring party was encamped in the interior of California, and leaving his men there he visited Larkin at Monterey. Here a note was addressed to Larkin by Prefect Castro, asking why United States troops had entered the department, and why their leader had come to Monterey. Frémont's explanation, transmitted through the consul on the same day, was that he had come by order of his government to survey a practicable route to the Pacific; that he had left his company of fifty hired men, not soldiers, on the frontier of the department to rest themselves and their animals; that he had visited Monterey to obtain clothing and funds for the purchase of animals and provisions; and that when his men were recruited he intended to continue his journey to Oregon. This explanation was satisfactory to such an extent that no objections were made, but Governor Pico directed that a close watch be kept on the explorer's movements, with a view of learning whether he had any other design than that of preparing for a trip to Oregon.

The only license given to Frémont was that in the implied permission to remain, because he was not ordered to leave the country at once. The current version, given by a number of writers, that Castro gave his word of honor, and indulged in some bluster about the "word of a Mexican officer," when urged to put his permission in writing, is pure invention. Frémont returned to his encampment, and a week later commenced his march. Instead of going northward through the broad San Joaquin Valley toward Oregon, he turned westerly, crossed the Santa Cruz Mountains, and entered the Santa Clara Valley. By this act he had broken his agreement with the authorities, and had forfeited every right conferred by Castro's promise, even if that promise had been as direct and definite as ever

has been claimed. His march to the coast, without receiving or even asking permission, was an insult and a menace to the California authorities. Some days after entering this valley, he received the following order from General Castro: "This morning at seven, information reached this office that you and your party have entered the settlements of this department; and this being prohibited by our laws, I find myself obliged to notify you that on receipt of this you must immediately retire beyond the limits of the department, such being the orders of the supreme government, which the undersigned is under the obligation of enforcing."

Frémont did not even vouchsafe a written reply to these orders, but merely sent back a verbal refusal to obey. Then he moved his camp to the summit of the Gavilan Peak, hastily erected fortifications, and raised over his fort the flag of the United States. It was a hasty, foolish, and altogether unjustifiable step—unless his government had instructed him to provoke hostilities with California. But he did not hold his position long. Seeing that the Californians were gathering in force to attack him, he abandoned his fort after a few days, and commenced a retreat into the interior. He took his course northward through the interior valleys to Oregon. Learning, when he had reached the northern end of Klamath Lake, that a United States officer, with dispatches, was two days behind, he started back with a number of his men, and after riding some twenty-five miles met Lieutenant A. H. Gillespie.

The lieutenant had come as a messenger from Washington, with an important dispatch to Consul Larkin, and brought also, besides his letters of introduction, a packet containing private correspondence, addressed by Senator Thomas H. Benton to Frémont, his son-in-law. The exact purport of Benton's letters has never been made public; whether they supplemented Gillespie's oral communications, and went further in their political significance than the official instructions, is a question that always has been wrapped in mystery. But Gillespie's instructions, which he was directed to show to Frémont, are represented as being identical in purport with those that he had brought from the State Department to Larkin. After meeting this messenger, Frémont returned to California with his entire party.

Soon after Frémont's return from Oregon, the American settlers' revolt broke out against the authority of California. As to the exact nature of his connection with this uprising there has been some difference of opinion; but the weight of evidence, direct and circumstantial, goes to show that, while he held himself somewhat aloof from the masses, he secretly conspired with a few leaders to bring about an outbreak, and promised the

full support of himself and his party in case it should be needed. It is stated by William B. Ide, one of the leaders in the revolutionary movement, that Frémont made known his plan of conquest as follows: "First, select a dozen men who have nothing to lose, but everything to gain. Second, encourage them to commit depredations against General Castro, the usurper, and thus supply the camp with horses necessary for a trip to the States. Third, to make prisoners of some of the principal men, and thus provoke Castro to strike the first blow in a war with the United States." Although Ide wrote under a strong feeling, amounting almost to a mania, that he had been robbed by Frémont of the honor of having been at the head of the revolution, there is little doubt that his statements are substantially correct. All the evidence goes to show that Frémont was one of the original plotters of the revolt, but that he cautiously avoided remarks and promises which might, in certain contingencies, be used to his disadvantage later.

Believing that they were supported by Frémont, the American settlers captured the town of Sonoma, and raised their flag of revolt there. Three prisoners, among whom was General Vallejo, were sent to Sutter's Fort, near which Frémont was encamped. When the prisoners were brought into his presence, Frémont's words and manner were reserved and mysterious. He denied that he was in any way responsible for what had been done, when Vallejo demanded to know for what offence and by what authority he had been arrested. He declared that they were prisoners of the people, who had been driven to revolt for self-protection. He refused to accept their paroles, and sent them on the same night to be locked up in the fort. Watching the turn of events, Frémont remained at his camp, waiting to see whether it would be necessary for him to interfere at all. But at length messengers came, announcing that Sonoma was threatened by the Californians, and he felt called upon to act and redeem his promises. Accordingly, he started for Sonoma with a force of some ninety men, and arrived there two days later. This was his first open co-operation with the insurgents; though a month later, when the insurrection seemed to have been successfully merged into the conquest, he virtually claimed in his letters that all had been done by him or under his orders. Some two weeks after he had taken the decisive step which identified him with the revolutionary movement, news came that Sloat had taken Monterey, and raised the stars and stripes there; this ended the local revolt, and brought the American government on the scene.

As Frémont had twice during that year indulged in warlike demonstrations against the Californians, it is interesting to know whether he was act-

ing as an irresponsible fillibuster chief, or whether his instructions from the government justified his course. He has admitted that his official authority came through Gillespie's communications, which were required to be the same as Larkin's instructions, and these from their nature preclude the idea that his earlier acts could have been in obedience to orders essentially different. The nature of Larkin's instructions has been a jealously guarded secret by the Department of State—it has never been voluntarily revealed. And it is no wonder; for they conferred extraordinary powers on Larkin, who ostensibly was merely the United States consul at Monterey. The instructions were written by James Buchanan, Secretary of State under President Polk, and indicate the full policy of the administration in regard to California. They sweep away the foundations of Frémont's pretensions, and show his disobedient conduct to have been inspired by personal ambition, inflamed with the hope of being the conqueror of California. Larkin's instructions ran as follows: "The future destiny of that country is a subject of anxious solicitude for the government and people of the United States. The interests of our commerce and our whale fisheries on the Pacific demand that you should exert the greatest vigilance in discovering and defeating any attempts which may be made by foreign governments to acquire a control over that country. In the contest between Mexico and California we can take no part, unless the former should commence hostilities against the United States; but should California assert and maintain her independence, we shall render her all the kind offices in our power as a sister republic." While the exercise of compulsion or improper influence to acquire territory would be repugnant to the sentiments of the President, "he would not view with indifference the transfer of California to Great Britain or any other European power. The system of colonization by foreign monarchies on the North American continent must and will be resisted by the United States." * This was in reply to a communication of Larkin, and the Secretary urged him to incite the Californians against foreign designs. "Whilst I repeat that this government does not, under existing circumstances, intend to interfere between Mexico and California, they would vigorously interfere to prevent the latter from becoming a British or French colony. In this they might surely expect the aid of the Californians themselves. Whilst the President will make no effort and use no influence to induce the Californians to become one of the free and independent States of this Union, yet if the people should desire to unite their destiny with ours, they would be received as brethren,

* This paper presents a clear, succinct, and admirably condensed view of the chief facts on which Mr. Bancroft's judgment has been founded in his valuable history of California.—EDITOR.

VOL. XVIII.—No. 3.—14

whenever this can be done without affording Mexico any just cause of complaint. Their true policy for the present, in regard to this question, is to let events take their own course, unless an attempt should be made to transfer them without their consent either to Great Britain or France. This they ought to resist by all the means in their power, as ruinous to their best interests and destructive of their freedom and independence. In addition to your consular functions, the President has thought proper to appoint you a confidential agent in California; and you may consider the present dispatch as your authority for acting in this character. The confidence which he reposes in your patriotism and discretion is evinced by conferring upon you this delicate and important trust. You will take care not to awaken the jealousy of the French and English agents there by assuming any other than your consular character." In conclusion Larkin was referred to Gillespie, with whom he was to co-operate.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Hubert H. Bancroft". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA.

OUR REVOLUTIONARY THUNDER

A cannon which had seen service throughout the Revolution was afterward, by order of Congress, inscribed, "The Hancock." This is one of four guns which constituted the whole train of field artillery possessed by the British colonies of North America at the commencement of the war, 19th April, 1775. Some weeks after that date, when General Ward took command of the army besieging Boston, he found only one six pounder and half a dozen three pounders. The revolutionists, however, soon captured the guns in most of the royal forts, securing a greater booty than anywhere else at Ticonderoga. But for the two hundred pieces there captured, the siege of Boston must have been a fiasco. Whenever Gage heard a Yankee battery he must have said, "That's my thunder!"

Yet not many field guns—only six at Trenton—were taken from the British before the surrender of Burgoyne, two years and a half after fighting began. Eleven pieces were lost at Brandywine. Running the British blockade with guns bought abroad was tedious, hazardous, and ruinously expensive. Accordingly, there was no more unexpected, rude awakening in the war to British ears than the roar of so many American cannon. "Where do you get your big guns?" was asked of a Massachusetts prisoner in England. His answer was, "We make them ourselves." The next question was, "Where did you get your patterns?" He is said to have replied, "From Burgoyne at Saratoga." He might have mentioned earlier models obtained at Ticonderoga and elsewhere.

The question where our Revolutionary thunder came from has not been fitly met by historians. We rise from Bancroft and Hildreth ready to exchange a good deal of the one's pessimism and the other's optimism for a chapter we do not find, on the domestic manufacture of Revolutionary artillery. Hence the following details cannot be thought beneath the dignity of history.

Three or four Massachusetts foundries turned out Revolutionary cannon. One was at Bridgewater. Here, Hugh Orr, whose establishment had already a quarter of a century's standing, produced a great number of iron and several pieces of brass ordnance from three to thirty-two pounders. These pieces were cast solid and bored—a novelty. In Springfield the government works were begun in 1778, and some cannon were cast there dur-

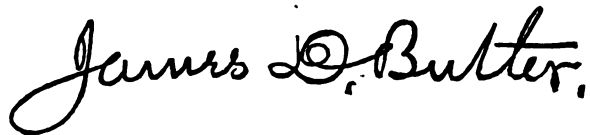
ing the war. Before the close of that contest cannon were also cast in Abington. Cannon for the Revolutionary navy came from Hope furnace, in the town of Scituate, Rhode Island. The Connecticut council of safety, before the war had long continued, expended £1,450 on a furnace in Salisbury to cast cannon, and employed a corps of fifty-nine men to conduct it. The furnace of a tory in Lakeville, Litchfield county, was made to produce large quantities of cannon for the continental army. There is documentary evidence that at least these six New England towns indicated their rebelliousness in thunderous tones. It is hard to find any single town in New York which can make this boast, though the Sterling works in Orange county had cast cannon in the earlier French war, and perhaps did in the later struggle. New Jersey has a better record. Her furnaces in Morris county, at Hibernia and Mount Hope, were noted as yielding the ordnance of which the army of Washington had such pressing need. In Pennsylvania during the Revolution, Warwick furnace was very active in casting cannon, some of which were buried when the British drew nigh in 1777. The owner of Elizabeth furnace in Lancaster county, in payment for sundry great guns, received German prisoners, at one time forty-two and at another twenty-eight, at £30 per head. He had discovered that they knew better how to make guns than how to use them. Cornwall, now the oldest charcoal furnace in the Union, also yielded its quota of Revolutionary ordnance, and the owner of the Reading works, after a few experiments, made an output of one new gun every day. No state but Pennsylvania can clearly show four cannon-casting establishments in our first great struggle. Near Baltimore, however, cannon were cast in 1780, at Northampton, and from Ridgeley's furnace near it small cannon had been ordered by Congress in 1776. In the next year the Hughes Brothers, in Frederick county, furnished a thousand tons of cannon, for which they were paid \$30,666.

In Virginia the only cannon foundry, so far as known, was at Westham, six miles above Richmond, and destroyed by Arnold in 1781. As to North Carolina, there were iron-works on Deep run, for two years' use of which in casting ordnance, etc., the provincial congress were ready to pay £5,000. In South Carolina Colonel Hill cast cannon for Revolutionary whigs at his iron-works, which so enraged the tories that they burned them. This burning cut the patriots to the heart so that one of their Scotch ministers said in his prayer: "Good Lord! if ye had na suffered the cruel tories to burn *Belly Hell's* [Billy Hill's] iron-works, we would na have asked any mair favors at thy hands. Amen!" These particulars attest the truth of the assertion of Governor Penn of Pennsylvania, when before

the house of Peers in 1775, that "the art of casting cannon had been carried to great perfection in the colonies."

Mention was made above of certain *brass* guns as cast in Bridgewater. Probably every furnace, which had plenty of brass, may have experimented in that style of manufacture. There is now in the arsenal at Hartford, Connecticut, a brass cannon inscribed "B. Hanks, 1790." In that year the casting of brass cannon was commenced in Waterbury. Can any Connecticut brass piece be shown to have originated at an earlier era? But it was in Pennsylvania that most brass guns seem to have been turned out. Two brass guns made for the government were tested at the Reading furnace in December, 1776. One burst, and the other stood the test well. In November, 1776, the Pennsylvania Council of Safety had spent more than £77 on their brass cannon foundry, and in the first days of 1777, General Knox, writing from Morristown, inquires whether brass pieces were in making at Philadelphia—and urges exertions to forward the business to the utmost. He even sends a draft or drawing of a howitzer in his camp, as it was intended to cast some of the same sort in Philadelphia. The council appointed a commission to engage experts in casting brass ordnance, and authorized them to draw on the treasurer for all the necessary expenses. On June 16th of that year, James Byers, who had cast brass guns for the government, was ordered to hold himself in readiness to remove with his apparatus at a moment's warning on the approach of the British. On August 19, he asks to be allowed to use State copper—which came from a mine on French creek and made bronze-work easier in Pennsylvania than in most provinces. In the Fourth of July procession of 1788 in Philadelphia, there was a car which bore a furnace in full blast, that finished a three-inch brass howitzer on the way, which at the halting-place was mounted and fired.

Seeing specimens of American artillery created in the first years of the war, the royal leaders might have learned a lesson from Milton's angels. Those celestials battling with devils who had extemporized similar hollow engines, would have retired from the field, as Milton says, but for their power to pluck up mountains and bury those machines deeper than the mines where their ores had been digged.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "James O. Butler." The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looping initial "J" and a trailing flourish.

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

UNION, SECESSION, ABOLITION

AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE CAREERS OF WEBSTER, CALHOUN, SUMNER

Two opposing principles strove for mastery in the formation of our Constitution—one to make us a nation, the other a confederacy of nations. Neither principle was victorious—both are in the Constitution—working together, often not as brothers, but as a badly matched team. Sometimes one principle has been in the ascendency, sometimes the other—sometimes they have been in deadly conflict. In the organization of the government under Washington the national principle was in the ascendant. Hamilton was master. The great departments were formed on the national principle. But the act of the new Congress of special value to the national sentiment was the judiciary, which in effect made the national judiciary the final arbiter on all questions that could come before it. No other act of Congress had so much influence as this in consolidating the Union. In after times Calhoun saw this, and bitterly lamented it—indeed, would have repealed the law, but it was too firmly anchored in the Constitution, being an act of the fathers. If anything was wanting to make this act effective, that want was supplied by the appointment to the Supreme bench of John Marshall. His long and illustrious career on the bench was devoted with a single eye to the founding of a nation.

In 1798 even Jefferson could write: "If on a temporary superiority of one party the other is to resort to a scission of the Union, no federal government can ever exist. If, to rid ourselves of the present rule of Massachusetts and Connecticut, we break the Union, will the evil stop there? Suppose the New England States alone cut off, will our nature be changed? Are we not men still to the South of that and with all the passions of men? Immediately we shall see a Pennsylvania and a Virginia party arise in the residuary confederacy, and the public mind will be distracted with the same party spirit. What a game, too, will the one party have in their hands by eternally threatening the other, that, unless they do so and so, they will join their Northern neighbors.

If we reduce our Union to Virginia and North Carolina, immediately the conflict will be established between the representatives of these two States, and they will end by breaking into their simple units.

Seeing, therefore, that an association of men who will not quarrel with one another is a thing which never yet existed, from the greatest confederacy of nations down to a town meeting or a vestry—seeing that we must have somebody to quarrel with, I had rather keep our New England associates for that purpose than to see our bickerings transferred to others.” Had Jefferson sent these words, *written in the same year*, instead of his resolutions of nullification, to Kentucky, history might have been written otherwise. But he did not, and in his resolutions the monster Secession was born.

The struggle between these principles might have extended indefinitely and no harm have come but for the introduction of a disturbing force.

When Chief Justice Taney announced in his famous decision that in the opinion of the fathers the blacks “had no rights which the white man was bound to respect,” he was severely denounced. But did he not speak the truth? If the corner-stone of our Constitution was not slavery, it surely was not freedom to the black man; it ignored the slave. But his cry would not down at its bidding. If, indeed, this cry was faint in the beginning, it slowly increased, swelling at length into a volume—and the crisis came.

The mantle of Hamilton and Marshall rested on Webster, that of Jefferson on Calhoun. Seward and Chase were, indeed, anti-slavery men; but Sumner, in an especial degree, was the abolition statesman. To indicate the *inter-play* in relation to the war of these sentiments—Union, Secession, Abolition—especially as illustrated in the careers of Webster, Calhoun, and Sumner, is the aim of this paper.

Webster stands alone among American orators; there is no second. He belongs to that small class of orators whose speeches, great when spoken, remain great ever afterward. Charles James Fox thought this impossible, and was accustomed to say of a speech which read well that it must have been a failure when spoken. There is much ground for this opinion. Many famous orators live only in tradition—their speeches, when preserved, are unreadable, became unreadable even while they lived. Yet the speeches of Demosthenes, Cicero, and Burke seem, with the flow of time, to have an ever-increasing interest.

Burke was never more powerful in politics or literature than to-day. For us, in this small class of orators, Webster takes his place as of his right.

His themes have an enduring value. They relate to the Union and the Constitution. His expositions of the latter, clothed in his apt phrase, will be the study and delight of the inquiring and ingenious youth from age to

age. It is not possible to overestimate the value of his stirring declamations in behalf of the Union.

The Union, to him, was not only a principle, but a passion. These declamations, spoken by the myriad youth of the land, of the generation now rapidly passing away, shed abroad in their hearts the ardent love of the Union that made the war for its preservation a success. His words were sounding in their ears when they left their homes for the tented field. They were present to them in the great crises, and their consolation in the last moments of the supreme sacrifice. "They died that the Union might live." Webster's speech, "The Constitution not a Compact," is the master-effort of American oratory.

The abolitionists never rightly appreciated Webster's work. He was, indeed, an anti-slavery man, had complained that Wilmot "stole his thunder," but he was above all things a Union man. When abolition seemed to him to threaten the Union, he subordinated his anti-slavery sentiments to the Union sentiment, "conquered his prejudices against slavery," and under the sting of unmerited rebuke—it may be, under the promptings of an unworthy ambition—spoke words that we would gladly forget.

Yet we may not forget that perhaps the success of the Union and abolition cause was secured by the postponement of the conflict from 1850 to 1860. Certain it is that abolition owed its success to that very Union sentiment which Mr. Webster had done so much to create.

Of the emancipation of the slave, the abolitionist is usually awarded the exclusive honor. But this is not accurate. When slavery stood in the way of the restoration of the Union, the proclamation of emancipation was issued; and that this was not a "Pope's bull against the comet," was due to the soldier who, to restore the Union, fought for emancipation.

It was the good fortune of the abolitionist that the Union sentiment came to his aid. Had the abolitionist had his way, it might have been otherwise; the rebellion might have begun in Massachusetts instead of South Carolina. In that event the Union sentiment would have warred against the abolitionist and crushed him. It was the madness of slavery and not the wisdom of the abolitionist that gave him his opportunity and secured emancipation.

This Union sentiment for which Webster labored, and to the teaching of which he devoted his life, has results not limited to his own country. Through it and the consequent consolidation of the Union by the great civil war, the practicability of a single government embracing a continent seems established.

A few years ago it was an accepted axiom of British politics that her

colonies were only temporarily attached to her, and that in due time, like ripe fruit, they would drop from the parent stem.

But under the influence of the American example since the war a new philosophy has arisen, and the "Greater Britain" may become a reality—an influence of the success of the war for the Union not anticipated by any one pending the conflict. Yet the ascendancy of the Union sentiment was not attained without a contest.

Mr. Calhoun was the first of our greater statesmen who dedicated himself to a single idea. That eager, anxious, penetrating face, once seen in life or picture never to be forgotten, indicates the man. Here passion subordinates reason. In the line of his desire his mind is clear, penetrating, logical, fertile of resources, and borne along with the intense force of an absorbing passion. But the reasons and facts outside of or against the line of his desire seem to wholly escape him. The absolute integrity of his character, its singleness of purpose, the ease with which he could in conversation or debate overcome antagonists, gave him unbounded confidence in himself. Goethe tells us that the individual is powerless unless he labor in harmony with the stream of tendency of his time. Mr. Calhoun, without a thought of fear, entered the lists as the champion of slavery against a world in arms. Nor in his long struggle did it ever occur to him that he was fighting a losing battle. After every repulse he returned to the struggle with unshaken fortitude and unimpaired forces. But it was not always repulse with him. Often the victory seemed to be his. And when his labors ceased—and they ceased only with life (1850)—the result was not evident. He gained much. When he began the struggle, the South was more than half anti-slavery. No one advocated slavery *per se*. They viewed slavery as their fathers viewed it—as a moral and social evil, but a necessary evil. They deplored it, but saw not how to get rid of it. Yet all agreed that it could not always endure, though how it would end they could not foresee. These ideas Calhoun revolutionized. He taught the South that slavery was the natural and normal relation of the black man to the white, of labor to capital; that instead of being a curse to the South, slavery was a blessing; that it exempted the South from those social struggles between labor and capital so threatening to free society. He taught the South that slavery was not a sin, but a Christian institution, which it was their religious duty to maintain and transmit to their posterity unimpaired; that the opposition to it the North, so far as it was honest, was a dangerous fanaticism which they were to resist by every means that God and Nature had put in their power.

He bound the South together as a band of brothers in the defense of

their imperiled cause, and infused into them his ardent enthusiasm. Nay, more, he led the North captive. Timid capital and trade submitted to his demands. The Church became his handmaid and did his work. Religion and commerce, hand-in-hand, at his behest, pursued the panting fugitive and persecuted unto death the abolitionist.

To slavery he subordinated every other consideration. He was once a Union man: in his early days had advocated internal improvements at the expense of the general Government, for the reason that they would "consolidate" the Union. But his was a Union subservient to slavery. His assertion, repeated everywhere, in season and out of season, that if the Union became hostile to slavery the South would dissolve it, and his constant assertion of the right of secession and of the rights of the States, familiarized the Southern mind with a broken Union—taught it that the general government was, in a sense, a foreign and hostile power. Visions also of a Southern slave-holding military oligarchy crossed the imagination—a great standing army and navy to arise; the slave-holding class to officer them; the "poor white trash" to furnish the soldiers; and the negroes to do the work—raise the rice and cotton. Thus would arise a mighty, aggressive military aristocracy, and the world's story be differently written.

Thus, under the teaching of Calhoun the South was educated to disunion, while under the teachings of Webster, the North was taught to love the Union.

Between these sentiments, as between slavery and freedom, there arose an irrepressible conflict, which found its solution only in the conflict of arms. Before this came Calhoun passed away.

Hitherto, in the play of the Union and abolition sentiments, the latter had yielded to the former. This was, perhaps, well—the time had not yet come when Union and freedom could coexist.

But now with the superior growth of the North—immigration avoiding the slave States—the time had come when the North felt strong enough to resist the aggression of slavery and yet maintain the Union. The Republican party, organized in 1854, became the representative of this new policy; and the Whig party of the North was merged into it.

While Calhoun was proclaiming South the beatitudes of slavery, a few obscure men North began the abolition movement.

These men, in print and speech and picture, appealed to those sentiments innate in man—sympathy with the oppressed and indignation against the oppressor.

Silently their work went on, and before it was hardly suspected the hearts of thousands were infected with abolition sentiments. The dread of

disunion and of the loss of Southern trade stifled in the hearts of other thousands the humaner sentiments and awakened a fierce persecution of the abolitionists. "Be of good comfort," said the Oxford martyr, as they applied the flame to the fagot—"be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England as, I trust, shall never be put out." Nor was it; nor was abolition suppressed.

Very soon the North became deeply affected with the abolition sentiment. There was as yet little or no effort to give to it political organization. The abolitionist was content to sow the seed and leave others to gather the fruit. There was a difficulty in the way of political organization. While the number affected with anti-slavery sentiment was very great, yet the number that would assert this sentiment in violation of the Constitution was very small. The thing desired was opportunity to strike slavery within the forms of the Constitution. The aggressiveness of slavery gave the opportunity. Its extension was pressed. The Republican party was organized to resist this. It was in the beginning a timid party; it was careful to limit its opposition to slavery; it disclaimed all affiliation with the abolitionist; it declared that there was no constitutional power to interfere with slavery in the States where it existed, and that it had no inclination to exercise such power; it enforced the Fugitive Slave law, but it was firm in its opposition to the extension of slavery. Here its pathway was clear; it violated no constitutional provision; it was in the line of the traditions of the republic; it was the policy of the fathers, who had enacted the ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery in the Northwest Territory. The position of the Republican party was strong, and it maintained it with unflinching firmness.

In all the trying days following the election of Mr. Lincoln, when states were seceding, peace conventions assembling, and Crittenden compromises were abroad, it maintained its integrity, accepted the dread issue of war, and bore the banner of Union and freedom in triumph over disunion and slavery.

The chief architects of the Republican party were Chase and Seward, Chase bringing to the new party its Democratic element, and Seward its Whig element. Chase was first in point of time. He early felt the necessity of organization to give effect to the anti-slavery sentiment. He called ward and city and state meetings, and finally the Buffalo convention. His unvarying "platform" was an appeal to all who were opposed to the extension of slavery to come together, whatever their opinions on other questions might be.

Mr. Seward was loath to abandon the Whig party, but when he did he

burned his bridges behind him, cutting off all hope of return in the proclamation of the irrepressible conflict between slavery and freedom. He became the philosopher of the new party; his expositions of its principles are models of cogent reasoning. He was more conservative than Mr. Chase, more national also. The latter was often handicapped with state right theories. He maintained that the provisions of the Constitution for the delivery of fugitives from slavery and from justice were to be enforced by the states, and that the laws of Congress on these subjects were without the authority of the Constitution and void.

So firmly did he hold this view that as governor of Ohio (1859) he held its militia in readiness to resist the authorities of the United States had the Supreme court of that state in a case before it declared the fugitive slave law unconstitutional. Happily, the casting vote of Judge Swan in favor of the constitutionality of the law averted a conflict. Otherwise the rebellion might have begun in Ohio instead of in South Carolina, which, indeed, the Union sentiment would have speedily crushed, but with it the hopes, for the time at least, of freedom.

These state right theories embarrassed Mr. Chase when the hour of secession came. He paused, he hesitated, and finally said he was willing to let the Gulf states go. There is no evidence that Mr. Seward went this far. His purposes for the weeks preceding the firing on Sumter were, and yet remain, obscure. There was a theatrical element in his nature. He loved to envelop himself in an air of mystery. Whatever may have been the cause, for many anxious days affairs drifted, state after state departed, fort after fort was taken, and nothing was done. There was danger then that in this silent way, through the mere lapse of time, secession would be acquiesced in as an accomplished fact. The insight and patriotism of Mr. Lincoln averted this calamity.

"To Mr. Lincoln," said Mr. Chase at the time, "belongs the honor of so shaping affairs that the South became manifestly the aggressor in the conflict at Fort Sumter. That work was wholly his own, unaided by any member of his Cabinet."

It was a supreme service. The response that was made showed that the people were far in advance of Chase and Seward. But neither Chase nor Seward was the representative of uncompromising abolition.

If Mr. Calhoun represented the fanaticism of slavery, Sumner represented the enthusiasm of abolition. To this cause, subordinating all else, he dedicated his life. If he did not bring to it the penetrating vision or logical acumen of Calhoun, he brought a wider scholarship, a broader view, a loftier moral tone, a like courage and fixedness of purpose.

In these tamer times his speeches may seem too intense and the tone exaggerated, but they were in harmony with the deeper feeling of the period when spoken. He had constantly the largest audience of any speaker. His earnest, intense, impassioned style wrought his sympathetic readers up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, while his burning invectives against slavery, and sometimes against the slave-holders, exasperated them to madness. He thus supplied the supreme need of the hour. He made compromise and surrender to slavery impossible. For years before the catastrophe this was the always imminent danger. When we remember the temptations to it—the dread of disunion, the loss of the Southern trade, the ties of blood and interest, the pathetic appeals from various sources and motives—the wonder is that there was not a surrender. But Sumner was in the way.

He had a peculiar training fitting him for his work. Entering the Senate chamber from the student's closet, he was cast at once into the struggle, free from the deadening, corrupting influences of long contact with the public life of that day, thoroughly permeated with pro-slavery sentiments. The social circle at Washington was a pro-slavery society. Conditions of admission, scorn of the anti-slavery sentiment; exclusion from it, social ostracism at the capital. Yet it was as wise as the serpent, if not harmless as the dove.

It was very gracious to the new-comer from the North, who had made his mark, even as an anti-slavery man.

Its blandishments and seductions were showered upon him. It would have him shorn of his locks—and many were the promising young men of the North whom it seduced.

Mr. Sumner was the special object of its attentions. His youth, handsome appearance, accomplishments, were very fascinating, and then he had the *entree* of the diplomatic social circle. The pro-slavery circle greeted him with its tenderest caresses; nor was he displeased with these. Chase and Hale, his only anti-slavery associates in the Senate, warned him of the motive of these attentions, but he was incredulous. Still he spoke not on the great theme; month after month passed and he was silent.

His friends grew apprehensive, his constituents restive; could it be that another anti-slavery tongue was silenced? At last he spoke, and with no uncertain sound. The danger of seduction was past. Friend and foe alike recognized this. Yet he himself did not recognize that his relations to the pro-slavery society were forever changed, and he was keenly disappointed when from those from whom he had recently received only caresses he now received scowls.

His social ostracism at the capital was complete ; nor did it stop there. In the Senate he was assailed with bitterness. The slave-holder and his Northern ally vied with each other in the maliciousness of the assault.

The sanctity of his closet was invaded, and he was charged in the open Senate with rehearsing his speeches before his mirror.

Before he entered the Senate he had probably never made an *extempore* speech. His powers in this direction were unknown, alike to himself and to his friends. But to his own and their surprise he discovered unequaled powers in this line and in stinging repartee. He was more than a match for all his adversaries. Sometimes goaded to desperation, he struck back with fearful violence. On one occasion, after listening to a long tirade of coarse abuse, he made only this reply : "Again the Senator from Illinois whisks his tongue and again the chamber is filled with foul odors." As an illustration of the way in which the contest was carried on between Sumner and slavery, I may here relate the incidents, as I witnessed them, attending the delivery of his speech on the "Barbarism of Slavery," June 4, 1860—his first appearance in the Senate after an absence of more than four years, caused by the blows of Brooks, and his last great effort before the war.

Vice-President John C. Breckinridge was in the chair—12 o'clock had been fixed as the hour for the delivery of the speech. Mr. Sumner had not been in the Senate during the morning hour, but punctual to the time he was seen walking down the aisle rapidly to his seat, in full evening dress, holding in his gloved hand a bundle of printed slips, of glossy, stiff paper, each sheet retaining, when held separately, its place unbent in the hand. This was his speech, which he laid before him on his desk, and which without preliminary remark he began reading.

This was the signal for a scene of subdued disorder, continuing more or less to the end. The Democrats, North and South, immediately arose, the great body of them leaving their seats and gathering in groups in the area behind the desks and in the lobbies communicating therewith. In these lobbies were, apparently, decanters of brandies and wines, and glasses. There was continuous passing to and fro here, drinking, and hilarious laughter, the different groups for a moment listening to Sumner, then turning away with derisive laughter and comment so loud that Mr. Sumner sometimes stopped, when the President of the Senate, with apparent disinclination, would make a deprecatory remark to the disorderly groups, in a tone of marked deference and with a smile of sympathy, he himself affecting indifference, reclining and yawning in his chair, holding most of the time before him a newspaper, as if reading.

Amid these groups of disorderly persons, conspicuous for his hilarity,

was Jefferson Davis. He seemed very happy, and his disposition to laugh uncontrollable. But Wigfall, of Texas, was the hero of the moment. He frequently left the lobbies, passed down the aisle by the side of Sumner, and passing beyond him two or three seats, would turn abruptly around and gaze defiance in Sumner's face, within a few feet of him, and almost between him and the President of the Senate.

The thickset body of Wigfall, his short neck, heavy projecting under jaw, deeply set eyes, glaring from beneath his heavy, shaggy brows, and heavier, overhanging, shaggier black hair, made at once a grotesque and forbidding figure.

Mr. Douglas was restless, moving about the lobbies, now with the disorderly groups on the right of the President, now with Seward's arm about his neck. Seward himself was ill at ease—he sometimes sat in his seat, giving attention, but soon darted out, as if suddenly summoned, then returned, and finally disappeared. The Republicans generally remained quiet in their seats, giving attention, but their countenances wore a regretful look, as if they would that this cup might pass by them.

In that throng of marked men, whose names are now immortal, there was one whose venerable, furrowed, wrinkled, and benignant visage arrested attention. Mr. Crittenden sat a few seats in front of Mr. Sumner and looked him full in the face, giving unbroken attention. The expression of his countenance was painfully sad—it wore an imploring look, and the appeal it made to the orator was unmistakable, almost, as it were, audible: "Forbear, Mr. Sumner, forbear! Every word you utter makes compromise and conciliation more and more impossible. It may be that slavery is the dreadful thing you describe, but it is upon us—we don't know what to do with it. We are not responsible for its presence; we have inherited it; it is intertwined with every fiber of our social life and it is guaranteed to us by the Constitution. Without this guaranty the Union would not have been formed. You are making the continuance of the Union impossible. Already the states are discordant, belligerent. Soon the land will be rent with civil war. Forbear, Mr. Sumner, forbear!"

This appeal fell upon adamant ears. The orator was inexorable; and then and there compromise with slavery received its death-blow.

Languishing, it yet did live a while longer, and its last great advocate became its last mourner. It might have been otherwise but for Sumner. When the crisis did come, strong men quailed. Charles Francis Adams, trampling upon his own record and the hereditary glory of his house, would have made terms with slavery. Even Wendell Phillips fiercely clamored at Boston for disunion, but Charles Sumner, never. On this day the sig-

nificance of Sumner's work was not felt. He found no sympathy in that Senate. Somewhere Carlyle alludes incidentally, as it were, to Sterling's early, kindly words about his (Carlyle's) books, adding in an ejaculatory way, "Ah! human recognition!" But on this day, in that Senate Chamber, Sumner had no human recognition. His eye met no friendly greeting. If it fell upon the President, it met cold indifference; if he looked before him, it met the jackal glance of Wigfall, whose hands, even then, were red with human blood; if he turned to his left, ear and eye were greeted with gibe and leer and grimace and ribald jest, mingling with the noises of ringing bar-room glasses in the very threshold of the sanctuary of the Senate. If he turned his eye to the right, there was the more chilling, deprecatory look of his Republican brethren. The galleries were empty. Sympathy nowhere. Surrounded by his brother Senators, he was alone—it was isolation profound, oppressive. He felt it. He read as if rehearsing his speech alone, his voice assuming the deep tones of the ritualist, befitting the gravity of the moment. He seldom raised his eyes from the paper before him; but when he did, they instinctively turned heavenward. Bravely, thoroughly, his task was done, to the end.

For making, four years before, such a speech as this, he had been stricken down at his place in the Senate chamber. To-day no hand was raised against him. Armed friends attended him; they were not needed.

There was even no reply. Chesnut, of South Carolina, spit out some bitter words; that, and nothing more. All felt, when Sumner closed, that the time for speech had passed. The knot could not be untied—it must be cut.

The beginnings of strife are noisy; but when the death-grapple comes, the voice is still. Henceforth there was no angry discussion in Congress. From that moment the South began to arm—to beat the pruning-hook into the spear. Soon the tramp of armed men was heard from the Rio Grande to the Potomac. But the "*Quintuple Barbarism*" perished in the throes of a mighty convulsion.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

W. M. Dickson

THE UNITED STATES AND THE GREEK REVOLUTION

One of the principles early enunciated by the government of the United States, and which has grown into a political axiom, is the avoidance of "entangling alliances" with foreign powers. The wisdom of this principle on the part of a nation politically and geographically constituted as is our own has been frequently illustrated when its violation would have entailed complications that might have endangered, if they had not indeed destroyed, that perfect independence of self-government which is the basis and strength of our political system.

The firm maintenance of this principle has at times been severely tried when the struggles and appeals of distant and oppressed nationalities have stirred the American heart until the national government has been forced—while restraining its hands from action—to give official utterance to the sentiments of the people at large. It is impossible for a young and successful nation like the United States—herself the child of revolution—not to feel acutely—and to give expression to that feeling—the hardships of other nationalities which, under the galling yoke of alien oppression, seek to establish a similar self-government to that which we established, under less trying circumstances, by rebellion and the sword.

Greece, Poland, and Hungary present cases in point; and in the two latter instances the scenes are fresh in the memory of those whose hearts and hands and voices went forth in no inconsiderable degree to cheer and aid the revolutionists. The Greek revolution which broke out in 1821, and continued for a series of years, is more remote, but no less thrilling, particularly in the inequality of the struggle, the marvelous pertinacity of the Greeks in continuing a revolt against enormous odds, and in the instances of heroism, by land and by sea, which scarcely find a counterpart in modern history. It will be remembered that after four centuries of Turkish rule, or rather misrule, Greece had sunk to so low a level that she excited no interest abroad beyond the pitiful belief that the Hellenic spirit had expired in dust and ashes, affording no hope of future resurrection. That one pregnant and popular line of Lord Byron—written after visiting the country—fully expresses the opinion which then prevailed. She was "Greece, but living Greece no more." Byron, however, was not aware, any more than the rest of the world, that under the ashes of centuries, desolation, and the worst form of political and social oppression, there was

an undercurrent of hope and determination moving slowly but surely onward among the leading Greeks in the official employment of the Ottoman government, and destined before many years to break forth into popular demonstration. The secret preparation for this may be said to have had its commencement as far back as the early years of the eighteenth century, and it was principally due to the cohesion of the Greek nationality; for, in spite of the demoralizing effects upon the Greeks of the Moslem yoke, their barbarian oppressors dared not awaken the resentment of Christian Europe by any open interference with the religion of their conquered subjects. This subtle and impregnable bond preserved alike their language, manners, and customs; and the superior intelligence and mental activity of the Greeks to that of the ignorance and brutal ferocity of their conquerors afforded channels for the interchange of ideas, *among themselves*, which kept alive the glorious anticipation of future regeneration. As a Greek historian puts it, their "priests whispered of hope and freedom in the pauses of their prayers;" and although a generation died before any material effort was practicable on their part, the moment came at last when a small body of revolutionists boldly asserted their purpose to shake off the detested yoke or to perish in the attempt. Greece proper then contained less than a million of Greeks, the bulk of the nation, at least three times that in numbers, being an integral portion of the Turkish population, while many of their leading men held official employment in Constantinople and the adjacent provinces. These latter were unable to take an active part in the rebellion, or even to show their hands, but silently and by intrigue fed the flame and encouraged their brethren-in-arms.

It cannot be doubted that the success of the American Revolution, followed by that of the French Revolution, stimulated the Greeks largely to attempt the recovery of their freedom. America was a far-off land, and to the uneducated peasantry of Greece but vaguely comprehended; but the astounding fact that three millions of people had maintained for seven years an unequal contest with the army of England and her foreign allies, and had achieved their independence, illumined with fresh hopes the little band of Greek patriots and strengthened the determination of their ill-organized and insufficiently armed soldiery to stand the hazard of the die.

One of the first acts of the Greek "senate" at Calamata was a resolution which declared, "that having deliberately resolved to live or die for freedom, they were drawn by an irresistible sympathy to the people of the United States." The Greek appeal to us for sympathy and material aid was not unheeded, so far as private individuals and associations were concerned. By these, arms and vessels were forwarded to the combatants, and

some few volunteers went to Greece to offer their personal services to the chiefs; but the fact must not be withheld that pecuniary speculation, both in America and other countries where such aid was afforded, formed in many instances the chief incentive. Ships and ammunition were sold to the Greeks both by Englishmen and Americans at "war prices," and in some cases were fraudulent transactions. These were chiefly paid for by a loan contracted by the Greeks in England at such onerous rates that only about forty per cent. of the nominal amount ever reached the Greeks. At the close of the war, the half-starved and moneyless freemen found themselves saddled with an overpowering foreign debt which had been contracted under the belief that three or four millions of Greeks would constitute the inhabitants of "free Greece," and that the territory recovered from Turkey would be three times in extent to that which was finally determined upon by the arbitration of the Great Powers.

But if at first the sympathy of our people for the struggling Greeks was less pronounced, it was owing to their imperfect information as to the progress of the revolution. Many, too, believed with Europe that the attempt of a comparative handful of inexperienced soldiers to cope with the disciplined phalanxes of Turkey would be futile, and although the spirit of the Greeks was highly applauded, a general impression—chiefly derived from European sources—prevailed that the affair would end, as other risings in Europe had ended, in disgrace and failure, leaving the exhausted insurgents in a more oppressed and hopeless condition than before.

As the news reached the United States of the continued persistence of the Greek troops, together with instances of brilliant valor and self-devotion little expected from a race downtrodden for centuries, the interest increased; and when the news of the Turkish massacre at Scio, in March, 1822, reached the civilized world, the people of the United States were excited to a degree of sympathy which ran through the nation like an electric shock.

In retaliation for the rising of the peasantry of that island and the shutting up by them of the Turkish garrison in the citadel, the Turkish fleet landed fifteen thousand men upon the island, and "a massacre of the Christian inhabitants commenced such as the annals of warfare seldom record. Men, women, and children were tortured and then put to death. Some fled to the mountains and hid themselves in caverns; others succeeded in getting on board the foreign ships lying in the harbor; others made their escape to the neighboring islands; while more than forty thousand were slain in the course of a month, and thousands of the most refined and cultivated were carried off and sold into slavery in the bazaars

of Smyrna and Constantinople. Many were bought by Turks for the pleasure of torturing them and putting them to death, and many were redeemed by Europeans residing in Smyrna, who sacrificed their wealth in this work of Christian charity. The population of Syra was reduced from more than a hundred thousand, before the revolution, to sixteen thousand, in one year."

The American press nobly responded to the universal sentiment of horror that pervaded the people at large when this event was known, and so universal was it, that Turkish atrocities and Greek valor became the topic of the time, both in public and in private intercourse. The writer of this paper, in looking over a file of old family correspondence, dated during that period, is struck by the frequent and fervent reference to events in Greece, and to the sufferings of the revolutionists at the hands of their inhuman enemy.

From that time forward the course of the war for Greek independence was eagerly watched by our countrymen, whose hopes and fears increased or diminished with the varying vicissitudes of the struggle. Thus Greece became known to the people of the United States through her aims and sacrifices, and the names of her heroes were as familiar as household words. Mavromichales, Mavrocordatos, Tricovpi, Ypselanti among statesmen; Marco Bozzaris, Costi, and Nothi among soldiers; and Canares and Miaovles among naval commanders, are names incorporated among the saviors of Greece, and are not forgotten by those who take any interest in modern Greek history. Admiration of the valor of the revolutionists increased with the later accounts of Greek vengeance upon the authors of the massacre at Scio, when Andreas Miaovles encountered the Turkish armament between Scio and the coast of Asia Minor and gave them battle; and when Canares, the dauntless Hydriote, conducting his fire ships with secrecy and alertness within the lines of the enemy's fleet, set the Turkish flag-ship on fire, which was destroyed, with two thousand men, including the captain-pacha, who perished on the very scene of his inhuman cruelties to the inhabitants of Scio. The gallant deed of Marco Bozzaris and his band of five hundred Suliotes, when he surprised the Turkish camp at Carpenesion, by which eight hundred Turks were slain, with a loss of only fifty of the Greeks—but in which he himself perished—is embalmed in the memory of every American schoolboy by Halleck's spirited and touching poem.*

* The following letter, dated in 1869, from Col. D. M. Bozzaris, son of the famous chief-tain—to the writer, who was then in Greece—may not be without interest in this connection. The souvenir referred to is now deposited in the collection of the New York Historical Society :

"* * * * In asking me so earnestly for some small object, as a souvenir, which once belonged

Nor was the popular outbreak of our sympathy for Greece limited to the press and to individuals. It found fitting expression in the writings of distinguished scholars, poets, and statesmen, and in 1824 the halls of Congress resounded with the eloquent appeals of the leading representatives of the people, who, without a jot of self-interest in the matter, rose to the spirit of the occasion through the irrepressible claims of suffering humanity in its struggle for life and liberty.

Such was the universality of public sentiment respecting Greece, that President Monroe, in his Message to Congress of December 2, 1823, said: "A strong hope has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world takes a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favor, yet none, according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers which might ere this have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest and acquisition, with a view to aggrandizement, which mingle so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost forever all dominion over them; that Greece will become an independent nation. That she may attain that rank is the object of our most ardent wishes."

On the 29th of that month a memorial was presented to the government from the citizens of New York. It appeared to them that "the Greek cause was not only entitled to the good wishes of this country, but, as far as might be done consistently with the views of the government, to every possible assistance." The memorial concluded with a reference to

to my father. you have rendered an homage to his memory which touches me profoundly. It is with deep regret, therefore, that I have to confess that it is not in my power to gratify your desire. An infant and a refugee in a foreign land at the time I lost my father, I received from his estate only two swords. To part with them would be unpardonable on my part. In my desire, however, to gratify you, I venture to offer for your acceptance a small object, without value in itself, but which may acquire value in your eyes from the associations with which it is connected. This object is a simple silk tassel which I have detached from the sword which my father wore in his last hour at that night's combat of which your eminent national poet, Halleck, has sung in such magnificent verse. It will thus at the same time recall to you the glorious end of a warrior who died for the deliverance of his country, and the admirable verses which that event inspired, of the poet who honors your own."

The note concludes with an expression of the recognition by his countrymen of "those constant sympathies of which the United States gives so many proofs in behalf of Greece, and for the veneration with which it honors the memory of his father."

the "barbarous dominion of the Turks, equally fatal to liberty, learning, and taste, and under which the Greeks have been most cruelly oppressed for ages," in contrast "to the ingenious, enterprising, free, and commercial character of the Greeks, their language, their literature, their religion, and their eventful history."

In response to a request for information from Congress, President Monroe and his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, transmitted papers of peculiar interest, embracing a correspondence between Greek and American officials abroad and at home, with statements of the progress of the war and statistics of the geographical divisions of Greece, its population, productions, and resources.

In a dispatch, in reply to our minister at London, who had forwarded the Greek appeal for recognition by our government of their independence, Mr. Adams says: "The United States could give assistance to the Greeks only by the application of some portion of their public force or of their public revenue in their favor, and it could constitute them in a state of war with the Ottoman Porte, and, perhaps, with all the Barbary powers. To make this disposition, either of force or treasure, you are aware, is, by our Constitution, not within the competency of the Executive. * * * Yet we cherish the most friendly relations toward the Greeks, and are sincerely disposed to render them any service which may be compatible with our neutrality, and it will give us pleasure to learn from time to time the actual state of their cause, political and military."

An appeal to the government was also made by the state of South Carolina in behalf of the recognition of the independence of Greece, expressing the deep interest of the people of that state in "the noble and patriotic struggle of the modern Greeks to rescue from the foot of the infidel and barbarian the hallowed land of Leonidas and Socrates.

On the 5th of January, 1824, a long and powerfully worded memorial was presented to Congress by the citizens of Boston for the people of Greece. In view of the clearly defined obligations of strict neutrality on the part of the government in all exclusively foreign wars, the memorialists did not on this occasion appeal for the recognition of Greek independence, but they expressed their "earnest wish that the indignation and abhorrence, which they are satisfied is universal throughout the United States, at the mode in which the Turkish government is carrying on the war against Greece, should be distinctly avowed in the face of the world, and that other civilized and Christian nations should be invited to join in a solemn remonstrance against such barbarous and inhuman depravity. The sale of forty thousand women and children (after the massacre of their husbands and

fathers) in open market, in the presence of Christian Europe, and without one word of remonstrance from the surrounding nations, is a circumstance discreditable to the age in which we live." * * *

All these memorials were signed by the leading and most influential citizens of the states and towns from which they issued. The sentiments which inspired them were ably and nobly supported, both in and out of Congress, by the most influential speakers and writers of the day, and but for the limitation of space, these eloquent appeals might be quoted in full in these pages without apology; a few extracts, however, must suffice. Referring to the allusion to Greece in President Monroe's annual Message to Congress, Daniel Webster, in the House of Representatives, moved the following resolution: "*Resolved*, That provision ought to be made by law for defraying the expense incident to the appointment of an agent or commission to Greece, when the President shall deem it expedient to make such an appointment."

This was a bold step in view of the prevailing ideas respecting the principle of avoiding entangling alliances with foreign powers;* and besides, Webster felt the necessity for drawing the line between "the warmth and enthusiasm which excited the country at large," in behalf of Greece, and the right to declare our abhorrence of foreign oppression. He admitted that if "popular eloquence," inspired by the recollection of ancient Greece and the claims upon humanity of modern Greece, were to be exercised in that place, it "would move the stones of the capitol." "Even the edifice in which we assemble, these proportioned columns, this ornamented architecture, all remind us that Greece has existed, and that we, like the rest of mankind, are greatly her debtors. But I have not introduced this motion in the vain hope of discharging anything of this accumulated debt of centuries. My object is nearer and more immediate. I wish to take occasion through the struggle of an interesting and gallant people in the cause of Liberty and Christianity, to draw the attention of the House to the circumstances which have accompanied that struggle, and to the principles which appear to have governed the conduct of the great states of Europe in regard to it, and to the effects and consequences of these principles upon the independence of nations, and especially upon the institutions of free governments. It regards Greece as she now is, contending against fearful odds for being, and for the common privileges of human nature. As it is never difficult to recite commonplace remarks and trite aphorisms, so it may be easy, I am aware, on this occasion to remind me of the wisdom which dictates to men

* If the writer mistake not, this reference to Greece appears in the same Message which promulgated the so-called "Monroe Doctrine."

a care of their own affairs, and admonishes them, instead of searching for adventures abroad, to leave other men's concerns in their own hands. It may be easy to call this resolution Quixotic, the emanation of a crusading and propagandist spirit. All this and more may be readily said, but all this and more will not be allowed to fix a character upon this proceeding until that is proved which it takes for granted. But in my opinion this cannot be shown. In my judgment, the subject is interesting to the people and government of this country, and we are called upon by considerations of great weight and moment to express our opinions upon it. These considerations, I think, spring from a sense of our duty, our character, and our own interests. I wish to treat the subject on such grounds, exclusively, as are truly American."

The speech was lengthy, and completely exposed the political condition of Europe as affecting Greece, and the selfish influences which induced the Powers to resist the efforts of any people to change their government or their political relations.

"I close, then, Sir, with repeating that the object of this resolution is to avail ourselves of the interesting occasion of the Greek revolution to make our protest against the doctrines of the Allied Powers, both as they are laid down in principle and as they are applied in practice. I think it right too, Sir, not to be unseasonable in the expression of our regard, and, as far as that goes, in a manifestation of our sympathy with a long oppressed and now struggling people. I am not of those who would in the hour of utmost peril withhold such encouragement as might be properly and lawfully given, and when the crisis should be past, overwhelm the rescued sufferers with kindness and caresses. The Greeks address the civilized world with a pathos not easy to be resisted. They invoke our favor by more moving considerations than can well belong to the condition of any other people. They stretch out their arms to the Christian communities of the earth, beseeching them by a generous recollection of their ancestors, by the consideration of their desolate and ruined cities and villages, by the wives and children sold into an accursed slavery, by their blood, which they seem willing to pour out like water,* by the common faith and in the name which unites all Christians, that they would extend to them at least some token of compassionate regard."

The Committee of the Whole rose without voting upon the resolution,

* The Greeks assured the Great Powers that although two hundred thousand of their countrymen had offered up their lives, there yet remained lives to offer; and that it was the determination of all, "Yes, of all," to persevere, until they established their liberty or until the power of their oppressors should have relieved them from the burden of existence.

but the speech was printed and widely circulated. Webster considered it one of his best.

Rebuking a political opponent in the Senate, who from prudential considerations deemed the moment inopportune for an official expression of sympathy for Greece in the face of monarchical Europe, Henry Clay delivered one of his most characteristic and incisive speeches. "Are we so humble, so low, so debased," said the great orator, "that we dare not express our sympathy for suffering Greece; that we cannot articulate our detestation of the brutal excesses of which she has been the bleeding victim, lest we might offend one or more of their imperial or royal majesties? Are we so mean, so base, so despicable, that we may not attempt to express our horror, utter our indignation, at the most brutal and atrocious war that ever stained earth or shocked high Heaven; at the ferocious deeds of a savage and infuriated soldiery, stimulated and urged on by the clergy of a fanatical and inimical religion, and rioting in all the excesses of blood and butchery, at the mere details of which the heart sickens and recoils? * * * What appearance, Mr. Chairman, on the page of history, would a record like this exhibit? 'In the month of January, in the year of our Lord and Saviour 1824, while all European Christendom beheld, with cold and unfeeling indifference, the unexampled wrongs and inexpressible misery of Christian Greece, a proposition was made in the Congress of the United States, almost the sole, the last, the greatest depository of human hope and freedom, the representatives of a gallant nation, containing a million of freemen ready to fly to arms, while the people of that nation were spontaneously expressing its deep-toned feeling, and the whole continent, by one simultaneous emotion, was rising and silently and anxiously supplicating and invoking high Heaven to spare and succor Greece, and to invigorate her arms in her glorious cause; while temples and senate-houses were alike resounding with one burst of generous and holy sympathy—in the year of our Lord and Saviour, that Saviour of Greece and of us—a proposition was offered in the American Congress to send a messenger to Greece, to inquire into her state and condition, with a kind expression of our good wishes and our sympathies—and it was rejected! Go home, if you can, go home, if you dare, to your constituents and tell them that you voted it down. Meet, if you can, the appalling countenances of those who sent you here, and tell them that you shrank from the declaration of your own sentiments; that you cannot tell how, but that some unknown dread, some indescribable apprehension, some indefinite danger, drove you from your purpose; that the specters of cimeters and crowns and crescents gleamed before you, and alarmed you; and that you suppressed all the

noble feelings prompted by religion, by liberty, by national independence, and by humanity. I cannot, Sir, bring myself to believe that such will be the feeling of a majority of this committee. But for myself, though every friend of the cause should desert it, and I be left to stand alone with the gentleman from Massachusetts, I will give to his resolution the poor sanction of my unqualified approbation."

Dwight thus urged the claims of Greece upon America: "What heart does not throb, what bosom does not heave, at the very thought of Grecian independence? Have you the feelings of a man, and do you not wish that the blood of Greece should cease to flow, and that the groans and sighs of centuries should be heard no more? Are you a scholar, and shall the land of the Muses ask your help in vain? With the eye of the enthusiast do you often gaze at the triumphs of the arts; and will you do nothing to rescue their choicest relics from worse than Vandal barbarism? Are you a mother, rejoicing in all the charities of domestic life; are you a daughter, rich and safe in conscious innocence and parental love; and shall thousands more, among the purest and loveliest of your sex, glut the shambles of Smyrna and be doomed to a captivity inconceivably worse than death? Are you a Christian, and do you cheerfully contribute your property to Christianize the heathen world? What you give to Greece is to rescue a nation of Christians from extermination, to deliver the ancient churches, to overthrow the Mohammedan imposture, to raise up a standard for the wandering tribes of Israel, and to gather in the harvest of the world. Are you an American citizen, proud of the liberty and independence of your country? Greece, too, is struggling for these very blessings, which she taught your fathers to purchase with their blood. And when she asks your help, need I urge you to bestow it? Where am I? In the land of the Pilgrims—in a land of independence—in a land of freedom. Here, then, I leave their cause."

These stirring words from America stimulated the Greek patriots to renewed efforts, and in 1825 the reciprocal feelings were so strongly manifested in Greece that the provisional government actually proposed to send a fleet into the Mediterranean with one of *our* leading statesmen, who should assume the office of legislator, or dictator, on the summons of the Greek nation. And this proposal was made to us because, to use the words of the letter that contained it, they "suspected the motives of the English and shuddered at the despotic aims of the Holy Alliance, whose members had hoped that the insurrection would be suppressed by Ibrahim Pacha and his Egyptian hordes." *

* Felton.

On the 4th of December, 1827, the following reference to Greece—then within a year of completing the struggle which resulted in her independence—appears in President John Quincy Adams' Message to Congress: "From the interest taken by this sovereign" (the Emperor Nicholas of Russia) "in behalf of the suffering Greeks, and from the spirit with which others of the great European Powers are co-operating with him, the friend of freedom and of humanity may indulge the hope that they may obtain relief from the most unequal of conflicts which they have so long and so gallantly sustained; that they will enjoy the blessings of self-government, which by their sufferings in the cause of liberty they have richly earned; and that their independence will be secured by those liberal institutions of which their country furnished the earliest examples in the history of mankind, and which have consecrated to immortal remembrance the very soil for which they are now again profusely pouring forth their blood. The sympathies which the people and government of the United States have so warmly indulged with their cause have been acknowledged by their government in a letter of thanks which I have received from their illustrious President, a translation of which is now communicated to Congress, the representatives of that nation to whom this tribute of gratitude was intended to be paid, and to whom it was justly due."

In the letter referred to, the Greek President, Count Capo d'Istria, writes: "The President of the General National Congress of my nation has just transmitted to me a letter, addressed to your excellency, in which he expresses the sentiments of gratitude with which the liberal conduct of the American nation has filled the nation over which he presides. I deem myself exceedingly happy in having been selected as the organ of this communication; and I pray God, the Protector of America and Greece, to afford me, in future, other opportunities of witnessing the reciprocal sentiments of two nations, to one of whom I belong, and offer to the other the sentiments of my admiration and the homage of my gratitude."

This communication incloses a letter from the President of "The Third National Assembly of Greece," addressed to the President of the United States, in which occur the following passages: "In extending a helping hand toward the Old World, and encouraging it in its march to freedom and civilization, the New World covers itself with increased glory and does honor to humanity. Greece, Sir, has received with gratitude the signal testimonies of the philanthropic sentiments of the people of North America, as well as its generous assistance."

When the war was over the problem of self-government in Greece became an anxious and for a time an insoluble question in the councils of the

young state. Had the popular wish alone been consulted, the model for Greece to adopt would have been the Republic of the United States. The Greeks had learned by that time what the principle of republican institutions in the United States meant, and how to distinguish between them and the hasty and imperfect ideas of France after her own revolution. Washington was their beau ideal of a patriot, and the Constitution of the American states their charter of freedom; and in their earliest attempts to form a provisional government that constitution was translated into Greek and served "as a copy and guide to the law-givers." But, alas! poor, distracted, scarcely regenerated Greece had no Washington to guide her counsels, and was under the iron hands of the Great Powers, who at the eleventh hour had saved her falling fortunes at the battle of Navarino, and who now attempted to manipulate her political destinies. It must be admitted that, however pleasing the picture would have been to the American eye of a young, brave, and independent republic springing up from the desolating influences of barbarism, such an experiment on the part of a small state, surrounded by antagonistic and despotic monarchies, could not have been attended with success. This was proved during the four years' career of President Capo d'Istria, the intrigues against whom, owing to his supposed sympathy with Russian ideas, led to his assassination.

A constitutional monarchy was finally decided upon for Greece, and Prince Otho of Bavaria ascended the throne in 1832. The hopes of the Greeks, excited by this event, were not, however, realized. Bavarian influences surrounded the throne, and the national aims of the country were rudely repelled. Such a constitution as the Greeks had desired was not forthcoming, and the king tampered with and delayed its execution. Finally the patience of the people became exhausted, and a most remarkable incident occurred at Athens, which stands to this day an historical evidence of the determined character of the Greeks, coupled with their respect for law and order. A proclamation was drawn up by the constitutional party, with a list of a new ministry to be recommended to the king, and an address advising his Majesty to call a national assembly to prepare a constitution. The garrison of Athens, with pointed guns, ranged before the palace, and the populace gathered about them in perfect quiet and order, broken only by the shouts of the artillerymen, "Long life to the Constitution!" Finally the king signed the ordinances appointing a new ministry and convoking a national assembly. "The troops, having been thirteen hours under arms, marched back to their barracks, the citizens dispersed to their houses, and the business of the city was not interrupted for an hour. In the same moderate

spirit of tranquil triumph the great constitutional victory was commemorated all over the country. Thus was the revolution accomplished without shedding a drop of blood or disturbing the quiet of a single citizen."

The forced abdication of King Otho in 1862 was followed by the election in 1863 of Prince George of Denmark to the throne of Greece—the existing monarch, whose broad and generous views of statesmanship commend him to the love of his people and furnish as sure a guarantee as can be obtained for the security and progress of Hellenic institutions, so far as they depend upon the uprightness and sympathetic devotion of the sovereign.

With the establishment by the larger Powers of Europe of diplomatic relations with Greece, the United States was expected by Greece to send a minister to Athens, but the necessity for such a step did not present itself to the consideration of Congress until difficulties arising between certain American citizens dwelling in Greece and the Hellenic Government required the presence, on the spot, of a diplomatic representative, and in one instance the dispatch of a vessel of war, to bring these cases to a successful issue. It was not until 1867 that the establishment of a full mission at Athens was decided upon. The Greek Government did not wait for the arrival of our representative before appointing their minister to Washington, not only out of compliment to the United States, but for the purpose of neutralizing, if not of destroying, the influence of the Ottoman Minister then at the Capital, a clever diplomatist, who was unwearied in his exertions to allay American sympathy for the Greeks of Crete, then in open insurrection against their Turkish rulers. The minister appointed by the Greek Government was Mr. Alexander Riza Rangabes, one of the most distinguished of Greek diplomatists, a savant, and a man of letters.

It is to be hoped that henceforth no question of economy or of supposed want of necessity will ever militate against the permanent continuance of our legation at Athens, if for no other reasons than those so forcibly expressed, many years ago, and before the United States was represented at that capital, by an American traveler and one of the most distinguished writers on modern Greece. "I heartily wish," he wrote from Athens, "the United States had a diplomatic representative here who could add the force of his country's influence in favor of liberal principles and enlightened government, for that influence would be very weighty, both on account of old services still gratefully remembered and because our country has no interests to subserve by intriguing in Eastern politics, and her minister would command the unsuspecting confidence of the Greek nation, which no European minister can. It is of much greater

moment that we should be properly represented at Athens than at the court of Constantinople—at least until the Greek monarchy, as in the course of events it must, shall supplant in Europe the empire of the Moslem, and the cross triumph over the crescent on those fair shores where it was first planted.”

That the Greeks are grateful to the people of the United States for their sympathy and liberal aid during the bitter days of the revolution has been frequently exemplified, but one or two instances may be mentioned in this connection. “Greece,” wrote the then Minister for Foreign Affairs at Athens, the eloquent Pericles Argyropoulos—“Greece has never forgotten the noble sympathy manifested toward her by the American nation at the time of her Revolution. Full of gratitude and of friendship, she has always watched with the deepest interest the wonderful progress which has been in every respect achieved by a people to whom she feels attached by the most indissoluble ties. It is under the influence of these sentiments that his Majesty’s government, faithful interpreter of the national wish, being desirous to testify in a solemn manner its veneration for the memory of the illustrious Washington, has caused to be transmitted a block of marble taken from the very ruins of the Parthenon, in order that it may serve to adorn, however humbly, the monument destined to perpetuate the remembrance of the great founder of American independence.” In accepting this precious relic as a contribution to the Washington Monument, Mr. Marcy, then Secretary of State, responded with appropriate sentiments.

In further evidence that with the lapse of years since our countrymen first extended their generous hands to suffering Greece they have not withheld material aid when required, nor the Greeks failed in their recognition for such acts of sympathy, a personal reminiscence may be permitted.

When the writer was appointed minister to Greece, on the establishment of that mission, the Greek inhabitants of the island of Candia (Crete) were in active insurrection to throw off the Turkish yoke. So marked was the feeling excited in the United States in their behalf that public meetings, resulting in contributions of money, clothing, and food for the Cretan refugees—women and children who fled by thousands to Greece in conditions of absolute destitution—were held in Boston and New York, and were addressed by distinguished orators. The funds collected were intrusted to the American minister for distribution in Greece, a duty which he was able to fulfill satisfactorily, owing chiefly to the assistance afforded him by the American missionaries at Athens. One evening sev-

eral hundred children, from among the recipients of this bounty, gathered in front of the legation, and after prayers and the singing of hymns, sent up messages of gratitude to be forwarded in their behalf to the United States. After this affecting scene they departed, with cheers for America ringing in the air.

On another day the minister was waited on by the metropolitan Archbishop, the highest ecclesiastic in Greece, who, wearing his robe and insignia of office, and accompanied by a body of priests, delivered an address of some length, overflowing, as did his eyes, with emotion as he alluded to his own personal participation "in the great struggle which commenced in 1821, *and still continues*," and returned thanks for the moral and substantial aid extended by our countrymen at that period and during the efforts of the Cretan Greeks to establish their independence. "I pray you, Mr. Minister," he concluded, "to transmit the expression of our deep thankfulness to the whole nation, and, if it be possible, to every American citizen."*

The words of the Archbishop in italics—"and still continues"—furnish the key-note to the existing political condition of Greece, and afford an apology, if one be needed, for reminding our countrymen that the Greeks are as alive to-day as they were during the seven years' war of independence to the impelling necessity for the recovery of the *entire* portion of their ancient domain, populated by millions of their countrymen, Greek by nationality, language, religion, and the love of country. The struggle "still continues;" not by intrigue or activity in arms, but by that restless hope which keeps alive the national patriotism, and by that irrepressible determination which awaits only a favorable opportunity to press the claims of Greece upon the world at large.† But for the jealousy of the great Powers with respect to the ultimate possession of that portion of the empire of Turkey which encroaches upon the Christian provinces in Europe, Greece might long ago have come to her own again. As it is, the "Eastern Question" is never revived in any shape that Greece does not attempt, by diplomacy or hostility, to obtain an increase of territory which she believes to be legitimately and religiously her own. In vain is the little kingdom told by the governments of Europe to "rest and be

* *The Greeks of To-day*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

† Greece has scarcely recovered her political equanimity since the imposition of the hands of the great Powers to prevent her recent attempt at territorial acquisition than news reaches us of a fresh insurrection in the neighboring island of Crete against the Turkish authorities. The Porte has dispatched troops and a vessel of war to restore order, which will doubtless lead to a fresh temporizing policy; but these outbreaks may be expected to continue whenever an opportunity presents itself, until the independence of the island is accomplished.

thankful." She can neither do one nor the other. When she comes to that paralysis she will cease to be Hellenic, and will shrivel up into a degenerate race unworthy of her ancient grandeur or of her modern claims upon the sympathy and respect of the free people of the earth. It is to be hoped—a hope shared by Greece herself—that diplomacy, and not warfare, will finally obtain for her that full recognition of territorial claims to which her history, her valor, and her remarkable progress as a free state entitle the kingdom. No people would more sincerely rejoice in such a result than the people of the United States—they who gave her their sympathy and aid during her heroic conflicts for liberty, and who will again lift up their voices and extend their hands in her behalf should she look to us for encouragement and support in the hour of peril.



Charles H. Tuckerman.

FLORENCE, ITALY, 1887.

THE MAYAS

THEIR CUSTOMS, LAWS, AND RELIGION

A careful and prolonged study of those vestiges yet remaining of their civilization induces one to believe that the Mayas were the most enlighten of all the ancient Americans, and their dominion at one time extended over the greater part of Central America. The Maya language, and its dialects, is still spoken more than the Spanish—many know not a word of that tongue—by the natives of Yucatan, Peten, the north part of Guatemala, and the Lacandon country, on the shores of the Uumacinta, and in the valleys between those mountains—that region where the mysterious “*Tierra de Guerra*” is, and into which a few intrepid travelers have vainly endeavored to penetrate. It is a most interesting language, complete, mellifluous, wonderfully expressive ; in fact, one that could have been developed only among highly cultivated people, needing all the various forms of speech used by us.

There is a tendency on the part of some writers to class all the ancient nations of Central America, Mexico, and surrounding countries as one people. This is an error that serves as a stumbling-block in their investigations, because a variety of race and language existed no less there than in other parts of the world ; indeed, if geologists insist that America is the oldest continent, we may suppose that even a greater diversity of peoples have come and gone.

Not a few confound the Nahuatls and Aztecs with the Mayas. This mistake is partly due to the fact that in the sixth century of the Christian era Mexican tribes invaded the Maya empire, conquered, and established themselves there, introducing rites and customs of their own. Some of these were very barbarous, as, for instance, cruel human sacrifices, cannibalism, and deformation of the skull, which was never in vogue among the ancient Mayas ; not in a single instance have we seen a misshapen head in the paintings and sculptures found among the ruined palaces and temples of Yucatan. In one bas-relief, however, there is a warrior running a lance through a decapitated deformed head lying at his feet, apparently that of a vanquished foe ; this head culminates in a point like those of the people of Palenque.

As for eating human flesh, the Mayas expressed loathing for the custom : “The people of Yucatan did not eat human flesh ; formerly they hated the

Mexican Indians because they did eat it" (J. de Villagutierre y Sotomayor. Hist. de la Conquista. Lib. VIII., Cap. XII.) Nor is there any proof that they made cruel sacrifices of human beings. Nevertheless, some did voluntarily throw themselves into a large *senote* (natural well), considered sacred, firmly believing that such an act would gratify the deity, and that on the third day they would rise again.

As the descendants of various peoples were living in Yucatan when the Spaniards arrived, the writings of the Christian fathers, concerning what they saw there, appear in some instances contradictory, because the customs and manners are recorded as if they were those of one nation. For example, while Landa, who was made Bishop of Yucatan in 1571, declares that "The people of Yucatan never took more than one wife,"* another asserts that they were polygamists; these were probably Nahuatl, though no doubt some of the Mayas fell into their ways.

According to Father Cogolludo, whose work was first published in Madrid in 1688, long after his death, Yucatan was divided into small provinces, each bearing the name of its feudal lord, and all at war with one another. But the natives declared that formerly the entire country had been ruled over by one king, and was then called Maya or Mayapan (banner of Maya). In very ancient times, according to the Troano Manuscript, the peninsula was known as Mayax, or "the first land."

The discord existing between the provinces brought about their ruin; their division made them weak. The Nahuatl, thinking to have the white men for allies, were the first to lay down their arms, thus betraying their own cause, and enabling the Spaniards, after a war of several years, to reduce the entire population to serfdom.

Those Nahuatl had been a turbulent set for centuries, always seeking, and generally obtaining, mastery over neighboring tribes and countries. Cultured in some respects, in others they were savage, their horrible religious rites and sacrifices being extremely revolting.

About many things they had peculiar notions. The practice of flattening the helpless babe's head between two hard boards has been widespread; but the idea of fastening a ball of wax to the child's forelock to dangle over the bridge of its nose! And for what? That the poor little creature might be afflicted with a permanent squint, strabism being considered a mark of beauty!

It would seem that at some time or other bearded men had made themselves very obnoxious in that part of the world, for Bishop Landa says that the mothers were careful to scorch their little boys' chins with

* *Las Cosas de Yucatan.*

very hot cloths, so that they might "never have a beard." Whether this was customary among Nahuatl or Mayas, or both, we have now no means of ascertaining.

As regards tattooing, judging by the paintings and sculptures, we are inclined to believe that it was not fashionable among the ancient Mayas, but it was a common thing in the fifteenth century; they even made game of those who had no fancy designs cut in their skin.

Some of the men kept the top of their head bald by burning the scalp, had the hair short at the sides and very long behind, so that they could plait it and coil it around their head, the ends being left unbraided and hanging like tassels. Among the natives of Peru there are, at the present time, some medicine-men residing in the high Andes who wear their hair in the same way, so the queue is by no means confined to the Mongolians.

The Mayas were of a lighter color than the generality of the American Indians; good-looking, strong, athletic; in stature tall and finely formed, having remarkably small hands and feet. They were long-lived—many reached the age of one hundred, some, like Thomas Parr, of England, a hundred and fifty years. In the early part of the conquest, a Franciscan friar, very trustworthy, said that in his wanderings among these natives he had met one who was, according to what he himself and many others said, three hundred years old. He was so bent that his chin almost touched his knees. As he was very childish, no information could be obtained from him about his forefathers or the country; the only thing that he kept count of was his own age (A. de Herrera, *Decada IV.*, Lib. III. Cap. 4). Dignified and grave in deportment, they were rather inclined to melancholy, yet very witty and clever jesters. "They would frequently," says Cogolludo, "charge their superiors with some weakness or failing, sometimes conveying a reproof or criticism in a single word, but in such a manner that no one could rebuke them." The same writer, in speaking of their capacity as workmen, affirms that while a Spaniard was confined to one trade, a native would master three or four, and do excellent work with the poorest kind of tools.

The women were pretty, and lighter in color than the men, "of a nicer disposition than those of Spain, besides being bigger and better shaped," says Landa, adding, "Those who are beautiful are well aware of it, and in truth they are not bad-looking." They were loving and lovable, but exceedingly modest, and always industrious, as they are at the present time. The manners of both men and women were refined and courteous; nor have they changed in this respect—no Yucatecan Indian is ever rough

or clumsy; and in their persons they are scrupulously clean, in marked contrast to the aborigines of Mexico.

Both sexes were clothed in white cotton garments, those of the women being trimmed with colored embroidery. Some of the men wore very handsome cloaks made of stuff that resembled fine damask of many hues.

Society was divided into three classes: the nobility, comprising the priests and military chiefs; citizens, who were the tax-payers; and slaves—these were either purchased foreigners, prisoners of war, or thieves, who by law were always condemned to slavery. A serf could be ransomed and become a citizen, but if a free man or woman married a slave they henceforth belonged to that class.

Every district had a supreme judge, nor were lawyers wanting. Cases were always argued by word of mouth, justice being administered as soon as the sentence was passed. The punishments were severe, and appeal useless. Noblemen condemned to death could, if they desired, have the sentence commuted for that of perpetual slavery. The traitor, homicide, and incendiary suffered death. In cases of adultery, unless the affronted spouse wished to pardon the offense, the guilty man was stoned to death. The faithless wife was considered sufficiently punished by her disgrace and the death of her accomplice. This was among the Mayas. The Nahuatl and others were barbarously cruel to the erring woman. Minor offences were punished by fines, or imprisonment in large wooden cages placed in a thoroughfare, where every one could gaze at the culprit. Similar cages are used in Japan. No favor was shown to evil-doers of high rank. A certain prince, having by force wronged an innocent maiden, was stoned to death by order of his brother, the monarch.

The public treasury, formed by taxes and tributes, served to defray the expenses of the church, the government, the military, education, roads and other public works, not the least important of these being the asylums, in which all deformed and helpless persons were sheltered and cared for, certain people being employed to look up such cases. Charity, hospitality, and veneration for the aged were very marked characteristics. As parents they were stern. Girls were strictly brought up, industry and modesty being specially insisted upon. "Even if they raised their eyes to a man's face their mother would rub pepper in them," says Landa. To-day, when a young woman is not circumspect, they say, "She seems to have grown up without a mother."

There were colleges for both sexes of the higher class, also convents. The nuns lived after the manner of the Roman vestals, and she who failed

to keep her vows was killed with arrows. But if one desired to leave the convent and marry, she could do so by special permission of the high priest. A perpetual fire was kept burning in the temple; if the vestal in charge allowed it to go out, she forfeited her life, as in Rome and Greece.

Young men were likewise treated with severity; and as it was considered disrespectful to amuse themselves in the presence of their elders, they had large public buildings where all the youths congregated for recreation. Their favorite diversions were athletic sports, acting, singing, and dancing.

In reading the old Spanish records that treat of the customs and habits of these people we come to the conclusion that their code of etiquette must have been as tiresome and minute as that of the Japanese. They had a great fancy for making presents to each other, if only a bunch of flowers, with which they loved to adorn their persons. They were exceedingly fond of fine perfumes.

It must not be supposed that they were idolaters. Ages ago, as far back as we are able to trace them, the Mayas regarded the great mastodon as a fit emblem of deity because it was the largest and most powerful creature known to them. But it was a symbol only, not a god. They also adored the sun as the source of all light and heat on this planet; hence their worship of the fire as an emanation of the great orb. The serpent form was likewise revered, having first been a representation of their country, Central America, then of the earth, next of the universe, and finally of the Creator. But they believed in one unseen, incomprehensible Power, *Ku* (Divine Essence), which they did not venture to liken to anything. In the sixth century the Nahuatlts introduced their own peculiar cult, the worship of the reciprocal forces of nature, emblems of which are found only in the cities where they ruled, and re-ornamented the buildings to suit their own ideas.

To-day the Indians in Yucatan are thorough idolaters, having blind faith in the wooden saints or other images before which they kneel to promise that they will do certain things as a sacrifice, provided the favors they ask be granted.

All statues, big and small, found by the Christian Fathers were condemned as idols and promptly destroyed. It is to be hoped that in the far distant future no iconoclasts, laboring under a similar impression, will commit like acts in Christian churches and demolish the beautiful works of art now in our cathedrals!

The priests were amazed to find baptism and confession practiced among the Mayas. The baptismal rite was called *Zihil*, a word that means "to be born again," and was celebrated when the children were between three

and twelve years old. It was a very lengthy ceremony, but the principal thing was to sprinkle the child with water.

Husband and wife confessed one another, the confessor afterward making it public, so that all might implore *Ku* to forgive the sinner. Unmarried people confessed to their priest or physician.


It was their belief that in dying they passed to a place where they suffered for their wrongdoing, and later progressed to a happy state; but that after a lapse of ages they would be reincarnated on this globe.

They feared to see death, grieving excessively at the loss of a friend, though personally they did not dread passing away. Landa says: "They were very prone to hang themselves to escape any little trouble." After the decease of a relation they fasted, especially the husband for his wife.

Anciently they cremated their dead, keeping the ashes in clay or wooden heads, made in the likeness of the departed. The upper classes preserved the ashes in urns that were placed in mausolei with stone statues of the deceased.

At the time of the conquest the lower classes had adopted inhumation, the grave being dug in the house or at the back of it. They filled the mouth of the corpse with corn and some of their money—tiny copper bells and bright red stones. With the body they put some article indicating the past calling of the defunct, and a few provisions. The house was then generally abandoned, unless the family was large, in which case they were less afraid to run the risk of seeing the ghost. The posture given to the dead was the same as that in vogue among us. One tribe only, in the mountainous district of Uzumacinta, between Guatemala and Chiapas, doubled up the limbs and put the face in contact with the knees, binding the body and placing it upright in a round hole. Before covering it they put provisions within, for the departed soul to partake of in his journey to the other world; also uncooked grain to distribute among the animals whose bodies he had eaten, so that they might not try to harm him. For the same reason tortillas were provided for the spirits of the *tzomes*—small, hairless dogs whose flesh was much relished: they were bred and fattened for the sole purpose of being choked in a pit, cooked, and eaten.

The fact that they furnished food for the souls of the *tzomes* and other animals shows that these people believed in a future life not only for themselves but for all creatures.

Alice D. Le Plongeon ::


A PATRIOTIC PARSON

Rev. John Cleaveland, of Essex, Massachusetts, was born in Canterbury, Connecticut, April 22, 1722. Little is known of his early life. Probably, like most country boys of his time, he worked on the farm; but he must have been of a studious turn, and have made the most of his opportunities, for in his nineteenth year he entered Yale College. During his college life he met with an experience that showed the independent stamp of his character which marked him all through life. While at home, on vacation, he attended, with some of the members of the family and neighbors, a "Separatist" meeting, so called, conducted by a layman. This coming to the knowledge of the college authorities, he was called to account on his return, on the ground that the act was a sanction of "measures deemed subversive of the established order of the churches"—which looks, at this distance of time, as if the churches must have felt their position to be a somewhat precarious one, since such an act on the part of a college student was felt to be so dangerous. Young Cleaveland, refusing to submit tamely in the matter, was duly expelled. As some reparation for the injustice, however, his degree was conferred upon him in 1764, and his name entered on the catalogue among the graduates of the class of 1745. But this tardy justice was not done until he had gained a somewhat wide reputation for ability and piety.

Soon after he left college, Mr. Cleaveland was licensed to preach, and his well-known attachment to what was known as the "New Light" movement, and his boldness in its defense, secured for him a call from a society worshiping in a brick building built by the Huguenots, in School Street, Boston, to become their pastor. This call he declined, although he acted as pastor for the society some two years, which connection, no doubt, helped secure for him the honorary degree of A.M. from Dartmouth College. About the same time he was invited to take charge of the "Newly Gathered Congregational Church" in Chebacco Parish, now Essex, and was ordained February 25, 1747.

The visit of Whitefield to New England in 1740 resulted in a marked attention to religious things in the community, which, however good in its results on the whole, was accompanied by many eccentricities and extravagances. Not a few of the churches and ministers of the "Standing Order" were violently opposed to Whitefield's measures, although they

had the sanction of the great name of Jonathan Edwards, then in the zenith of his pulpit influence and power. In September, 1740, Whitefield preached in Ipswich, on the hill in front of the meeting-house, "to some thousands," it is said. In his own diary he wrote, "The Lord gave me freedom, and there was a great melting in the congregation." He also visited Chebacco at this time. One of the consequences of his visit and preaching was the withdrawal of some members from the church and the formation of the "Separate" Church, before mentioned, in 1746. Mr. Cleaveland published a pamphlet on the revival in Chebacco, entitled, after the fashion of the times, "A Plain Narrative," etc. Boston, 1767.* Edward Lee, of Manchester, Massachusetts, "the apostolic fisherman," whose *Life* was published by the American Tract Society with others, united with this church, the Rev. Benjamin Tappin, pastor of the church in Manchester, not being in sympathy with the "New Light" movement.

In 1758, the patriotic ardor of the Chebacco pastor led him to accept an appointment as chaplain of Bagley's Massachusetts Regiment, the "Third Provincial Regiment of Foot." His commission was signed by Governor Pownall and Secretary Oliver, March 13, 1758. He joined the regiment at Flatbush, five miles above Albany, June 9, traveling on horseback, by way of Worcester and Springfield. His journal embraces sixty-nine pages,† and gives an interesting and instructive narrative of General Abercrombie's ill-managed and disastrous campaign at Lake George. There are quotations from the journal in Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. 2, pp. 77, 115, 117, 118, which show the writer to have been a man of quick intelligence and independent mind. Bancroft makes mention of Mr. Cleaveland as one of those "chaplains who preached to the regiments of citizen soldiers a renewal of the days when Moses, with the rod of God in his hand, sent Joshua against Amalek." But this use of the Old Testament was almost universal in his day, and had been since the times of Cromwell and his Ironsides. Mr. Cleaveland's brother, Ebenezer, chaplain of another regiment under Abercrombie, was settled at Sandy Bay, now Rockport.

Causes were already at work which resulted in the revolt of the Colonies from the British Crown. Mr. Cleaveland threw himself with characteristic zeal into the contest of ideas and principles. He wrote largely for the newspapers, especially for the *Salem Gazette*, then, as now, an influential organ of public opinion. His writings and sermons did much to crystallize public sentiment on the great problems at issue, which were finally referred

* A copy of this rare tract is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, and another in that of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

† In Essex Institute Collection, vols. xi., xii.

to the stern arbitrament of arms. When the war began, we find the redoubtable parson-chaplain in the army again; this time of Colonel Little's Regiment, the Seventeenth Foot, Continental Army, enlisted at Cambridge, July 1, 1775. It was said of him that "he preached all the men of his parish into the army, and then went himself."

During the war he became well known to Washington, and that friendship forms the basis of the following anecdote: At the time General Washington visited Ipswich, on his Presidential tour, October 30, 1789, Parson Cleaveland was among those who went to pay his respects to him. Approaching with his cocked hat under his arm, Washington recognized him and said: "Put on your hat, Parson, and I will shake hands with you." The Parson replied: "I cannot wear my hat in your presence, General, when I think of what you have done for this country." "You did as much as I," said the General. "No, no," replied the Parson. "Yes," said the General, "you did what you could, and I've done no more." *

Another incident belongs to an earlier period. For the defense of the coast at Cape Ann, a force of militia had been drafted from the inland towns, which passed through Chebacco and halted and paraded on the common, where they received their Chebacco fellow-soldiers. According to the pious custom of the time, prayer was offered by the ardent and patriotic Cleaveland. While he was praying in his stentorian voice, "that the enemy might be blown"—he was loudly interrupted by an excited soldier who cried, "to hell and damnation," but the chaplain calmly continued without altering his tone or seeming to notice the interruption—"to the land of tyranny from whence they came."

Mr. Cleaveland appears to have been a most impressive speaker. Until the later years of his life he preached from a brief. On the last Sabbath but one before his death, he spoke in the pulpit with his usual power and animation. He was thoroughly evangelical in doctrine, and an earnest advocate of what was commonly known as the "new measures." Though an ardent controversialist, he was so benevolent in his disposition and kind in his manners that he won the respect of opponents; and under his ministry a permanent union was brought about between the church of which he was pastor and the old church from which it had seceded. Of the beneficent and wide-reaching influence of such a ministry, protracted through more than half a century, it is difficult to form an estimate. He was a typical New England minister of the best character. Like Goldsmith's Village Preacher,

* Salem Gazette, July 30, 1886.

" Remote from towns he ran his godly race,
Nor e'er had changed, nor wish'd to change his place."

Though pastor of a rural parish, he was known and respected in circles far removed from his quiet home. The high moral character of the community in which he lived, and the large number who had gone out from it to fill important stations in life, may no doubt be considered in part the results of his able and faithful services during the formative period. He is described as "tall, yet of fine proportions, and very erect, of a florid countenance, blue eyes, firm in gait even to old age, moderate in his motions, but of great muscular strength and activity."

Of Mr. Cleaveland's domestic life little is known ; his first wife was Mary, daughter of Parker Dodge of the "Hamlet," now Hamilton, Massachusetts ; his second wife was Mary, widow of Capt. John Foster, of Manchester, Massachusetts. He had seven children—Mary, John, Parker, Ebenezer, Elizabeth, Nehemiah and Abigail. Nehemiah became a physician in Topsfield, Massachusetts, and his daughter Mary married Rev. Oliver A. Taylor, one of a distinguished family of ministers of old New England lineage.

Mr. Cleaveland died in Essex, April 22, 1799, at the age of just 77 years, and in the fifty-third year of his ministry in that town. On his tombstone in the old graveyard is the following inscription :

This Monument
Perpetuates the Memory and singular Virtues of the
Rev. John Cleaveland, A.M.,
who died April 22d, 1799, which day completed
His 77th Year.

He was ordained to the pastoral office in this place, February 25 (O. S.), A.D. 1747, and for more than fifty-two years was eminently a faithful Watchman, being ever ready and apt to teach. His zeal and attention to the duties of his office evinced the purity of his motives.

It does not come within the scope of this paper to trace the descendants of Mr. Cleaveland. So far as known, however, his numerous posterity, to the third and fourth generation, have been persons of considerable mark in the community. The family is an illustration of the fact that certain qualities seem to "run in the blood," and that not all ministers' children turn out badly.

D. P. Lamson.

MANCHESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.

1747

RUNNING-ANTELOPE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

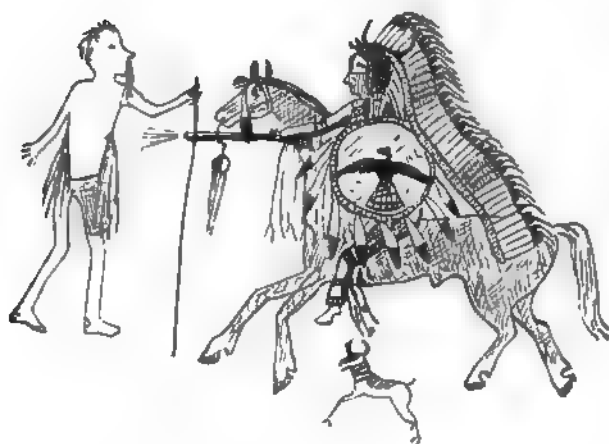
HISTORIC PICTOGRAPHS

A record of much interest has recently appeared in the report of the Bureau of Ethnology, illustrating the pictograph of the North American Indians. Running-Antelope was the chief of the Uncpapa Dakota Indians, at Grand River, Dakota, in 1873, and the important events in his career as a warrior have been preserved in this unique fashion by himself. Mr. Garrick Mallory has made an elaborate investigation of the subject, which is remarkably full and instructive in all its varied connections. He says: "The importance of the study of pictographs depends upon their examination as a phase in the evolution of human culture, or as containing valuable information to be ascertained by interpretation." Sometimes the picture discovered has been graphically expressive of an idea, and not a mere portraiture of an object, in which case it is designated as an ideograph. In other cases, the ingenious material is found to be absolute and veritable tribal history, although generally of limited local interest, as in the case of a quaint little account of a prairie fire that destroyed an entire Indian village, in which many lives were lost.

In the story of his life Running-Antelope introduces an antelope be-



PICTOGRAPH NO. 1.—THE KILLING OF AN ARIKARA.



PICTOGRAPH NO. 2.—SHOT AND SCALPED AN ARIKARA.

neath the horses to signify the name of the chieftain. The bird upon the shield refers to the clan. The lance held in the hand signifies that he killed the enemy with that weapon. In the first figure the pictograph states that two Arikara Indians were killed in one day. The left-hand man was shot, as shown by the discharging gun, and afterward struck with the lance. This occurred in 1853.

In the second figure, the Indian author tells how he shot and scalped



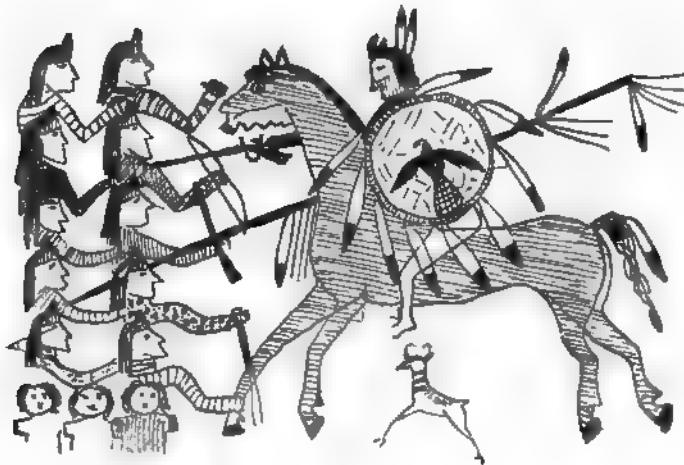
PICTOGRAPH NO. 3.—SHOT AN ARIKARA.



PICTOGRAPH NO. 4.—THE KILLING OF TWO WARRIORS.

an Arikara Indian in 1853. The victim was unarmed, as appears from his gesture—right hand thrown outward with distended fingers—for *negation*, "having nothing."

In the fourth figure, we are told that the great chief killed two warriors in one day in 1854. In the fifth picture, we are entertained with his curious showing of how he killed ten men and three squaws in 1856. The grouping of persons in this drawing strongly resembles the work of the

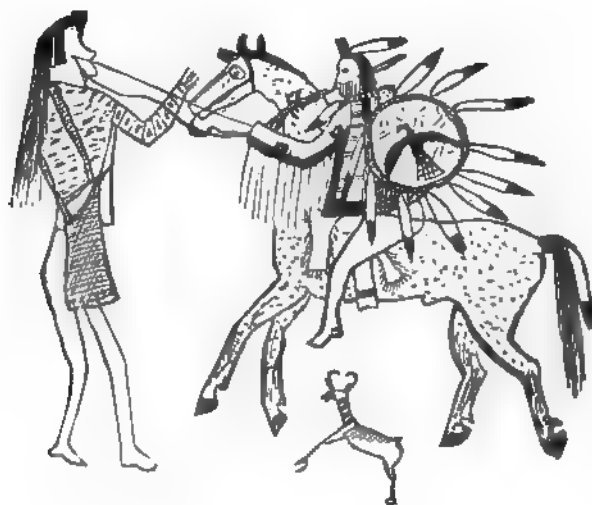


PICTOGRAPH NO. 5.—THE KILLING OF TEN MEN AND THREE WOMEN.

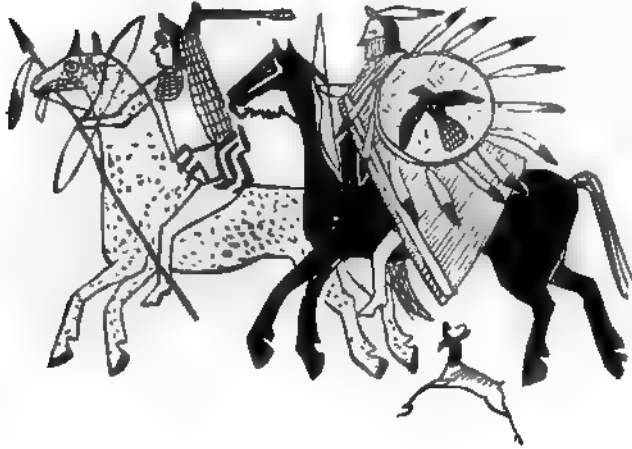


PICTOGRAPH NO. 6. THE KILLING OF TWO INDIAN CHIEFS.

ancient Egyptians. The sixth illustration defines the rank of the persons killed—they were two Arikara chiefs—and shows that Running-Antelope was wounded in the left thigh. This was in 1856. The scars are said to be still distinct upon the person of the chief, showing that the arrow really passed through the thigh. The seventh illustration shows how an Arikara Indian was killed in 1857, by being struck with a bow, the greatest insult that can be offered by an enemy. In such instances the victor counts



PICTOGRAPH NO. 7—KILLING BY STRIKING THE ENEMY IN THE FACE.

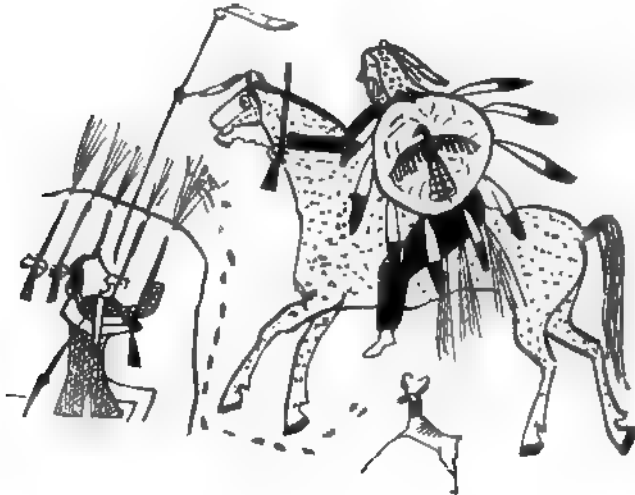


PICTOGRAPH NO. 8.—KILLING OF AN ARIKARA.

one *coup* when relating his exploits in the Council Chamber. The eighth sketch informs us of the killing of an Indian in 1859, and the capture of a horse; the ninth describes the killing of two Arikara hunters in 1859; and the tenth, the killing of five of the enemy in one day, in 1863. The dotted line indicates the trail which Running-Antelope followed, and when the Indians discovered they were pursued, they took shelter in an isolated copse of shrubbery, where they were dispatched at leisure. The eleventh and last illustration chronicles the killing of an Arikara in 1865. Mr. Mallory



PICTOGRAPH NO. 9.—KILLING OF TWO ARIKARA HUNTERS.



PICTOGRAPH NO. 10.—KILLING OF FIVE INDIANS.

says that the Arikara are delineated as wearing the top-knot of hair, similar to that practiced by the Absaroka, the most inveterate enemies of the Sioux; as the word Palláni for Arikara is applied to all enemies, the Crow custom may have been depicted as a generic mark. The practice of painting the forehead red, also an Absaroka custom, serves to distinguish the pictures as individuals of one of the two tribes.



PICTOGRAPH NO. 11. THE KILLING OF AN ARIKARA.

MINOR TOPICS

H. C. VAN SCHAACK'S HISTORICAL TREASURES

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

I perceive that you have published, in the August number of your Magazine, a brief notice of my collection of Revolutionary Manuscripts. Had my esteemed friend who wrote that article informed me that he intended to do so and to publish it, I should have given him opportunity for preparing a fuller description. As he only made a brief friendly call, at my house, of less than half an hour, when I showed him my work, you will perceive how limited was his opportunity for examining the contents of three large folio volumes containing about nine hundred pages of matter. His brief account is correct as far as it goes. I deem it proper, however, under the circumstances, and that it should not subject me to the charge of vanity, to place before your readers a more complete sketch of a work which has been to me a labor of love, at intervals of leisure, for half a century. The general title of it is :

“An Autographic History of the American Revolution, consisting of Original Letters and other Writings of Revolutionary Characters ; Illustrated by Engravings, and elucidated by Historical and Biographical Articles in Print ; comprised in Three Folio Volumes. Compiled by Henry C. Van Schaack, Author of the Life of Peter Van Schaack, LL.D.”

Irrespective of its engravings, and numerous Revolutionary documents to which are subscribed a large number of original signatures, and irrespective also of very many single autographic signatures of eminent Revolutionary characters, and of a large amount of selected historical and biographical matter in print incorporated in these three volumes, there are perfect letters in the handwriting of George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, and the two Revolutionary boys—John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson ; all seven of whom successively became Presidents of the United States, in the first century of our existence as a nation.

In these precious volumes are also preserved perfect letters of Benjamin Franklin, General Richard Montgomery, John Jay, John Marshall, Bushrod Washington, John Hancock, William Livingston, James Bowdoin, Joseph Hawley, William Bollen, Philip Livingston, William Bayard, General Heath, William Lee, Richard Stockton, James Duane, General Philip Schuyler, Peter Van Brugh Livingston, General James Warren, Jonathan Trumbull, John Haring, Thomas Lynch, Andrew Allen, Francis Lewis, General Pierre Van Cortland, William Carmichael, Christopher P. Yates, Theodore Sedgwick, General Horatio Gates, Jacob Cuyler, Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr, Joseph Bloomfield, Thomas McKean, Jeremiah Wads-

worth, Robert Troup, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, George Clinton, General James Clinton, De Witt Clinton, Moses Younglove, Henry Laurens, General Alexander Scammell, Morgan Lewis, William Popham, William Whipple, General John Sullivan, John Sloss Hobart, William Irvine, General Nathaniel Greene, Samuel Huntington, Elbridge Gerry, Joseph Reed, Richard Frothingham, Charles Pinckney, General Henry Knox, Elias Boudinot, William Paca, Timothy Pickering, Oliver Wolcott, Gouverneur Morris, Benjamin Harrison, Benjamin Rush, Richard Henry Lee, Egbert Benson, Robert Yates, John Dickinson, Samuel Jones, Samuel Osgood, Rufus King, Samuel Huntington, John Pintard, Nicholas Gilman, General Benjamin Lincoln, Arthur Lee, Robert R. Livingston, Robert Morris, Joel Barlow, Baron Steuben, William Eustis, Charles Carroll, Peter R. Livingston, Samuel Adams, Jedediah Morse, Jeremy Belknap, Gunning Bedford, General Anthony Wayne, Thomas Mifflin, Colonel Richard Varick, Brockholst Livingston, Matthew Clarkson, James McHenry, Isaiah Thomas, Aaron Ogden, Henry A. S. Dearborn, John Langdon, John Armstrong, La Fayette, and John Brown; also letters of Henry Cruger, Jr., the colleague of Edmund Burke in the British Parliament.

To this long list many other worthy names could be added. But I must here give place to a patriotic letter written by General Benedict Arnold a short time before his great fight at Saratoga :

" Caughnawaga, Aug't 16th, 1777.

Gentlemen :

I have to beg the favor of your repeatedly sending out small Scouts No. West from your place to discover the motions & numbers of the enemy if any should attempt to reinforce the enemy in this quarter from Fort George or Edwards; & that you will give me the earliest intelligence of any discovery made, which will much oblige,

Your most Ob^d Humble Serv^t

B. Arnold.

To the General Committee of Schenectady."

In this place, most opportunely for the order of my history, comes an interesting letter written by Colonel M. B. Whiting, in August, 1777, to Mr. Barclay, of Albany, in which the Colonel reverently exclaims : " For the successes of our Arms at Bennington & Fort Schuyler let God have all the Praise ! "

I possess letters written by the three British officers, General Burgoyne, H. Watson Powell, and William Philipps after their capture at Saratoga. A long letter is preserved, written by Samuel Holden Parsons, whose intercourse with the British has only recently come to light. He was an early emigrant to the Great West and was drowned in a Western river. I have the original paper, in the handwriting of Colonel John Brown, addressed to General Gates, in which Colonel Brown arraigns Arnold for various gross and treasonable acts; and other papers in regard to the difficulties between Brown and Arnold.

Here are letters also from Beverley Robinson, Oliver Delancey, Sir William and

Sir John Johnson ; also of the two Englishmen, Benjamin Vaughan and William Vaughan ; also of William Scott, who became the great Lord Eldon and Lord Chancellor of England. Here also is autographically represented the Count Florida de Blanca, Prime Minister of Spain during the Revolution.

HENRY C. VAN SCHAACK

MANLIUS, *August 1, 1887.*

THE STORY OF THE EARTHQUAKE

When the bells of St. Michael's Church, in Charleston, chimed the third quarter after nine o'clock on the evening of Tuesday, August 31, 1886, their familiar tones spoke peace, and peace alone, to the many happy homes on every side, within whose sheltering walls the people of a fair and prosperous city had gathered to rest before taking up the burdens of another busy day. There was no whispered warning in the well-known sounds or in any subdued voice of the night to hint of the fearful calamity so near at hand. Not the unconscious bells themselves were less suspicious of coming ill than were they whom their sweetly solemn notes summoned, as at other times, to seek forgetfulness in sleep.

The streets of the city were silent and nearly deserted. Overhead the stars twinkled with unwonted brilliancy in a moonless, unclouded sky. The waters of the wide harbor were unruffled by even a passing breeze. Around the horizon the dark woodlands hung like purple curtains, shutting out the world beyond, as though nature itself guarded the ancient city hidden within the charmed circle. Earth and sea alike seemed wrapped in a spell of hushed and profound repose, that reflected as in a mirror the quiet of the blue eternal heavens bending over all. It was upon such a scene of calm and silence that the shock of the great earthquake fell with the suddenness of a thunderbolt launched from the starlit skies ; with the might of ten thousand thunderbolts falling together ; with a force so far surpassing all other forces known to men that no similitude can truly be found for it. The firm foundation upon which every home had been built in unquestioning faith in its stability for all time was giving way ; the barriers of the great deep were breaking up. To the ignorant mind it seemed, in truth, that God had laid His hand in anger upon His creation. The great and the wise, knowing little more, fearing little less than the humblest of their wretched fellow creatures, bowed themselves in awe as before the face of the Destroying Angel. For a few moments all the inhabitants of the city stood together in the presence of death in its most terrible form, and perhaps scarcely one doubted that all would be swallowed together, and at once, in one wide, yawning grave.

The picture is not overdrawn, since it cannot be overdrawn. The transition from a long-established condition of safety and peacefulness to one of profound and general danger and terror was absolute and instantaneous. Within seven min-

utes after the last stroke of the chime, and while its echoes seemed yet to linger in listening ears, Charleston was in ruins. And the wreck had been accomplished in one and the last minute of the seven. Millions of dollars' worth of property, the accumulation of nearly two centuries, had been destroyed in the time a child would take to crush a frail toy. Every home in the city had been broken or shattered, and beneath the ruins lay the lifeless or bruised and bleeding bodies of men, women and children, who had been stricken down in the midst of such security as may be felt by him who reads these lines at any remote distance of time or space.

The cyclone of the year before was truly terrifying in its most furious stages, but was several hours in reaching those stages. When the storm had passed away it was found that no one had been killed in the city. Many houses were damaged, indeed, but the damage was nearly confined to their roofs, and very many buildings were unscathed. The earthquake came at one stride; lasted not longer than a minute; but, besides multiplying fourfold the loss of property caused by the storm, slew and wounded its victims by the score. When the cyclone raged at its worst the affrighted citizens found shelter within their dwellings. On the shock of the earthquake the first and strongest, the irresistible impulse, was to flee without the threatening walls—to dare the peril in the streets in the hope of escaping the certain fate that menaced every one who tarried for an instant under their shadow. After the storm the sunshine brought light and rest and gladness in its train. The earthquake was followed by hours of darkness, relieved only by the glare of burning ruins. The morning sun lit up a scene of devastation such as never before greeted the eyes of the weary watchers, revealing to them the extent of the danger through which they had passed, and to which they were momentarily exposed anew. It was a fearful ordeal throughout, even for the strongest and bravest, and the tender and the timid were exposed to its full fury. There is no possibility of exaggerating its horrors to any one who recalls the occurrences of the night with even a gleam of recollection of their dread import, and of the thoughts and emotions that they inspired.—*Extracts from Carl McKinley's Historical Sketch of the Earthquake, 1886, in the Charleston Year Book.*

THE CAPTURED BATTLE FLAGS

Yesterday in walking through the immense granite pile of the State, War and Navy departments, I was taken with the curiosity to see the battle flags which have set the country in an uproar. Turning to the right from the main corridor of the building on the second floor, I entered the commodious apartments of the adjutant-general's office, and found myself confronting, at a corner desk in one of the rooms, a rather low-statured man of well-fed form and placid face, with his coat off like an ordinary clerk, bending to his work, alternately mopping the heat from his forehead and signing orders. This individual looked as little as possible like kindling the

memories of a great rebellion or starting the world on flame in any quarter. The heat of the day seemed all-sufficient for his energies. All the same, it was General Drum, adjutant-general of the United States army, whose autograph on a slip of paper addressed to Mr. Cleveland, a few weeks ago, and recommending the distribution over the country of a variety of tattered bunting in the garret of the War Office, set the country by the ears, and is likely to play a considerable rôle in a coming campaign for an American President. I had been told that Adjutant-General Drum was extremely sensitive to the inquiries of visitors concerning this same bunting, any mention of the sore subject having come to act on his nerves like the flutter of certain other flags on those of a Spanish bull. I was agreeably surprised, therefore, on informing this gentleman that I had witnessed in the old days of the rebellion the spectacle of the arrival of many of these flags in the War Department, fresh from the battle-fields on which they were captured, and of my wish to again inspect them, at being met with the blandest of smiles and promptly put in charge of an attendant with full instructions to aid my mission.

Carried by an elevator five stories up, under the roof the War Department, almost burning in this Washington summer weather, the key being turned by my guide in the door of an attic room, I stood an instant later in a little space hardly more than ten feet square, nearly within reaching distance on all sides of these battered mementos of the war, the very mention of which has set afire the hearts of sixty millions of people—a few rags saturated with the explosive wash of patriotism! But the first thought on seeing them in this pent-up space of attic is of the smallness of the cause to the size of the effect. The flags heaped about the room appear at first sight only a handful at the most, but counted separately there are 750 in all, over five hundred of them being Confederate and the remainder Federal flags recaptured from their captors. One-half of the entire number are attached to their staves as they were originally taken, the flags of the two sections being stacked in separate masses against two sides of the room, facing each other, half folded and protruding from pigeon-holes on the opposite walls. The sight of the Stars and Stripes keeps always familiar. But the first look at the dark red heap of the banners of rebellion, piled here against the side of the attic, blots out twenty-five years from the memory, and brings back as if it were yesterday the red years when they waved at the head of their regiments. There is hardly a flag among them all that has not its history recorded in the book in the hands of the keeper in the room. All nearly are riddled with bullets, and many, like those carried through such battles as the Wilderness and the second Bull Run, were shot literally into tatters and almost unrecognizable sprays of rag.

The contrast in the appearance of the Southern and Union standards is significant of the history of the war. The latter are rigged on clean, polished poles and are of firm, rich material, many of them of silk, showing an abundance in the North of the fabrics of which they continued to be made. The majority of the Confederate flags are of the wretchedest shoddy bunting, miserable in color, as in substance,

while great numbers of them are mounted on rude, unbarked gads and saplings hastily cut from the woods on the march—recalling the blockade and the pinching days when war had fallen on a section without manufactures, and the intense desperate purpose of a people forgot seemliness and absorbed every thought but the winning of their fight.

Many of the flags lying folded in the boxes and taken out to be exhibited by the guardian of the room recall still more vividly the narrow straits of rebellion on its last legs, being literally independent of discrimination in color, and made of patches from women's dresses and underskirts of nearly every hue and material—pitiful reminders of the Spartan poverty and courage that were still to fail of their end. There are some exceptions, however, in this storeroom of battle trophies, to these mementos of the sterner days of the war for the South. The attendant drew from the pigeon holes on the walls and unfolded for my inspection three or four magnificent banners of heavy silk, fringed with tassels of gold and ornamented with pictures in oil and rich embroiderings on a field of blue. These flags represent the early and halcyon days of the Lost Cause, when they were made by local associations of ladies and presented to the military organizations which carried them. One of those flags belonged to the Appalachicola Guard, whose name is stitched in gold letters on its folds above the exultant mottoes: "In God is our Trust!" "Our Rights We Will Maintain!" The finest of them all is the banner "presented by the ladies of Norfolk to the Norfolk Light Artillery," with an oil portrait of Washington in the center of its field, the mottoes on the reverse side being the same as those of the flag just described. The days when the Confederate armies could afford such luxury in ensigns quickly passed away, however, as is evidenced by this collection, representing every period of the war. In the beginning of the rebellion, the design of the flag carried by the Southern regiments was that of the Stars and Bars—two red bars and one white—changing at a later period to a red field with the Southern Cross, resembling the British Union Jack. A study of the record kept by the War Department of the name and capture of each of these flags, though a work of days, would be of intense interest to the veteran soldier. It would recall to him the episodes of triumph on half the fields of the rebellion. The sight of the flags themselves would do something more—quicken his heart-beats with memories of the great fight. That not a few of these standards have been the centers of deadly personal encounter is evident from the numerous blood-stains still traceable upon them. The staves also, of many of them, are ragged with the gnaw of bullets, the lead in some instances piercing their centers and remaining imbedded in the wood. Everything, in fact, in the appearance of the whole collection, as it is piled here in the narrow garret, faded and soiled and tattered, shows that these are no banners of holiday parade, but have passed through the fire and extremity of actual war—the sorrowful weeds blasted and fallen from its wrath. For myself, not a soldier, but a resident of Washington during the war period, I recalled the stirring incidents of their

presentation to the War Department as they were brought straight from the fields of their capture. On one of these occasions thirty of these standards, as I remember, were carried here two days after the fight at Winchester by a delegation of soldiers whose hands had actually seized them in the fight, Custer, with his long, yellow hair, at their head. Stanton, the grim Secretary, unbent. Stanton loved results, and these were the palpable evidences of triumph. Coming out of the lion's den of his office, he took each soldier by the hand and welcomed them as a body with a speech. As the little group stood before his door listening to his address, the captured standards held above their heads in the narrow hall of the old War Department made a picturesque cloud of color, which, together with the entire scene, it was not easy to forget. When the affair was over the soldiers started again for the field, and Stanton, taking Custer's arm, walked slowly down the steps of the War Office. Such was his habit with any of the brilliant leaders of the war after a visit to his department.

WILLIAM JACKSON ARMSTRONG

WASHINGTON, *July 22, 1887.*

—[*New York World, July 24, 1887.*]

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Memorandum of the Route pursued by Colonel Campbell and his column of invasion, in 1779, from Savannah to Augusta ; with a Narrative of occurrences connected with his march, and a record of some of the military events which transpired in that portion of the Province of Georgia during the War of the Revolution.

[From the original Manuscript in the Abertaff collection.]

Annotated by Colonel Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL. D.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA.

“When Col^o Campbell established the posts at Cherokee-hill, Abercorn, Zubble's Ferry,* Ebenezer, The Two Sisters, and Tuccassee King, he returned to Savannah the 6th of January to meet Gen^l Prevost whom he expected there to take upon him the chief Command of the troops in Georgia and this part of the Southern District. Soon after their first Interview Col^o Campbell proposed to march with 1200 men to Augusta to clear that part of the Province of Rebels, and to protect such Inhabitants as chose to return to the Allegiance of The King. With this View he began his march from Ebenezer the 24th Jan^y, but his Corps did not exceed 900 men.

Too sanguine people gave hopes that the very sight of the King's troops in that quarter would be the means of collecting a considerable number of loyal Subjects from the Carolinas and Georgia that would be willing to accompany the King's troops wherever the Service required. Assurances were also given that a large body of Indians would join at Augusta. The Country people met with every (too great) indulgence. Confidence and Encouragement they had so soon as they took the Oath of Allegiance, their own arms returned to them, or better Arms, and Ammunition given. They promised to form into Companys and give every Assistance possible to promote The King's Service.

The following Memorandums will explain a little of the Roads and Country that Col^o Campbell marched thro': and a few circumstances that occurred while he was with this Corps, in the Upper Country.

* Zubly's Ferry.

Some Distances taken from the South Carolina and Georgia Almanack.

From Savannah	Miles	By Water.	Miles
To Dackers	15	From Savannah.	
" Cronenberg	2	To Augustine Creek	5
" Mr. Bele near }		" Skiddaway Point	8
Tucasee King }	11	" The Narrows	5
" Robert Hudson's	9	" Hangman's Point	12
" Blacks	13	" S'. Catharine Sound	14
" Beaver Dams	7	Cross the Sound	4
" Ogilvies	27	" Sappelo Sound	14
" Halifax Court House	6	" Doughboy Island	14
" Briar Creek	0	" Frederica	20
" MacBean's	13	" Jekyl	9
" Augusta	13	" Cumberland	10
	<hr/> 116 <hr/>	" S'. Mary's	20
		" Nassau River	10
		" S'. John	8
		" Augustine	40
			<hr/> 193 <hr/>

Memorandums

of the Road and the March of a Corps of Troops from Savannah to Augusta, and some subsequent Occurrences.

The Road from Savannah to Cherokee-hill (distant eight miles) is very smooth and level but somewhat sandy. It has in general a small narrow ditch upon each side to prevent its being overflowed from deep and extensive swamps that border it in different places, and although raised above the common level, yet in a rainy season it is, in many parts, covered with water so as to be even impassable. The Ground, immediately to the right and left of the road is covered with wood, and so thick and close in some swamps, that a foot passenger cannot get thro' them. The dry ground is for the most part a pine-barren so open as to be easily run thro' by foot or horse :

There are different valuable plantations to the right hand upon the bank of the River Savannah, belonging some to rebels, others to better Subjects. There are a few bridges to pass, but easily kept in repair. Cherokee-hill * is a small Plantation apparently lately settled.

From Cherokee-hill to Abercorn † is six miles. The road is nearly the same as

* It was here that Colonel Campbell encamp't the 2^d of January 1779 with the first part of His Majesty's troops that marched up the Country after the taking of Savannah.

† Located in 1733 on a branch of the Savannah river, three miles above its confluence with that stream, and about fifteen miles above the town of Savannah. Ten families were assigned to its original settlement, and the plan of the village embraced twelve lots, with two trust lots in addition,—one on either side. All efforts to develop this place into a settlement of importance eventuated in disappointment.

to the last Stage, in some parts a little more sandy, but in general less swampy. Some Plantations that line the Road vary the Scene and make it more pleasing. The house of Abercorn is fine and spacious, and built in more taste than the Situation deserves. It is upon the Bank of a Creek that runs into the Savannah about 3 miles below Purisburg, and navigable for small Craft to Mill-Creek (where it branches to the Savannah) and for Canoes and Boats (by Mill Creek) to Ebenezer bridge.

From Abercorn * to Ebenezer is eleven miles. The road is the same as the last mentioned, smooth and well made. The Plantations that are seen from it appear to be good soil, and yield plenty of indian Corn, Rice, and some Rye. Different Creeks that are supplied with water from Swamps &^{ca} discharge it in course of this Stage into the Savannah. There is a ferry † (called Zubilee's ‡) upon the River 3 miles below Ebenezer § on this side and about 2½ above Purisbourg on the Carolina shore. It is difficult to be got to on this side, especially in wet weather, upon account of two Creeks and intervening deep Swamps that must be passed to get to the boat, and then the River is rapid. The Creek which crosses the road near Ebenezer is deep, and impassable while the bridge is down, if some other contrivance is not substituted in place of it.

* Here there was a Post established and strengthened with a Redoubt. The Light Dragoons were some time cantoned, for the conveniency of Forrage, upon a Rebel Plantation in this Neighborhood. It was here likewise that the troops embarked the 28th of April to penetrate into S Carolina, partly through the Swamps at Yamacee, (where some of our Gallies were stationed), and partly in boats up the River to Purisburg.

† Zubly's ferry was an important point of inter-communication between the provinces of Georgia and South Carolina. It was here, in September 1779, that General Lincoln crossed his command to form a junction with the French army led by Count D'Estaing. By the same route he retreated towards Charles-Town, after the repulse of the Allied Army before the British lines around Savannah.

‡ There was a Post fixt at Crouss's Plantation, fronting a Bridge and Passage thro' the Swamp from this side to the ferry, and upon the other side (in Carolina) the Rebels kept a Station commonly of — men. The Intricacy of crossing the River, Creeks, and Swamps, in Canoes or on Rafts near this post, tempted and enduced several Deserters from both sides to risk their Lives.

§ The removal of the Saltzburgers from Old to New Ebenezer, under the sanction of Oglethorpe, occurred in February 1736. At least it then began, and was wholly compassed during that and the ensuing year.

For an account of the important memories of this town, see "Dead Towns of Georgia," by Charles C. Jones. Jr. pp. 11-44. Savannah, 1878.

To be continued.

NOTES

SOUVENIRS OF THE ARCTIC SHIP *Resolute*—The article recalling the interesting incidents in the history of the Arctic discovery ship *Resolute*, in our August number, has elicited the interesting information that two stately chairs were made in 1880 from an oaken timber of this noted ship, and are now in this country. When this ship was condemned and ordered to be broken up, early in 1880, Mayor Courtenay, of Charleston, South Carolina, applied through an influential English friend to the Admiralty for a section of one of the oak timbers of the *Resolute*, which request was granted. Mayor Courtenay, among the other uses of this seasoned oak, caused to be made two handsome chairs of state in the Gothic style, one of which was presented to the city of Boston on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of that city in September, 1880, and the other has been in use for the mayor's seat in the Council Chamber of Charleston, South Carolina, ever since that time. Boston and Charleston therefore each has a valued souvenir from this historic ship.

THE UMBRELLA IN HISTORY—The history of the umbrella is not without interest. Hanway, the famous traveler and philanthropist, who returned to England in 1750, is said to have been the first Englishman who carried an umbrella. Wolfe, the conqueror of Quebec, wrote from Paris, in 1752, speaking of the umbrella as in general use in that city, and expressed much wonder that so

convenient an article had not yet reached England. An old Scotch footman, named John MacDonald, writes in his curious autobiography, that he brought an umbrella to London in 1778, and persisted in carrying it in wet weather, though a jeering crowd followed him, crying, "Frenchman, why don't you get a coach?" He had found the umbrella in France, where he had been traveling with his master. Defoe described an umbrella as one of the contrivances of Robinson Crusoe, and umbrellas were in consequence at one time called "Robinsons." Mr. Lecky says, umbrellas were long regarded as a sign of extreme effeminacy, and they multiplied very slowly. Dr. Jamieson, in 1782, is said to have been the first person who used one at Glasgow, and Southey's mother, who was born in 1752, was accustomed to say, that she remembered the time when anyone would have been hooted who carried one in the streets of Bristol. A single coarse cotton umbrella was often kept in a coffee-house to be lent out to the customers, or in a private house to be taken out with the carriage and held over the heads of ladies as they got in or out; but for many years those who used umbrellas in the streets were exposed to the insults of the mob, and to the persistent and very natural animosity of the hackney coachman, who bespattered them with mud and lashed them furiously with their whips. But the manifest convenience of the new fashion secured its ultimate triumph, and before the close of the century umbrellas had passed into general use."

POSTAL SERVICE IN THE SPANISH-POR-
TUGUESE COLONIES IN AMERICA, 1800.

" Perhaps some account of the *corre-spondencia ultramarina*, or of the packet-boats sent to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, may not be unacceptable ; as even Bourgoing makes no mention of the former, although they have been established ever since the year 1764.

There are, in Corunna, seven frigates and six brigantines ; the former of from 160 to 350 tons, and 12 to 20 guns, the latter of 120 to 150 tons, and 16 to 20 guns. At the beginning of every month, both in time of war and peace, one of these vessels sails to the Havannah, carries letters for all the Spanish colonies in America, and touches at Puerto-Rico. From the Havannah, another sails to Veracruz ; and likewise to and fro between Puerto-Rico, Cartagena, Porto-Bello, and Panama. From Puerto-Rico packets are dispatched every two months to Buenos Ayres ; and thence, in the same order, to Chili, Peru, and the Philippines. Besides this, since the year 1767, a packet-boat sails every two months from Corunna for Buenos Ayres, Chili, Peru, and the Philippines, to Montevideo, whence the letters are forwarded in the manner above mentioned.

To facilitate the inland communication, posts are established from Veracruz to Mexico, and from the other seaports to the interior of the country. A road has been made across the Cordilleras, and *arrieros*, or muleteers, traverse and convey travelers through the provinces, as in Spain.

All the above-mentioned *embarcaciones correos* carry some articles of merchandise ; and, by particular permission, like-

wise passengers. The price of about one hundred and fifty piastres is paid for such a passage, and the voyage generally lasts from fifty to sixty days. The postage of a letter to Lima, amounts to three piastres.

From Lisbon, likewise, regular packet-boats sail to the Portuguese settlements in America ; but only since the commencement of the year 1798. Every two months one is dispatched to Assa, direct ; and a second to Bahid, and thence to Riojaneyro. And in the interior of Brasil, and in the island of Madeira and the Azores, posts have now *first* been established. That there may be a sufficient revenue to defray the expenses of these packet-boats, no letters are permitted to be sent by other ships from Portugal to the colonies ; but in Spain there is no restriction in this respect.

C. A. FISHER "

Monthly Magazine and American Review,
vol. III. 288.

PETERSFIELD

THE USE OF WORDS—Many things worth remembering are to be found in the little book recently issued from the pen of Elroy M. Avery, Ph. D., of Cleveland. He says : "There are few sights more sorry than that of a person trying to cover poverty of thought with luxuriance of verbiage. Do not use a word unless you are sure you both know its meaning and understand its correct use. If you look into a dictionary and find that *qui vive* signifies *alert*, it does not impose on you any obligation to tell your next caller that your most intimate enemy is a very bright person, 'so very much *qui vive*.' "

QUERIES

BARGES—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Will some of your readers tell us whether it is proper to call the vehicle that runs for the public accommodation in Fifth Avenue any longer an *omnibus*? We clip the following query and reply from the *Journal of Commerce* of July 20, 1887:

NEW HAVEN, CONN., July 16, 1887.
Editor of the Journal of Commerce:

As you so kindly answer knotty questions when puzzled ignorance knows not where else to apply, please tell me by what authority "cultured Boston" terms a large vehicle on wheels to carry passengers and drawn by horses "a barge"? The term was used when members of the Historical Association were visiting there, and to some from New York was a very new and inexplicable use of the word.

SUBSCRIBER'S WIFE

Reply—If your fair correspondent will look at a picture of the old state barges formerly used on the Thames she will see why the long rooms on wheels bear the same name. The Mayor of London had his state barge, and each of the livery companies of London owned a similar craft for state occasions. At last advices a number of these were drawn up by the river's side on Christchurch meadow, and used by the students of Oxford University for club smoking-rooms. The huge omnibuses used for state excursions were of like structure above the water line, and hence took the same name.

NEW YORK, July 15, 1887.

We observe that this class of vehicles

are called "barges" in New Haven. Shall New York loiter behind the New England cities in the correct use of terms? Have we not "barges" in Fifth Avenue!

MR. LOFTY

FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK.

THE SABBATH—When was the Sabbath proclaimed a legal day of rest?

EDWARD EMMONS

MIKWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.

CHURCH-BELLS—When and where was the first church-bell cast in America? The Liberty-bell in Philadelphia, according to the inscription upon it, was cast in that city in 1753 by Pass & Stow. It was in fact recast, having been imported the year before. It cracked on the first trial, and so needed recasting. Had not Pass & Stow or other American founders cast bells at an earlier period? If so, when and where? Brass founders in Philadelphia are mentioned as early as 1717. Were there none as early in New England?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

ALIEN DISABILITIES—In our colonial period all settlers not of English birth and not naturalized, though taxed and forced to serve in municipal offices, "were in all other respects debarred from the rights and privileges of natural born subjects." Such is the statement in the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1858-60, p. 349. What were those rights and privileges?

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, WISCONSIN.

REPLIES

CASTING A SHOE AFTER A BRIDE [xviii. 169]—From very ancient practices came the old custom in England and Scotland of throwing an old shoe after a bride on her departure for a new home, to signify that the parents gave up all right or dominion over this daughter. Reference is made in Scripture to different symbolical usages in connection with sandals or shoes. The delivery of a shoe was used as a testimony in transferring a possession. A man plucked off his shoe and gave it to his neighbor; and this was a testimony in Israel. The throwing of a shoe on property was a symbol of new ownership, as "Over Edom will I cast out my shoe" (Ps. lx. 8). In Anglo-Saxon times the father delivered the bride's shoe to the bridegroom, who touched her on the head to show his authority. In Turkey the bridegroom after marriage is chased by the wedding-guests, and pelted with slippers by way of adieu.—*S. H. Killikelly's Curious Questions.*

The origin of this singular custom seems to be fully explained in the first sentence to this paragraph. A. B. C.

PITTSBURGH, DUTCHESS COUNTY, NEW YORK [xviii. 82]—J. H. S. inquires, "Where is or was Pittsburgh, Dutchess County, New York, and what is the present title of the Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh of which Rev. John Clark was pastor in 1803." J. H. S. has evidently mistaken the name. Fredricksburg was one of the towns of Dutchess County, and is now Paterson, Putnam County, New York. The records of the

church in that place state that Rev. John Clark "came May 13, 1800, and remained ten months." He was also there subsequently.

WM. S. PELLETREAU

BOODLE [xviii. 82, 171]—The word "Boodle" is undoubtedly Dutch. Sewel's Dictionary defines it: "*BOEDEL, Household stuff—also an estate left behind by those that are deceased.*"

Other forms given are Boel and Imboel, or Inboel, household stuff, goods, chattels.

GEO. C. HURLBUT

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

CHANGE IN THE ENGLISH CALENDAR [xviii. 170]—Julius Cæsar ordered that the year should be held to consist of 365½ days. This is more than eleven minutes too long. The fraction of the days in 4 years makes the extra day of February. In about 128 years the difference amounts to a day—in 1,280 years, to 10 days. Between the year 325 (Council of Nice) and 1582, the error in the reckoning was 10 days. Pope Gregory XIII. ordered that the day following the 4th of October, 1582, should be called the 15th—thus skipping the 10 days. In the Julian Calendar—which is old style—each year divisible by 4 was a leap year. In the Gregorian Calendar it was ordered as a correction, to prevent error in the future, that the centennial years 1709, 1800, etc., not being divided by 400 as well as by 4, should be called common years of 365 days. In countries which had adopted the new style, the year 1700 was a com-

mon year of 365 days, but England at that time was using the old style, and called 1700 a leap year—giving February 29 days. So, after midnight of the 28th of February, 1700, the difference became *eleven* days. The year in England was then held to begin on the 25th of March. But in 1751, Parliament passed an act making January 1 the beginning of the year, and also requiring that the day following the 2d of September, 1752, should be called, not the *third* but the *fourteenth*—skipping the *eleven* days—difference between old style and new.

Christian nations in general now use the new style, but Russia, and other peoples adhering to the Greek Church, still use the old or Julian style.

R. W. MCFARLAND
MIAMI UNIVERSITY, OXFORD, OHIO.

CHANGE IN THE ENGLISH CALENDAR [xviii. 170]—In 1751 a bill passed the English Parliament for the re-formation of the calendar. Its success was chiefly due to the tact and energy of the Earl of Chesterfield who introduced it, but he was ably supported by Lord Macclesfield, afterward President of the Royal Society, and Bradley the astronomer. The two last named were, doubtless, the real framers of the bill. It ordained that the year 1752 should begin on the first of January, instead of on the 25th of March as had been the custom hitherto; and that the 2d of September of the year 1751 should be followed by the 14th. Between these two dates the eleven days—nominal only, however—were dropped to make the calendar agree with that of most of

the continental countries of Europe. for Sweden had not then, and Russia has not yet made the change from old style to new. Some authorities name October as the month in which the change was made; but, I think, wrongly. An account of the popular opposition to this useful measure furnishes a curious yet painful chapter in the history of superstition. Many persons, most of them of the class that generally regard time as the least valuable of all possessions, were indignant because they believed that Parliament had actually shortened their lives by eleven days.

ATHENS, OHIO. CHAS. W. SUPER

CHANGE IN THE ENGLISH CALENDAR [xviii. 170]—An act of Parliament was passed in 1751 for the adoption of the "Gregorian Calendar" in Great Britain. The passage of this act was due in a large measure to Lord Chesterfield, ably aided by Lord Macclesfield and Bradley the astronomer. This act ordained that eleven days should be left out of the month of September, 1752, and accordingly, on the second day of that month the old style ceased, and the third day became the fourteenth. By the same act the beginning of the year was changed from the 25th of March to the first of January. These changes met with a good deal of ignorant opposition, and the common "Opposition" election cry was: "Give us back our eleven days." Some papers bearing on the matter, written by Chesterfield and Walpole, will be found in the *World* of that day.

DAVID FITZGERALD
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SOCIETIES

SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI—The triennial meeting of the General Society of the Cincinnati was held at Newport, Rhode Island, on July 27 and 28, at the invitation of the Rhode Island Society. About seventy members of this distinguished Order were present. The list of delegates and alternates to the meeting from the several State Societies contained many names well known in the history of the Revolution, among which were the following: Hamilton Fish, Alexander Hamilton, Nathanael Greene, James M. Varnum, William Wayne, John Sullivan, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Thomas Pinckney, Thomas Pinckney Lowndes, John Schuyler, Alexander J. Clinton, Francis Barber Ogden, Richard Dale, and Oswald Tilghman.

The following officers were elected: President-general, Hon. Hamilton Fish, of New York; vice-president-general, Hon. Robert M. McLane of Maryland, U. S. Minister to France; secretary-general, Judge Advocate Asa Bird Gardiner, U. S. A., LL. D., of Rhode Island; assistant secretary-general, Richard Irvine Manning of South Carolina; treasurer-general, John Schuyler of New York; assistant treasurer-general, Dr. Herman Burgin of New Jersey; chaplains, Rev. Samuel Moore Shute, D. D., of New Jersey, Right Reverend Wm. Stevens Perry (Bishop of Iowa) of Rhode Island, Rev. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, D. D., of South Carolina.

OHIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A meeting of the curators of the Western Reserve

and Northern Ohio Historical Society, was held in Cleveland Tuesday morning, July 19, 1887, at 11 o'clock, in the office of Hon. C. C. Baldwin, who was chairman of the meeting. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, Hon. C. C. Baldwin; vice-presidents, D. W. Cross, W. P. Fogg, J. H. Sargent, and Samuel Briggs; corresponding and recording secretary, D. W. Manchester. In view of his past efficient services as librarian, Mr. D. W. Manchester was appointed to the position, with a vote of thanks for the able manner in which he has done his work. A number of important committees were appointed.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE—The officers elected at the New York meeting for the ensuing year are: president, J. W. Powell of Washington, D. C.; vice-presidents, Ormond Stone of University of Virginia, Mathematics and Astronomy; A. A. Michelson of Cleveland, Physics; C. E. Munroe of Newport, Chemistry; Calvin M. Woodward of St. Louis, Geology and Geography; C. V. Riley of Washington, Biology; C. C. Abbott of Trenton, Anthropology; C. W. Smiley of Washington, Economic Science and Statistics. The permanent secretary is Professor F. W. Putnam of Cambridge, Massachusetts the general secretary, J. C. Arthur of La Fayette; secretary of the council, C. Leo Mees of Athens; the treasurer, William Lilly of Mauch Chunk.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

N. P. WILLIS once answered a friend who proposed a correspondence, that to ask him to write a letter after his day's work was like asking a penny postman to take a walk in the evening for the pleasure of it. In composition the manuscript of Willis was full of erasures and interlineations. He blotted, on an average, one line out of every three; but his copy was so neatly and legibly prepared that the compositors preferred it to "re-print," even his erasures having "a certain wavy elegance." He was likewise very particular about having his articles printed just as he wrote them. "My copy *must* be followed," he wrote to an offending foreman; "if I insert a comma in the middle of a word, do you place it there and ask no questions."

MR. HENRY STEVENS, the bibliographer, purchased, after Mr. Pickering's death, the greater part of the original manuscripts of Robert Burns, among which were those of "Auld Lang Syne" and "Scots wha ha wi Wallace bled," two gems which he thought would be better appreciated in America than even in Scotland. Receiving a letter in 1859, from Chancellor Pruyn, of Albany, asking him to send something startling for the Burns Centenary Festival, about to take place in that city, he forwarded "Auld Lang Syne" with all possible haste. The song reached Albany at nine o'clock in the evening of the day of the celebration, and was delivered into the hands of Chancellor Pruyn, who interrupted the after-dinner speech-making, and, displaying his parcel, requested all present to rise, join hands, and sing "Auld Lang Syne" from the poet's own handwriting, just received from London. The effect was sublime.

The "Scots wha ha wi Wallace bled" was written on a single half sheet of quarto writing paper, and cost Mr. Stevens at auction £33. He subsequently obtained the autograph letter of Burns which had been attached to the poem, and had the two neatly joined and bound in a limp red morocco cover. He retained this treasure for nearly twenty years, and then it was finally purchased by Charles Sumner, who bequeathed it to the library of Harvard College, where it may now be seen.

THE celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the framing and adoption of the Constitution of the United States will take place in Philadelphia on the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth days of the present September. It is expected that the occasion will give brilliant testimony to the universal attachment of all classes of our people to that great charter of American liberty to which we owe the unparalleled development of our American Republic. The first day is assigned for a processional industrial display, showing national progress within the century. In the evening the governor of Pennsylvania will hold a public reception in honor of the governors of the states and territories who are expected to be present. The second day will be devoted to a military parade, and in the evening a reception will be given in honor of the President of the United States. The third and great day will be given up to the special services of commemoration, presided over by President Cleveland. Justice Miller, of the Supreme Court, is to deliver the oration. Various other entertainments are offered by the citizens of Philadelphia during

the progress of the celebration. Personal invitations have been sent to prominent statesmen, army and navy officers, historians, poets, men of letters, inventors, and to the leading men in commerce and the industries, to honor the occasion by their presence.

IN a private letter from Mr. Bancroft, dated June 13, 1887, occurs a sentence too valuable to remain private; valuable to all lovers of a correct understanding of past events, and especially to earnest beginners in historical pursuits. Mr. Bancroft says: "I know of no branch of study more worthy your attention than history, which is but the record of God's providence." Thus does this emperor of American historians epitomize the last sum of evidence which, in a long lifetime of splendid achievement he has accumulated; thus in one simple sentence does he express the supreme truth concerning the study of history. Until a full conviction of this sentiment is reached, the chief good of all profound historical research is missed. It is better, however, to start from than to arrive at this conclusion. Mr. Bancroft started from it, and has thus made his historical work an exposition of Providence, at the same time that he has made it a superior chronicle and a superlative narrative. Doubtless, no wrong would be done to the full intention of Mr. Bancroft's extracted sentence were it made to read, "I know of no branch of study more worthy of your attention than history, *because* it is but the record of God's providence."

AN objection is raised by some far-seeing critics to the length of the title of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which, however, is abbreviated at pleasure to A. A. S., and need not prove so very unwieldy to the novice in scientific research. The work of this Association during its eventful existence has, in a certain sense, created a new world—it has been of unspeakable value to our country. People of culture have now learned to appreciate scientific principles, and to regard every step of scientific progress with critical interest. President Barnard, of Columbia College, in his eloquent address of welcome on the assembling of this distinguished body in the city of New York, August 10, 1887, said: "This great metropolis opens wide to you her hospitable arms, and tenders freely to you all that she possesses which can awaken your interest or promote, during your sojourn with us, your comfort or your convenience. And she has much to offer which cannot fail to interest you, not only as men of science, but also as men of letters, which many of you are, or as men of taste, men of general culture, or men of practical minds. She is prepared to throw open to you without reserve her vast commercial houses, her great manufacturing establishments, her extensive foundries, her institutions of learning, her libraries, her scientific collections, her museums of art and natural history, her banks, her exchanges, her temples of justice, her penal and charitable institutions, her theatres, her churches, her menageries—the one in Central Park, the other, more interesting, perhaps, in Wall street—everything, in short, that civilization has created at this its highest point of culmination upon the Western Continent, she submits to your inspection, your study, and your intelligent appreciation.

On the other hand, her citizens will find in you not only honored and honorable guests, but subjects of a reciprocal interest and curiosity. The names of many of you are already and deservedly well known to them, but it can be said of only comparatively few that your persons and countenances are familiar. It is an entirely legitimate as well as natural curiosity which leads men to desire to look upon the features of those whose labors have done honor to our common humanity. Our citizens will, therefore, throng your as-

semblies with the feeling which draws men to any point where superiority of whatever kind, literary, political, or scientific, is the attracting force ; and they will listen to your words with respectful attention, if they do not always understand them.

The noble object of your organization is expressed in its title—the Advancement of Science. And during the forty years of your existence as an organized body Science has certainly made wonderful advances, to which you are entitled to say, with just pride, that no small proportion has been due to the successful labors of your own members. On behalf of Columbia College permit me to add that though the National Academy of Sciences has, on several occasions, honored us by its presence here, this is the first time that it has been our privilege to receive your more comprehensive and more popular body within our halls. It is with unfeigned gratification that we offer to you all the resources at our disposal to facilitate your proceedings and to aid you in the prosecution of your objects. Our scientific collections, which are quite worthy of your attention ; our library, which you see around you ; our museums, our laboratories, and our lecture-halls are at your service. If there is anything which we have overlooked by which we may be able further to contribute to your convenience, you have only to mention it and it shall receive our prompt attention. In the name of the trustees of Columbia College and of the several faculties, I extend to you a heartfelt welcome."

AMONG the two hundred and fifty papers prepared for this meeting of the scientists some were of a technical character, but the majority read before the sections have been eminently practical and popular. Take, for instance, Professor Atwater's "Economy of Food"; the thought and the argument both appeal to the earnest consideration of every man and woman in the land, whether rich or poor. He explained the elements of the common foods that combine to form the structure of the human system, and to supply it with potential energy. He compared the quantity of the nutrients consumed by Europeans and Americans, from which it appears that the American consumed considerably above the standard of necessity, and wasted a great deal more ; while the European rarely exceeded the standard, and frequently fell below it. He said : "An inexplicable sensitiveness exists among American workmen. The best the market affords alone is good enough for them, and by their constant demand for what they wrongly consider the choice cuts of meat, they maintain the present high prices. Improper eating, and especially overeating, is a source of more disease than any other one thing ; the eating habit does more harm to health than even the drinking habit. The remedy lies in persuading people that economy is respectable, and in teaching them how to economize.

The rich suffer in health from overeating, while the great body of people, wage-workers and others in moderate circumstances, suffer in both health and purse, and, what is the saddest part of the whole story, the poor suffer most of all from neglect of the fundamental principles of food economy."

ONE of the most spirited and interesting papers read before this learned Association was by Professor James, of the University of Pennsylvania, on "The Testimony of Statistics to Our National Progress." A part of his time was devoted to an acute criticism of Professor Atkinson's work on statistics and economy, which he pronounced incomplete, incorrect in some of its features, and misleading. He said : "If I understand the position of the sanguine economists, it is briefly this : As a nation we are increasing our wealth at an enormous rate ; at such a rate, indeed, that we have every reason to be satis-

fied with our progress. This wealth has been and is being distributed among the various factors in production in what is so nearly perfect a system that by the mere force of competition we have every reason to congratulate ourselves on the result. So says Professor Atkinson. I dissent most emphatically from these conclusions. I have at least as thorough a confidence in the future of my country as that which Professor Atkinson displays, but I base it on the belief that we shall at many points make radical departures from our present ways of doing things. While, therefore, I shall have in many cases nothing to urge against the correctness of Mr. Atkinson's figures, it seems to me that even the figures which he advances do not at all prove the conclusions at which he arrives." Professor James also read an able paper on "Manual Training in the Public Schools," presenting forcible arguments in favor of such training. Four papers were read by naval and engineering experts on the Nicaragua Canal, of great practical importance to the world; the inventor, Edison, contributed to the Section on Physics two papers of consequence, one of which, on Pyromagnetic Dynamo, disclosed a new and economical system of producing electricity directly from fuel; Professor Drummond lectured on his experiences as an explorer in Central Africa; and there were many other exceptionally valuable contributions to scientific knowledge.

It is rumored in private circles that the American Association for the Advancement of Science will be invited to cross the Atlantic and hold one of its sessions in England—a point that will probably be settled at the coming meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. The New York meeting has been in many respects one of the most notable in the history of the organization. In the high standard of original investigation which has characterized this meeting, in the large number of cultured men and women in attendance, and in the increase of its membership, it has been exceptionally successful. Aside from its serious and dignified work, social pleasures have been crowded into the programme whenever there was an hour to spare. On the evening of the second day of the session the ladies of the Local Committee of New York gave a brilliant reception at the Metropolitan Opera House, some twelve hundred guests being present, representing nearly all the states in the Union. On the third afternoon of the session the entire Association was entertained on an excursion down the Bay by Mr. and Mrs. J. S. T. Stranahan, of Brooklyn. On Saturday some four hundred were treated to an excursion to West Point, while another party visited Long Branch; and, among a variety of other courtesies extended, charming receptions were held on Friday, Monday, and Tuesday evenings, in the beautiful library of Columbia College, by the Botanists, the Academy of Sciences, and the Local Committee of New York, in succession.

THE graceful and accomplished President of the Association during its session in New York City, Professor S. P. Langley, is the present acting President of the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington. He was among the distinguished men of science who were invited to address the British Association in 1882, and his name appears among the lecturers before the Royal Institution of London. He early developed a remarkable interest in scientific inquiry, and before thirty years of age he was thoroughly equipped in astronomy, civil engineering, and architecture. He was in Europe advancing his scientific learning in 1864 and 1865, and on his return to the United States taught astronomy successively at Harvard, the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and at Pittsburgh.

BOOK NOTICES

YEAR BOOK OF THE CITY OF CHARLESTON, South Carolina, 1886.

Mayor Courtenay's Annual Review. 8vo, pp. 441. Walker, Evans & Cogswell Company.

As we turn the leaves of the Year Book for 1886, recently issued by the accomplished mayor of the city of Charleston, we are struck with wonder and admiration at the conscientious and untiring care with which data of the highest consequence to the world has been adjusted between its covers. The first thought is naturally of the earthquake of 1886, its causes, effects, and consequences; and here we find a full and concise descriptive narrative and study of its disastrous work, from the gifted pen of Carl McKinley, with notes of scientific investigations, maps, and other illustrations. We have also the cable-gram: exchanged between the Queen of England and the President of the United States with reference to the calamity that befell Charleston on that eventful day in its history, August 31, 1886. In another part of this magazine will be found an extract from Mr. McKinley's graphic narrative, our regret being the want of space sufficient to republish it all. He tells us that communication with the outer world was cut off simultaneously with the first shock, the railways having been rendered impassable to trains, and the telegraph lines broken down in the city and for a long distance without. As soon as it was practicable to set trains in motion, people left the city in crowds. "It must not be supposed, however," he continues, "that all the citizens were so demoralized. The authorities and subordinates in every department of the local government remained at their posts, and discharged their difficult and added duties with a zeal and ability befitting the occasion, and that took no note of personal risk or private interest. Aid and relief were promptly extended to all who were in need. There were countless instances of unselfish devotion, of kind and loving regard between master and servant, mistress and maid, that showed, as could not have been shown under any other circumstances, how strong is the tie that yet binds the races together." The volume is characterized by the same business-like method of arrangement in regard to subjects as its predecessors. The losses in every direction through the earthquake's effects, and how they were met and overcome, are clearly and tersely presented. It is an instructive lesson. An interesting chapter is devoted to the system and progress of education in Charleston. We learn, through the able report of Henry P. Archer, that the school buildings were nearly all demolished by the earthquake, and therefore it became impossible to open more than one of the schools before the 10th of October. Foremost among those

who were willing to help in arranging for the opening of the schools were the colored people of the Morris Brown and Old Bethel churches, who gave up their buildings, in the genuine spirit of accommodation, for the use of the pupils. Mr. Archer says: "I record this fact with no little pleasure, as it serves to show how popular education is appreciated by our colored fellow-citizens in Charleston." There are many views showing the manner in which the buildings suffered by the earthquake, of great value, in this issue of the Year Book. The city of Charleston is to be congratulated upon the energy, taste, and scholarship of its public-spirited mayor during the past eight years.

BEECHER MEMORIAL. Contemporaneous Tributes to the Memory of Henry Ward Beecher. Compiled and Edited by EDWARD W. BOK. 8vo, pp. 110. Privately printed. Brooklyn, New York. 1887.

Mr. Beecher's grand all-sidedness is well attested by this beautiful memorial volume. It contains about one hundred tributes from more or less distinguished men and women in this country and in Europe, compiled and edited with much skill by Edward W. Bok, of Brooklyn. The gift of true and genuine appreciation of such a man as the subject of this work is with few, and although thousands might have written, with great force and feeling, the selections on the whole have been judicious. Conspicuous among the characteristics of Mr. Beecher, his patriotism is recognized and emphasized by nearly every writer. Dr. Holmes says: "What Mr. Beecher did for the country during the war of the secession, no man can estimate." Hamilton Fish says: "His warm devotion to the Union, and his active and efficient labors in behalf of the nation during its struggle for existence, and his eloquent appeals in behalf of the freedom of the slave, will ever enshrine his name in the gratitude and admiration of future ages."

Mr. Edwards Pierpont contributes an appropriate introduction to the volume. The President of the United States says: "More than thirty years ago I repeatedly enjoyed the opportunity of hearing Mr. Beecher in his own pulpit. His warm utterances, and the earnest interest he displayed in the practical things related to useful living, the hopes he inspired, and the manner in which he relieved the precepts of Christianity from gloom and cheerlessness, made me feel that, though a stranger, he was my friend." Ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes says: "On the vital questions of his time, at the critical periods, at the very points where the need was the sorest and the hazard the greatest, Mr.

Beecher's talents were all employed on the side of his country and humanity, with a devotion and courage which Americans will always remember and admire."

NORWAY NIGHTS AND RUSSIAN DAYS.

By S. M. HENRY DAVIS. 16 mo., pp. 325.
New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

Mrs. Davis is already known to our readers through her "Life and Times of Sir Philip Sidney." This book of travels is in a very different line of work, but possesses all her vivacious charm of style and appreciation of the picturesque phases of life that every traveler encounters in the countries of northern Europe. The volume is embellished by numerous illustrations from excellent drawings, including the interesting Viking ship unearthed at Gokstad a few years ago, and now in the museum at Christiania. Several pages are given to a description of this vessel. The "Midnight Sun," that Mecca of northern pilgrims, comes in for a clever bit of description, the author having been favored by the weather, so that she actually saw the luminary in his world-famous act of staying up all night. The wild and desolate scenery of the Norwegian coast as far as the North Cape, the quaint and simple manners of the people, the unfamiliar scenery of the sub-Arctic landscape—all lend the artist-author abundant material for a most charming and unhackneyed book of travel.

THE MARGIN OF PROFITS. How it is now divided, etc. By EDWARD ATKINSON. Octavo, pp. 123. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The name of Mr. Atkinson is conspicuously associated with some of the most profound and thoughtful essays upon our modern economics, and the present addition to the Putnams' valuable "Questions of the Day" must add to his reputation as a student of American tendencies. In substance the present volume is an address delivered at one of the Sunday evening meetings of the Central Labor Union of Boston. A wish had been expressed by one of the representatives of the Union to debate with Mr. Atkinson the eight-hour question, and this address was the result. Mr. E. M. Chamberlain was appointed to reply to Mr. Atkinson, advance copies of the address being furnished for his use.

His reply is contained in the present volume. Mr. Atkinson believes that however misdirected may be the arbitrary methods of labor associations as now organized, they are the precursors of a better and more reasonable régime. In the very effort to organize these is the germ of progress, and it only requires a few years of intelligent consideration to bring about ameliorated

conditions of life for the laboring classes. In the appendix are many valuable suggestions bearing upon the economies of life—suggestions which we fear will not all of them be acceptable to those for whose benefit they are intended, but which in intelligent hands might be made largely to increase the buying power of a workman's wages.

ANNALS OF AUGUSTA COUNTY, VIRGINIA. With reminiscences illustrative of the vicissitudes of its Pioneer settlers; Biographical sketches of prominent citizens; A Diary of the war, 1861-5, and a chapter on reconstruction. By JOSEPH A. WADDELL. 8vo, pp. 374. Richmond, Va., 1886. J. W. Randolph & English.

Probably no man living in Virginia at the present time is better fitted for the preparation of a volume of this character than Mr. Waddell. Augusta County is an important section of the state, and nothing could be more welcome to the historical scholar than an account of the first settlement by white men west of the Blue Ridge. The author has a pleasing style of reciting the difficulties of the pioneer in the wilderness, and picturing the progress made by slow degrees in redeeming the county from its barbaric condition. He describes the perils of Indian wars, dwells upon the history of individuals and families of prominence, and illustrates in vivid pen sketches the organization and growth of churches, and the development of the present social and political institutions. The closing chapters cover the period of the war of secession, 1861-1865, and are enriched with a valuable diary of stirring events. The interest of the book extends far beyond the limits of its title, the sons of the first settlers having scattered widely; many of them are among the first people of the West and South. Mr. Waddell has discovered information in a multitude of original sources, and seems to have taken great pains to verify his authorities. His work has been verily a labor of love. We cordially commend it as admirably conceived and exceptionally well written; and in its typographical dress it is uniform in size, type, and paper with the publications of the Virginia Historical Society, and all that can be desired. Price, \$2.50.

RURAL HOURS. By SUSAN FENIMORE COOPER. 16mo., pp. 337.

The name of Fenimore Cooper must always carry with it for Americans who have fallen under the spell of the "Leatherstocking Tales" a distinct attraction, different from that commanded by any other. The author of the

present volume is now almost the only living representative of her father, the brilliant novelist of half a century ago. That a new and revised edition of her "Rural Hours" is called for, must be gratifying to the benevolent lady who still supports the ancient dignity of the Coopers on the shores of the very lake where once Leatherstocking's rifle rang and where Uncas paddled his birch canoe. The volume embodies in a semi-journalistic form the record of a life in the country, to which more and more the wearied eyes of town-tired Americans must turn as the years go on, and the power of appreciating a rural home becomes more universally a national characteristic.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF LYMAN

C. DRAPER and MORTIMER MELVILLE JACKSON. By REUBEN G. THWAITES and CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD. Square 8vo., pp. 58. Madison, Wisconsin, 1887.

This little biographical work is timely, and of more than ordinary interest to historical scholars. The sketches were originally published in the *Magazine of Western History*, and are now presented in a tasteful volume for permanent preservation. There is truth in what the author says of Dr Draper: "Probably no historical student within the basin of the Mississippi is so generally known among men of letters as Lyman C. Draper, LL. D., of the Wisconsin Historical Society. While his reputation thus far has been chiefly that of a collector and editor of materials for history, rather than a writer, his work is quite as famous in its way as though his contributions to standard literature had been more numerous." The position of Dr. Draper has been singularly unique in American scholarship—he has long been regarded as an oracle on Western topics among specialists and conscientiously devoted to research. He was born in Hamburg, New York, with a good Puritan ancestry in the background, and his exceptionally busy and useful life has borne rich and abundant fruit.

Judge Mortimer Melville Jackson, who in 1880 was appointed consul-general of the British Maritime Provinces, and served in that capacity for two years, residing in Halifax, has had an eventful career, which is pleasantly set forth by Mr. Butterfield. He was born in Rensselaerville, N. Y. and at present resides in Madison, Wisconsin. He took up his residence in Milwaukee in 1838, when the recently organized territory of Wisconsin was attracting universal attention. He wrote a series of articles descriptive of the country, was a leading politician, and a most effective public speaker; in 1842 became attorney-general of the terri-

tory, and on the organization of the state government was elected the first circuit judge for the fifth judicial circuit.

SELECT POEMS. By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE. 12 mo., pp. 230. New York: Worthington & Co.

Swinburne's poetry and passion are too well known to readers of English literature to call for comment or criticism in these pages. The selections embrace some two score of the most characteristic work that he has produced, such as "On the Verge," "By the North Sea," "The Caves of Sark," etc. To make such a selection from the works of an author whose genius is so many-sided and prolific requires a nice discrimination and a cultured poetic taste. As a whole, the present volume is representative, and deserves a welcome from all lovers of the modern school of English poetry.

ZURY: THE MEANEST MAN IN SPRING COUNTY. A Novel of Western Life. By JOSEPH KIRKLAND. 16 mo., pp. 535. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Seldom has the hardship of frontier life been more ably set forth than in the opening pages of this novel. The last day's run of a prairie schooner's voyage to the westward with its freight of emigrants is painted in all the wretchedness of its surroundings, and then follows the heart-breaking toil of "settling" and starting a farm. The story is told, however, in an entertaining style, with frequent dashes of humor that render it most absorbing reading. Zury is the boy of the family, who develops a strong and enterprising character, and glories in his nickname, inasmuch as he regards it as a certificate of his business abilities. Into the rude border community comes a Boston girl, who makes it pleasant and unpleasant alike for herself and for a large part of the strait-laced community. We cannot forbear quoting a portion of a good woman's creed which she enunciates for Anne's benefit. She is telling how Zury was suspected of Universalist tendencies, because some one had seen a bundle of Universalist papers in his barn. Anne sees no harm in Universalism:

"I guess you dunno what a Universalist is! (Then with a horrified whisper): 'It's a person that believes 't all mankind will be saved. (A pause to note the effect of this frightful thought.) 'Course no true Christian can believe no sech doctrine's that. Why, if I b'lieved I shouldn't be punished hereafter, I'd jest go out an' be jest as wicked as ever I could be.'"

"What did Mr. Prouder (Zury) do?"

"Oh, he jest up an' proved it was all a mali-

cious lie gotten up to hurt him. He moved a committee be app'nted that very meetin' to come up and sarch the barn next day. Wal, they mended it so that the committee went right up same night, an' sure enough they found a batch o' papers. An' then Zury showed how he'd bought a new fannin' mill, an' the fans was packed in old papers, an' he never knowed what was printed onto 'em. An' they reported to the Conference, an' the Conference they held a secret meetin', an' had a pretty lively time, but they voted by a majority to clear Zury an' censure the fannin' mill company: an' that the brethren wouldn't buy no more fannin' mills o' that make without they would clear themselves o' the charge; an' the company they come out in all the papers in advertisements saying that if it ever did happen it was an accident an' shouldn't happen again. An' they advertised for old orthodox papers to be furnished 'em for packin' purposes, an' so many was sent 'em they had to hire a barn to store 'em in, an' it was the best thing for 'em ever happened in their business."

THE RECORD OF BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS, and intentions of marriage in the TOWN OF DEDHAM. Volumes I. and II. With an appendix containing records of marriages before 1800, returned from other 'towns, under the statute of 1857. 1635-1845. Edited by DON GLEASON HILL. 8vo, pp. 286. Dedham, Massachusetts. 1886.

The period covered by this volume is one of special interest and importance, particularly the years beginning with 1635 to the commencement of the present century. Genealogists will in all the future owe Mr. Don Gleason Hill a vast debt of gratitude for the clearness and painstaking accuracy with which he has performed this laborious task. Mr. Hill is an active and enthusiastic member of the New England Historic and Genealogical Society; and he is also the town clerk of Dedham, one of the oldest towns in Massachusetts. He has had every facility for the study of the subject and for the close comparison of his copies with the originals, which were, when he took hold of them, at best, in a precarious condition, through worn edges and lost or loose and misplaced leaves. The work gives evidence on every page of careful and conscientious editing, upon which the value and success of such a volume largely depends. The introduction by the author gives valuable information as to the old methods of computing time. Since 1843 the births, marriages and deaths recorded in Dedham have been regularly returned to the state authorities and can

be found at the State House. Dedham is one of those ancient towns from which numerous settlers went forth in the early days to establish homes in other places, often in the untrodden wilderness, and their descendants will find this one of the most important publications of its kind; and it will be of constant use hereafter to genealogical investigators. The appendix contains records of marriages solemnized before 1800, and returned from other towns under the law of 1857. The whole record covers the period from 1635, the date of the plantation of the town, to 1845. The volume is printed in handsome, open-faced type, on heavy paper, and is very substantially bound in cloth. Price, \$2.25.

"THE NEW JERSEY VOLUNTEERS" (Loyalists) IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR. By WILLIAM S. STRYKER, Adjutant-General of New Jersey. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 67. Printed for private distribution. 1887. Trenton, New Jersey.

This little brochure contains many interesting facts in reference to the loyalists of New Jersey in the military service of Great Britain during the Revolutionary War. It has been compiled from various authentic sources with great care, the spelling of the names corrected, and short biographical sketches given. Of Robert Drummond the author says: "Few men did more to make General Skinner's brigade a numerical success than Robert Drummond. He spent most of the fall of 1776 recruiting for the Volunteers. He was in service during the whole war. A portrait of him is still extant, taken in London in 1784, which represents him in the uniform of a British officer, scarlet coat, blue facings, and buff vest." We find here also mention made of the reward of 2000 guineas, in the year 1779, by General Skinner, "for the capture of Governor Livingston of New Jersey, dead or alive. This excited the cupidity and the reckless zeal of many of the New Jersey loyalists. A very spicy correspondence ensued in March and April, 1779, between the governor and Sir Henry Clinton in reference to this attempted exploit."

ANNOUNCEMENT—The Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., will contribute an interesting article to this Magazine for October, on the "American Relationship of Church and State." Among other eminent writers who have prepared papers for the same number are James Schouler, the historian; Hon. S. G. W. Benjamin, and Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL.D., author of the "History of Georgia."

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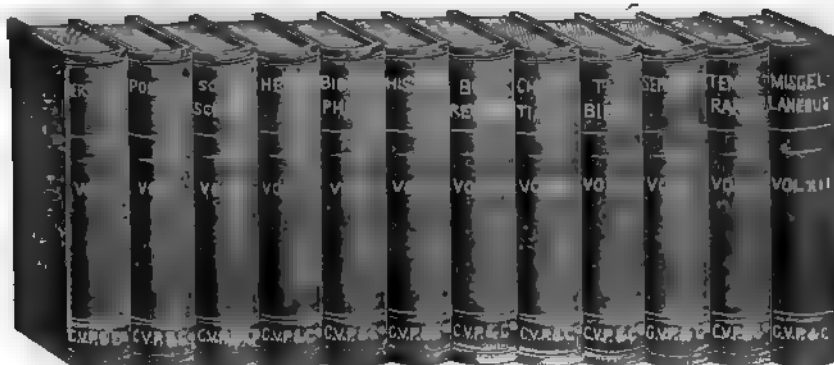
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STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1886.

ASSETS, - - - - - \$114,181,963.24.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force January 1st, 1886.....	120,952	\$368,981,441 36	Policies and Annuities in force, January 1st, 1887.....	129,927	\$393,809,202 88
Risks Assumed.....	18,673	56,832,718 92	Risks Terminated.....	9,698	32,004,957 40
	139,625	\$425,814,160 28		139,625	\$425,814,160 28

Dr. Revenue Account. Cr.

To Balance from last account.....	\$99,865,644 11	By paid to Policyholders:	
Premiums.....	15,634,720 66	Endowments and Purchased Insurance.....	\$4,908,729 61
Interest and Rents.....	5,502,456 01	Dividends and Annuities.....	2,727,454 13
		Deceased Lives.....	5,492,920 00
			\$13,129,103 74
		By Other Disbursements:	
		Commissions and Commutations.....	\$1,732,632 83
		Taxes.....	277,169 85
		Expenses.....	1,091,613 91
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		By Premiums on Stocks and Bonds Purchased.....	52,566 14
		Balance to new account.....	104,719,734 31
	\$121,002,820 78		\$121,002,820 78

Dr. Balance Sheet. Cr.

To Reserve for policies in force and for risks terminated.....	\$108,460,120 25	By Bonds secured by Mortgages on Real Estate.....	\$50,118,949 66
Premiums received in advance.....	78,274 84	United States and other Bonds.....	42,071,041 00
Surplus at four per cent.....	5,643,568 15	Loans on Collaterals.....	6,172,917 25
		Real Estate.....	10,591,286 32
		Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest, interest accrued.....	2,306,203 08
		Premiums deferred and in transit.....	2,166,870 65
		Sundries.....	1,565,117 28
	\$114,181,963 24		188,978 00
			\$114,181,963 24

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

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Auditor.

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Vol. XVIII. CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1887. No. 4.

	PAGE
Portrait of Daniel Webster (see page 317)	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
The Origin of New York. Glimpse of the famous Dutch West India Company.	
Mrs. MARTHA J. LAMB.	273
ILLUSTRATIONS.—Front View of the West India Company's First House, 1628-1647—The Binnenhof at the Hague, Execution of Barneveld—The West India House, Haarlemmer Street View, 1628-1647—West India Company's House built in 1641—View in the City of Amsterdam—West India Company's House on the Cingel, Amsterdam—Court of West India Company's House on the Cingel.	
The American Chapter in Church History; or, The Relationship of Church and State in the United States. Part I.	289
Rev. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D.	
Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio. Their Admission into the Union.	
Professor ISRAEL WARD ANDREWS, LL.D.	306
Daniel Webster.	317
Hon. S. G. W. BENJAMIN.	
Historical Grouping.	326
JAMES SCHOULER.	
Two Letters of Horatio Greenough. Poetry Embodied in Marble.	
Professor EDWARD E. SALISBURY.	330
General Sterling Price. The New Mexico Insurrection, 1846-1847.	
Judge WILLIAM A. WOOD.	333
ILLUSTRATION.—Portrait of General Sterling Price.	
The First Reformed Dutch Church, Brooklyn.	336
CHARLES D. BAKER.	
ILLUSTRATION.—Old Church in the street of Brooklyn.	
Minor Topics. An Extraordinary Indian Town, by Professor Oliver P. Hubbard—Harvey Birch not Enoch Crosby, by Guy Hatfield.	339
Original Documents. Memorandum of Route pursued by Colonel Campbell in 1779, from Savannah to Augusta, Georgia. II. (Conclusion.) Annotated by Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL.D.	343
Notes. Authors a Hundred Years Ago—English Publishers and American Authors—Weddings in Colonial Days.	349
Queries. Who Led the Troops in the Final Unsuccessful Charge after Arnold was Wounded at Quebec in 1776—Daniel Clark or Clarke—The Captured Old World Town.	350
Replies. Bridger—The Sabbath, I., II.—Beverley Robinson—Egyptian Obelisk—Boodle.	351
Historic and Social Jottings.	354
Book Notices. Digest of the International Law of the United States, 3 vols., edited by Wharton—York Deeds, Book I., 1642-1666 (Maine), edited by H. W. Richardson—Christ in the Camp, or Religion in Lee's Army, by Dr. Jones—Journals of the Military Expedition of Sullivan in 1779, with Records of Centennial Celebrations in 1879, by Cook—Transactions of Nebraska Historical Society, Vol. II.—History of the King's Bridge, by Edsall—Pocahontas and Her Descendants, by Robertson—Five-Minute Readings for Young Ladies, arranged by Walter K. Forbes.	357
Advertisements—Books, Schools, etc., 1 to 10—Periodicals and Miscellaneous, 11 to 22.	

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		Premiums deferred and in transit.....	1,565,117 28		
		Sundries.....	188,978 00		
	\$114,181,963 24				\$114,181,963 24

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XVIII

OCTOBER, 1887

No. 4

THE ORIGIN OF NEW YORK

GLIMPSE OF THE FAMOUS DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY

WE are too apt to regard the discovery of the beautiful and picturesque island of Manhattan as the great starting point in the history of the metropolis of the western world. In point of fact, it was only one of the early mile-stones. For thirty or more years prior to that interesting event—an epoch as troubled and fertile as any in human history—the forces were actively at work in another part of the world which were to result in the marvelous city of to-day (1887), with its boundless wealth, and its affairs of interest and influence affecting the whole continent.

It has been sagely remarked that the value of events are not seen at the time they take place. They can only be estimated in the light of their consequences. The future was a sealed volume to the Europeans of three centuries ago. Could the outcome of their work have been foreshadowed, they would have been incredulous, indeed. The two great European wars which successively established the independence of Holland and the disintegration of Germany, were really but one—a long, mournful tragedy of eighty years' duration. In connection with its tragic scenes of carnage and bloodshed, originated two Dutch commercial corporations of extraordinary magnitude. When, in 1580, Philip II. united Portugal to Spain, and presently began his war upon England, all Spanish and Portuguese ports were closed against English vessels. Therefore England was forced to buy her silks, spices, and other India produce of the Dutch. The revolt of the Netherlands following swiftly, Dutch vessels were excluded from Lisbon, then the great source of supplies from the Orient. It was a severe shock to Dutch industry, for that people had begun already to reap large profits from English trade. Prices had gone up on India goods—on pepper, for instance—two hundred per cent. The emancipation of the seven Dutch provinces from the grasp of Spain had resulted in a sort of irregular democracy. The province of Holland, being richer and more powerful than all its six sister provinces combined, imposed a genuine supremacy



FRONT VIEW OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY'S FIRST HOUSE, 1668-1669

[From an old print engraved in 1693.]

over the whole that was practically conceded. The Union of Utrecht, established in 1579, was really the foundation of the commonwealth.

But Dutch opulence was of little account without a revenue; and Dutch genius and public spirit, outwitting Spain, conceived the bold project of opening an ocean avenue of its own to China and the East Indies. Thus the East India Company was founded, and its vessels followed in the track of the Portuguese around Africa. Its directors were for the most part noblemen of the old school. The name and interests of Holland's great advocate, John of Barneveld, were identified with it, and his administrative sagacity was one of the principal elements in its marvelous success. Within the first twenty years of its existence it divided upwards of four times its original capital among its shareholders, and accumulated immense possessions in colonies and vessels. It absolutely founded an empire in the East. In a stately mansion at home, a dozen private gentlemen, in the gorgeous costume of the period, gathered around a little table in a charming Dutch parlor controlled fifty or more ships of war on the ocean, and numerous fortresses in far-away lands that were guarded by not less than four thousand pieces of artillery and ten thousand soldiers and sailors. The profits of each trading voyage were enormous, and the shareholders grew rich beyond their wildest imaginings. It was in the employ of this wonderful company that Henry Hudson stumbled upon Manhattan Island. America, however, was not its objective point, and unless there was a passage to be found through it to the treasure of the East, the corporation would not give it a thought. The East India Company made no effort to possess the new country or profit by its possibilities.

But the turmoil from which the East India Company had been evolved was to bear further fruit of importance to the world. When the Spaniards ruined the ancient trade and prosperity of Belgium, more than a hundred Protestant families the very pith of that nation, fled to Holland. They breathed into the atmosphere a new element of commercial strength, and at the same time they were shrewdly at work devising a method by which Belgium might be delivered from the Spanish yoke. These people were opposed to peace with Spain under any circumstances. They knew, too, just how the wide possessions of Spain were open to the resolute attacks of a vigorous foe; and they studied out and pushed into notice a scheme for the organization of a warlike company of private adventurers, who should conquer and ruin the Spanish settlements, seize the Spanish transports, and cut off all communication with her South American dependencies—to be called the West India Company.

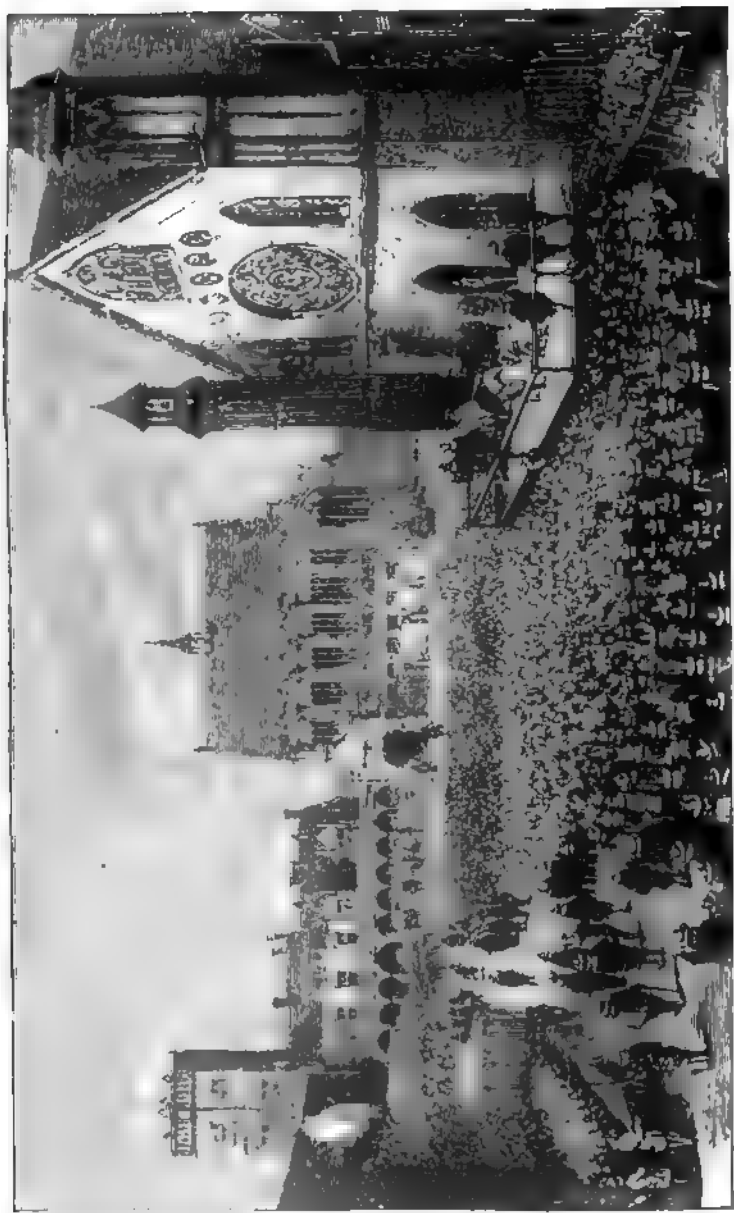
Maurice, Prince of Orange, favored the scheme. He craved more power. He felt grievously wronged at not being seated on the throne of Holland. When his father died he had been considered too young to occupy the place made vacant. The Netherlands drifted into a republic because no king, foreign or native, was available. During the war Maurice had been the central figure in modern Europe, the successful commander of armies, and a renowned military scientist. That he should have aspired to sovereignty, and hated the man who stood in his way, under the peculiar circumstances of his birth and training, is by no means remarkable. Thwarted in his ambitious notions, the limited authority vouchsafed him soured his temper. He found himself not a king, not the leader of a nominal republic even, but the servant of the States-General, and the statholder of only five out of seven separate provinces. He was extremely popular among the lower classes, who worshiped him as a brilliant military leader, and were at enmity with Barneveld for his aristocratic proclivities. The subject of the West India Company was seriously considered, and violently opposed by all who were directly or indirectly interested in the East India Company. The partisans of Maurice sustained the new scheme fearlessly, nevertheless, and influential men from the other Dutch provinces gave it the benefit of their sympathy and support. Its actual existence dates from 1606; that is, commissioners from the assembly were appointed in that year, and discussions were frequent in regard to it. But Barneveld, who was virtually the States-General, made this concession for the purpose of using it as a threat for the intimidation of Spain in the peace he was just then trying to secure. He never for a moment intended to confirm the corporation. The bitterness of the two parties for and against the proposed West India Company—who were also divided on almost every question of public interest—culminated as the details of the peace negotiations became known. Holland was in imminent danger of civil war. After a memorable struggle Barneveld carried his point triumphantly, and humble Spain, in the spring of 1609, signed the truce for twelve years. Of course, no warlike company could be formed with the sanction of the Dutch government during that period. But the spirit of war was not subdued, and the outlook for peace was hardly less stormy than that of the conflict just suspended. The outward shape of the strife henceforward was religious. Theological disputes had arisen from the ruins of popular delusion, even among the Protestants themselves. Arminius, appointed to the professorship of theology at the University of Leyden, had undertaken the difficult task of justifying before the tribunal of human reason the doctrine of the condemnation of sinners predestined to

evil. He publicly taught also that the ministers of the Church ought to be dependent on the civil authority. The municipalities caught at the cleverly thrown bait, and attempted to free themselves from the pretensions of the established clergy. Gomar, a celebrated scholar and a religious fanatic, also a professor at Leyden, denounced the terrible heresy, and defended the doctrines of the established Protestant Church, and its principles of ecclesiastical polity. Religion became so curiously mixed with politics as to offer problems of the most puzzling character. The question of church property was embarrassing in the extreme, and at that time the separation of church and state seemed impossible. To those who saw the intrigues and entanglements, and the religious dogmas which furnished so much material out of which wide-reaching schemes of personal ambition could be spun, it must have been obvious that the interval of truce was necessarily but a brief interlude between two tragedies.

Maurice was no theologian, although he attended church regularly. He said he "knew nothing about predestination, whether it was green or whether it was blue;" he only knew that "his pipe and the Advocate's were not likely to make music together." And the discord waxed more and more fierce as time rolled on. Plainly there was no room in the commonwealth for the two strong men—the Advocate and the Statholder. Arrogant, honest, courageous and austere, Barneveld still firmly opposed the West India Company as likely to bring on prematurely and unwisely a renewed conflict with Spain. But the shafts of malice were finally turned against him squarely in the contest, and he was charged with being a traitor bought with Spanish gold. This monstrous charge was repeated by Maurice in haughty anger. Poisonous pamphlets appeared day after day, until there was hardly a crime in the calendar that was not laid at his door. The Belgians were determined to get rid of him, believing that he was the only formidable obstacle in the way of the formation of the West India Company. Maurice had other reasons. Internal disturbances helped forward the crisis. The religious disputes became more heated and envenomed, and serious riots alarmed the country.

"I will grind the Advocate and all his party into fine meal," said the Prince on one occasion.

A clever caricature of the time represented a pair of scales hung up in a great hall. In the one was a heap of parchments, gold chains, and magisterial robes; the whole bundle was marked the *holy right of each city*. In the other scale lay a big, square, solid, iron-clasped volume, marked *Institutes of Calvin*. Each scale was respectively watched by Arminius and Gomar. The judges, gowned, furred, and ruffed, were looking deco-



THE BURGESS AT THE HAGUEL. EXECUTION OF BASSVILLE.
[From an old print.]

rously on, when suddenly Maurice, in full military attire, was seen rushing into the apartment and flinging his sword into the scale with the *Institutes*. The civic and legal trumpery was of course made to kick the beam.

The patriotic Advocate was finally arrested by order of Maurice, and imprisoned. "You have taken from us our head, our tongue, and our hand," said Matenesse, in the States of Holland. But the States-General took the part of Maurice, and looked up all the accusations to the discredit of the Advocate on which to form something like a bill of indictment. The shower of pamphlets began afresh, filled with scandalous statements and dark allusions to horrible discoveries and promised revelations. The clergy upheld Maurice, because having been excluded from political office they were in active opposition to the civil authorities. They introduced into their sermons the strange story that Spain had bribed Barneveld to sign the truce and kill the West India Company; and also that the Advocate had plotted to sell the whole country and drive the Prince of Orange into exile. The nobles who dared to defend Barneveld, the States, and the municipal governments, were each in turn accused of being stipendiaries of Spain. Maurice meanwhile was vigorously at work, and the Synod of Dordrecht was secured. It met, and it made short work of the Arminians. The decrees of this religious council bore directly upon the fate of the great advocate, who after seven months' incarceration, was brought to trial before the session closed. He was not permitted the aid of a lawyer, clerk, or man of business, or the use of his books, papers, pen, ink, or writing materials. He had faith in the law, and made his defence with indignant eloquence, but it availed him nothing. Four days after the termination of the Synod he was sentenced to die.

On an artificial island in the centre of the beautiful Dutch city known as the Hague—a name derived from the "Haeg" or hedge surrounding the ancient park of the counts of Holland—stands, encircling three sides of a spacious quadrangle, known as the Binnenhof or Inner Court, a number of quaint old castellated buildings, of various eras, the remains of the ancient palace of the feudal princes. Directly opposite the residence of Maurice was a lofty and venerable Gothic Hall, the rival of Westminster, in which were held the stately meetings of the States-General. In front of its lower window—its gothic archway converted into a door—a platform was built, and on the morning of the 13th of May, 1819, the majestic Advocate, John of Barneveld, was led to this scaffold and beheaded.

His principal adherents were imprisoned for life. Hugh Grotius, an illustrious Dutch jurist and author, who was a powerful opponent to the prospective West India Company, was tried and sent to the Castle of Loev-



WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE, HAARLEMME STREET VIEW, AMSTERDAM, 1648-1647.
[From an old print engraved in 1893.]

enstein, where he was closely guarded. After a while his wife was permitted to share his fate. In her society, and in close study, he passed two years, during which time he wrote some important works. His wife had been for some time in the habit of receiving books for his use in a large cumbersome chest; and, finding that the guard had grown slightly careless in its examination, she ingeniously managed one morning to have Grotius carried out in it. He disguised himself as a mason, and with trowel and rule made his escape to Antwerp.

Immediately after the execution of Barneveld a subscription list was started for the West India Company. The leader in this movement was William Usselinx, a Belgian merchant of noble descent, whose ready pen had been keeping the political life of Holland in one perpetual ferment for years. He made little headway with the new company during the first twelve months, for the States-General, however much they were under the influence of Maurice, were unwilling that a foreign element should create to itself so mighty an arm. They had no sympathy with its grand purpose to combat and worry Spain and gather recompense from the spoils. They were heartily tired of war in any event. But the English unwittingly turned the scale. They meddled with Dutch affairs by instructing their minister at the Hague to remonstrate with the States-General concerning the impropriety of allowing Dutch vessels to visit Manhattan Island and vicinity for purposes of traffic. An animated correspondence followed, each government trying to justify its own acts and establish its own rights. No definite results were reached save that the Dutch statesmen were sharp-sighted enough to discover that the only power by which they could possibly hold New York (then called New Netherland) was absolute possession. A new constitution was drafted for the West India Company, and a clause was deftly inserted by which the corporation would be obligated to people the so-called Dutch territory in America. Maurice lent the project his determined support, and it was suddenly regarded with interest by some of its hitherto most violent enemies. Within a few weeks large sums of money had been subscribed, and it had received direct encouragement from the Dutch government. Presently it became an accomplished fact.

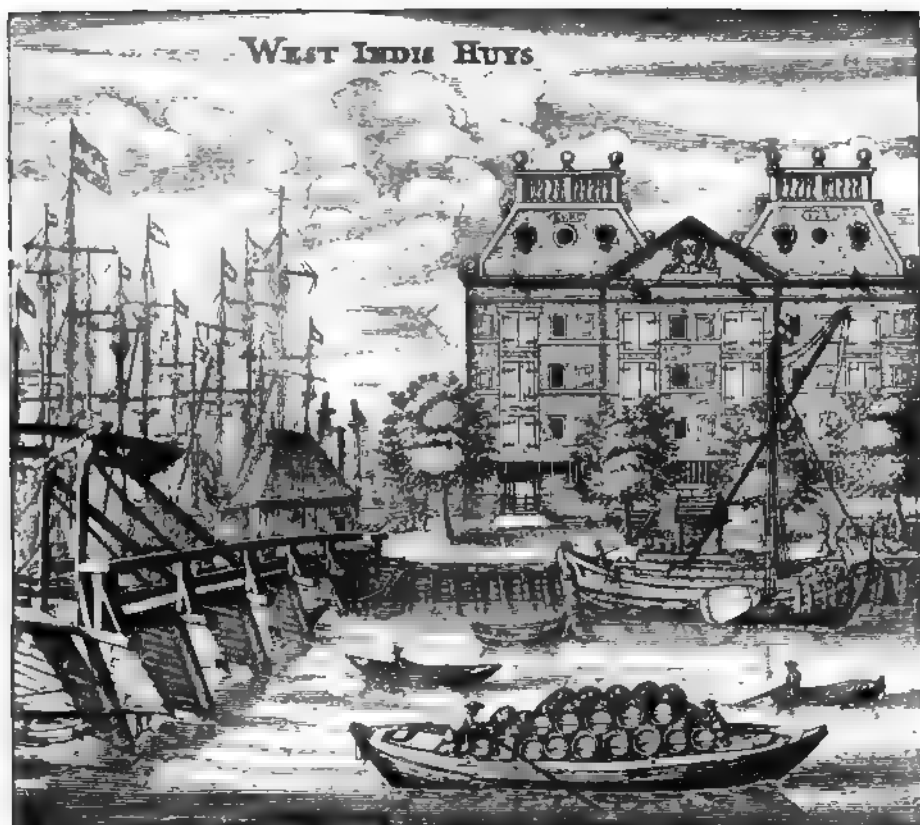
It was fashioned after the East India Company. It was guaranteed the same privileges concerning the trade of the American and African shores of the Atlantic, that the East India Company had been in their right to send ships to Asia to the exclusion of other inhabitants of the Dutch provinces. It was divided, like the East India Company, into five chambers or boards—located in the five cities, Amsterdam, North Holland, the Meuse, Zealand, and Friesland. Each chamber was a separate organiza-

tion, with members, directors and vessels of its own. The capital was \$2,500,000. The general affairs of the company were conducted by nineteen representative directors, styled the "College of the Nineteen." The democratic principles of the Belgians were adopted and shareholders accorded a voice in all important proceedings, which was a constant reproach to the East India Company and created no little jealousy and mischief.

Probably no private corporation was ever invested with such enormous powers. It was almost a distinct and separate government. Its fleets frequently numbered as many as seventy armed vessels each. It might make contracts and alliances with the princes and natives comprehended within the limits of its charter; it might build forts; it might appoint and discharge governors, soldiers, and public officers; and it might administer justice. Its admirals on distant seas were empowered to act independently of the administration. It was expected to inform the Dutch government from time to time as to the progress it was making in American conquests and settlements, and to apply to the States-General for all high commissions. But these were matters of form chiefly. It really shouldered one of the greatest of public burdens, independent of the government—and without properly appreciating its magnitude—naval war against a powerful enemy. It was endowed with the vast and valuable lands in America by the States-General, but its right to them was not legally established, and endless trouble naturally followed. The East India Company bitterly opposed its great rival, and created at one time a panic in regard to the character and credit of the new corporation. But these difficulties were adjusted after a little time.

It started out boldly. Within a month after its incorporation armed expeditions were on their way to the West Indies and to Brazil. It met with many brilliant successes. Spanish prizes were captured of such value that during the first few years the shareholders received from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent. on their investments. It seemed as if it was destined to outshine the East India Company in material prosperity.

It bestowed upon the little germ of New York the first years only just enough attention to satisfy the States-General that it would ultimately be settled according to contract. In 1625 it lost one of its most zealous and important champions—Prince Maurice, commander-in-chief of the national army, who in that year died at the Hague. About the same time the death of James I. of England, and the accession of Charles I. to the throne, resulted in a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the English and the Dutch, each nation agreeing to furnish fleets for the purpose of destroying the Spanish commerce in the East Indies. It be-



WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE BUILT IN 1641.—VIEW FROM THE OUDE SCHAUL. CITY OF AMSTERDAM.
[From an old print.]

came now apparent to the West India Company that it could take measures for settling New York without English interference, and it proceeded to plant a little colony—that was not self-supporting—and to establish a system of government that was as contrary to modern ideas of republicanism as an absolute monarchy could have been. The West India Company was never a success in developing plantations. The spoils of war were more to its taste; the small trade in furs at Manhattan Island looked meagre indeed in comparison with the capture of gold by the ship-load. One hundred and four prizes were recorded between 1626 and 1628. Infatuating wealth poured into the company's treasury. Its dividends doubled and trebled. It invested in costly buildings, and its directors lived in elegant and luxurious homes.

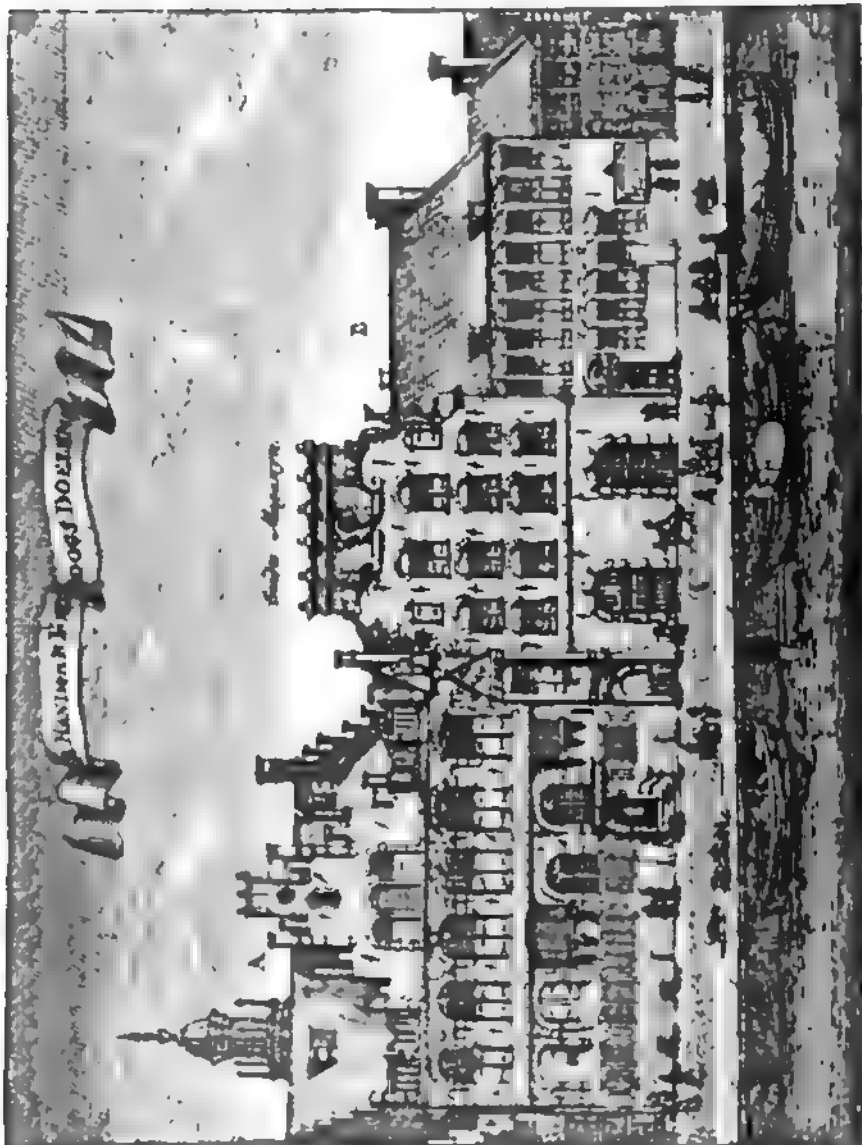


VIEW IN THE CITY OF AMSTERDAM. THE BUILDING TO THE LEFT WAS A WAREHOUSE OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY. BUILT IN 1609.

View as old print.

But something must be done with that mismanaged and unprofitable property at the mouth of the Hudson and inland. Some extraordinary inducement must be offered before people, who, like the Hollanders were content in their own homes, would voluntarily cross the ocean to dwell in a wilderness among savages and wild beasts. Neither did Holland farmers, as a rule, possess the means needful for emigration. If private capitalists could only be interested so far as to initiate beginnings it was thought the difficulties would be in a measure overcome. Finally, after much study and discussion, a charter of Freedoms and Exemptions was invented, which was expected to stimulate systematic and extended colonization; real estate in Holland outside the towns was in possession of old families of the nobility who were unwilling to part with any portion of it, and there were unquestionably many who might desire to become extensive landholders elsewhere. The charter received the sanction of the States-General in 1629. It was printed in pamphlet form, and circulated through all the towns and cities in the Netherlands. It promised to confer the title of patroon upon whoever should found a colony of fifty adults in the new province, one of the conditions being that he should purchase of the Indians a tract of land not far from sixteen miles square, and settle his people upon it provided with all the necessities of husbandry. He was to be invested with full property rights and granted freedom in trade—except the fur trade, which the West India Company reserved to itself—and protection “against all outlandish and inlandish wars and powers.” The corporation reserved for its private use, as the emporium of trade, the island site of our metropolis, upon which a fort was to be kept in order and garrisoned. Each patroon was to support a minister and schoolmaster, and would be supplied with negro slaves.

Such were the chief features of the West India Company's famous effort for the agricultural colonization of its American province. In every instance (by a clause in the instrument) the great feudal chieftain must be a shareholder in the corporation. And the colonists under him were naturally subjected to the double pressure of feudal exaction and mercantile monopoly. The spirit of the charter was defaced by its details. The machinery was unwieldy and could never be made to run smoothly. Some of the directors were on the alert, and secured the most valuable localities in New York for themselves as soon as the bill became a law. Their alacrity filled their less active associates with deadly anger. A quarrel followed among the directors in Holland that has had few parallels in bitterness or length in the history of such corporations. But while the wrangling went on, shiploads of colonists reached our shores. To secure the confirmation



DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSES ON THE CANAL, AMSTERDAM. THE MEETINGS OF THE COMPANY AFTER 1674 WERE HELD IN BUILDING MARKED B.
(From an old print)



COURT OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE ON THE CINGEL, AMSTERDAM.
[From an old print.]

of patroonships from the College of Nineteen, the patroons were obliged, in 1631, to receive other members of the company into copartnership ; but this did not end the turmoil. The patroons meddled with the fur traffic, and could not easily be controlled. The company tried to modify its feudal system and was plunged into fresh embarrassments. It aimed to govern its troublesome territory wisely, but failed through the inexperience and incompetence of its early officers. Destructive Indian wars prevailed, and unlucky disputes arose with the English, and afterward with the Swedes. The relations of the New York colonists with their colonial neighbors grew more and more unsatisfactory, and the company lacked the power necessary to set matters right. A terrible conflict among the strong men who represented the citizenship of the little town on Manhattan Island was equally unmanageable. The corporation in despair appealed to the States-General in 1638 for counsel. But when the statesmanship of the Hague recommended that the New York province should be made a government colony of the Netherlands, the directors promptly refused to surrender it. Having worked at the problem fifteen years, they were determined to persevere until it was self-supporting. They were obliged to adopt, however, a more liberal system of colonization, which was a step in advance, but new troubles arose.

With all its blemishes, the charter which caused so much heartburning and private Dutch eloquence had many redeeming qualities. It was really the best thing the West India Company ever did for New York, as it sent into the province men of marked individuality and original conceptions, and set many forces in motion that otherwise would have been a long time in reaching the surface. The cardinal error of the much-criticised company was in seeking to people its dominions with its own dependents to the exclusion of its well-to-do countrymen. But in the end all classes emigrated ; and as time rolled on those who took the most active part in the direction of our infant institutions were, in intelligence and worldly wisdom, above the average of their generation. In spite of all its withering influences, the close corporation laid the broad foundations of a mighty state. Its policy reacted upon itself, to its own ruin ; but the work it had done for New York could not be undone. It imported with its patroons and colonists the magnanimous sentiments of religious toleration, the most liberal doctrines in regard to trade and commerce, the idea of the confederation of sovereign states, and the undying principles of self-government, together with that magnificent hospitality which has made the hearthstone the test of citizenship, welcoming all nationalities to our shores.

Martha Lamb

THE AMERICAN CHAPTER IN CHURCH HISTORY
OR
THE RELATIONSHIP OF CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES
PART I

What is the distinctive character of American Christianity in its organized social aspect and its relation to the national life, as compared with the Christianity of Europe?

It is a FREE CHURCH IN A FREE STATE, or a SELF-SUPPORTING AND SELF-GOVERNING CHRISTIANITY IN INDEPENDENT BUT FRIENDLY RELATION TO THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

This relationship of church and state is a new chapter in the history of Christianity, and the most important one which America has so far contributed. It lies at the base of our religious institutions and operations, and they cannot be understood without it. And yet it has never received the treatment it deserves, either from the historical or the philosophical point of view. It seems to be regarded as a self-evident fact and truth which need no explanation and defense. I know of no ecclesiastical or secular history, or special treatise, which gives a full and satisfactory account of it; and the works on the Constitution of the United States touch only on the legal aspects of the religious clauses, or pass them over altogether.

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM

The relationship of church and state in the United States secures full liberty of religious thought, speech, and action, within the limits of the public peace and order. It makes persecution impossible.

Religion and liberty are inseparable. Religion is voluntary, and cannot, and ought not to be, forced.

This is a fundamental article of the American creed, without distinction of sect or party. Liberty, both civil and religious, is an American instinct. All natives suck it in with the mother's milk; all immigrants accept it as a happy boon, especially those who flee from oppression and persecution abroad. Even those who reject the modern theory of liberty enjoy the practice, and would defend it in their own interest against any attack to overthrow it.

Such liberty is impossible on the basis of a union of church and state, where the one of necessity restricts or controls the other. It requires a

friendly separation, where each power is entirely independent in its own sphere. The church, as such, has nothing to do with the state except to obey its laws and to strengthen its moral foundations; the state has nothing to do with the church except to protect it in its property and liberty; and the state must be equally just to all forms of belief and unbelief within the limits of public order and safety.

The root of this system we find in the New Testament, which acknowledges the family, the church, and the state as divine institutions demanding alike our obedience, yet clearly distinguishes them in their aim and sphere of jurisdiction. The family is the oldest institution, and the source of church and state. The patriarchs were priests and kings of their households. Church and state are equally necessary, and as inseparable as soul and body, and yet as distinct as soul and body. The church is instituted for the religious interests and eternal welfare of man; the state, for his secular interests and temporal welfare. The one looks to heaven as the final home of immortal spirits; the other upon our mother earth. The church is the reign of love; the state is the reign of justice. The former is governed by the gospel, the latter by the law. The church exhorts and uses moral suasion; the state commands and enforces obedience. The church punishes by rebuke, suspension, and excommunication; the state by fines, imprisonments, and death. Both meet on questions of public morals, and both together constitute civilized human society. Christ directs us to render unto God the things that are God's, and unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's (Matt. xxii. 21). He paid the tribute money and obeyed the laws of Rome, but he refused to be a judge and divider of the inheritance of two brothers, as lying outside of the sphere of religion (Luke xii. 14). He declared before Pilate that his kingdom is not of this world (John xviii. 36), and rebuked Peter for drawing the sword, even in defense of his Master (John xviii. 11). When the Evil One tempted him with the possession of all the kingdoms of this world, he said unto him: "Get thee hence, Satan" (Matt. iv. 10). Secular power has proved a satanic gift to the church, and ecclesiastical power has proved an engine of tyranny in the hands of the state. The apostles used only the spiritual weapons of truth and love in spreading the gospel of salvation. If men had always acted on this principle and example, history would have been spared the horrors of persecution and religious wars.

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM COMPARED WITH OTHER SYSTEMS

The American relationship of church and state differs from all previous relationships in Europe and in the Colonies, and yet it rests upon them

and reaps the benefit of them all. For history is an organic unit, and American history has its roots in Europe.

1. The American system differs from the ante-Nicene or pre-Constantinian separation of church and state, when the church was indeed, as with us, self-supporting and self-governing, and so far free within, but under persecution from without, being treated as a forbidden religion by the then heathen state. In America the government protects the church in her property and rights without interfering with her internal affairs. By the power of truth and the moral heroism of martyrdom the church converted the Roman Empire and became the mother of Christian states.

2. The American system differs from the hierarchical control of the church over the state, or from priest-government, which prevailed in the Middle Ages down to the Reformation, and reached its culmination in the Papacy. It confines the church to her proper spiritual vocation and leaves the state independent in all the temporal affairs of the nation. The hierarchical theory was suited to those times, after the fall of the Roman Empire and the ancient civilization, when the Christian priesthood was in sole possession of learning and had to civilize as well as to evangelize the barbarians of northern and western Europe. By her influence over legislation the church abolished bad laws and customs, introduced benevolent institutions, and created a Christian state controlled by the spirit of justice and humanity.

3. The American system differs from the Erastian or Cæsaro-Papal control of the state over the church, which obtained in the old Byzantine Empire, and prevails in modern Russia, and in the Protestant States of Europe, where the civil government protects and supports the church, but at the expense of her dignity and independence, and deprives her of the power of self-government. In America, the state has no right whatever to interfere with the affairs of the church, her doctrine, discipline or worship, and the appointment of ministers.

4. The American system differs from the system of toleration which began in Germany with the Westphalia Treaty, 1648; in England with the Act of Toleration, 1689, and which now prevails nearly all over Europe; of late years, nominally at least, even in Roman Catholic countries, to the very gates of the Vatican. Toleration exists where the government supports one or more churches, and tolerates other religious communities under the name of sects (on the Continent) or dissenters and nonconformists (as in England). In America there are no such distinctions, but only churches or denominations on a footing of perfect equality before the law. To talk about any particular denomination as *the* church, or *the American* church,

has no meaning, and betrays ignorance or conceit. Such exclusiveness is natural and logical in Romanism, but unnatural, illogical, and contemptible in any other church. Toleration is an important step from state-churchism to free-churchism. But it is only a step. There is a great difference between toleration and liberty. Toleration is a concession, which may be withdrawn; it implies a preference for the ruling form of faith and worship, and a practical disapproval of all other forms. It may be coupled with many restrictions and disabilities. We tolerate what we dislike, but cannot alter; we tolerate even a nuisance if we must. Acts of toleration are wrung from a government by the force of circumstances and the power of a minority too influential to be disregarded. In this way even the most despotic governments, as those of Turkey and of Russia, are tolerant; the one toward Christians and Jews, the other toward Mohammedans and dissenters from the orthodox Greek Church; but both deny the right of propaganda and missionary operations except in favor of the state religion, and both forbid and punish apostasy from it.

In our country we ask no toleration for religion and its free exercise, but we claim it as an inalienable right. "It is not toleration," says Judge Cooley, "which is established in our system, but religious equality." Freedom of religion is one of the greatest gifts of God to man, without distinction of race and color. He is the author and lord of conscience, and no power on earth has a right to stand between God and the conscience. A violation of this divine law written in the heart is an assault upon the majesty of God and the image of God in man. Granting the freedom of conscience, we must, by logical necessity, also grant the freedom of its manifestation and exercise in public worship. To concede the first and to deny the second, after the manner of despotic governments, is to imprison the conscience. To be just, the state must either support all or none of the religions of its citizens. Our government supports none, but protects all.

5. Finally—and this we would emphasize as especially important in our time—the American system differs radically and fundamentally from the infidel and red-republican theory of religious freedom, which is advocated chiefly by foreign immigrants who left their country for their country's good. The word freedom is one of the most abused words in the vocabulary. True liberty is a positive force, regulated by law; false liberty is a negative force, a release from restraint. True liberty is the moral power of self-government; the liberty of infidels and anarchists is carnal licentiousness. The American separation of church and state rests on respect for the church; the infidel separation, on indifference and hatred of the church, and of religion itself. The infidel theory was tried and failed in the first

Revolution of France. It began with toleration, and ended with the abolition of Christianity, and with the reign of terror, which in turn prepared the way for military despotism as the only means of saving society from anarchy and ruin. Our infidels and anarchists would re-enact this tragedy if they should ever get the power. They openly profess their hatred and contempt of our Sunday-laws, our Sabbaths, our churches, and all our religious institutions and societies. Let us beware of them! The American system grants freedom also to irreligion and infidelity, but only within the limits of the order and safety of society. The destruction of religion would be the destruction of morality and the ruin of the state. Civil liberty requires for its support religious liberty, and cannot prosper without it. Religious liberty is not an empty sound, but a positive exercise of religious duties and enjoyment of all its privileges. It is freedom *in* religion, not freedom *from* religion; as true civil liberty is freedom *in* law, and not freedom *from* law. Says Goethe:

*"In der Beschränkung nur zeigt sich der Meister,
Und das Gesetz nur kann dir Freiheit geben."*

Destroy our churches, close our Sunday-schools, abolish the Lord's Day, and our republic would become an empty shell, and our people would tend to heathenism and barbarism. Christianity is the most powerful factor in our society and the pillar of our institutions. It regulates the family, it enjoins private and public virtue, it builds up moral character, it teaches us to love God supremely and our neighbor as ourselves, it makes good men and useful citizens, it denounces every vice, it encourages every virtue, it promotes and serves public welfare, it upholds peace and order. Christianity is the only possible religion for the American people, and with Christianity are bound up all our hopes for the future.

This was strongly felt by Washington, the Father of his Country, "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen;" and no passage in his immortal Farewell Address is more truthful, wise, and worthy of constant remembrance by every American statesman and citizen than that in which he affirms the inseparable connection of religion with morality and national prosperity.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL BASIS OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEM

The legal basis of American Christianity in its relation to the civil government is laid down in the Constitution of the United States. This great document was framed after the achievement of national independence in a convention of delegates from twelve of the original states (all except Rhode

Island), in the city of Philadelphia, between May 14 and September 17, 1787, by the combined wisdom of such statesmen as Hamilton, Madison, King, Sherman, Dickinson, Pinckney, Franklin, under the presiding genius of Washington. It was ratified by eleven states before the close of the year 1788, and went into operation in March, 1789.* It was materially improved by ten Amendments, which were recommended by several States as a guaranty of fundamental rights, proposed by the first Congress in 1789-90, and adopted in 1791. To these were subsequently added five new Amendments, namely Article XI. in 1793, Article XII. in 1803, Article XIII. in 1865, Article XIV. in 1868, Article XV. in 1870. The last three are the result of the civil war, and forbid slavery, declare the citizenship of all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and secure the right of citizens to vote irrespective "of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."

This Constitution, including the fifteen Amendments, is "the supreme law of the land"—that is, of all the States and Territories belonging to the United States. It expresses the sovereign will and authority of the people, which, under God, is the source of civil power and legislation in a free country. It can only be altered and amended by the same authority. Experience has proved its wisdom and deepened the attachment to its provisions. And, having stood the fiery ordeal of a gigantic civil war, it may be considered safe and sound for generations to come. Although by no means perfect, it is the best that could be made for this western republic by its framers, whom Alexander Hamilton Stephens (the Vice-President of the late Southern Confederacy) calls "the ablest body of jurists, legislators, and statesmen that has ever assembled on the continent of America." Most of them were conspicuous for practical experience in statesmanship and for services to the cause of liberty, and they had the great advantage of drawing lessons of wisdom from the British Constitution, the Swiss and Dutch Confederacies, as well as from ancient Greece and Rome. Mr. Gladstone, one of the most learned of English statesmen, calls the American Constitution "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore, in accepting the invitation to open the centennial celebration of the Constitution at Philadelphia, September, 1887, says: "The Constitution of the United States is worthy of being written in letters of gold. It is a

* The remaining two states adopted the Constitution afterward—North Carolina, November 21, 1789; Rhode Island, May 29, 1790. During the deliberations for its adoption, it was ably defended by Alexander Hamilton, of New York, James Madison, of Virginia, and John Jay, of New York, in *The Federalist* (1787 to 1788) against the attacks of the anti-Federalists.

charter by which the liberties of sixty millions of people are secured, and by which, under Providence, the temporal happiness of countless millions yet unborn will be perpetuated."

Two provisions in this Constitution bear on the question of religion, and secure its freedom and independence.

1. The Constitution declares, in Article VI., § 3, that all senators and representatives of the United States, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, "shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support the Constitution. *But no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.*"

This is negative, and excludes the establishment of any particular church or denomination as the national religion. It secures the freedom and independence of the state from ecclesiastical domination and interference.

Religious tests, whether of dogma or worship, were used by despotic governments, especially in England under the Stuarts, as means of excluding certain classes of persons, otherwise qualified, from public offices and their emoluments. Blackstone defends such tests as means of self-preservation. During the colonial period they were enforced in all our Colonies, except in Rhode Island. The early settlers came from Europe to seek freedom for themselves, and then inconsistently denied it to others, from fear of losing the monopoly. Even in the Quaker state of Pennsylvania toleration was limited by the Toleration Act of 1689, contrary to the design of William Penn; and all legislators, judges, and public officers had to declare and subscribe their disbelief in transubstantiation, the adoration of the Virgin Mary and other saints, and the sacrifice of the Romish mass, as "superstitious and idolatrous," and their belief in the Holy Trinity and the divine inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. This test was in force from 1703 till the time of the Revolution, when, through the influence of Benjamin Franklin, it was removed from the State Constitution framed by the Convention of 1776. In Rhode Island, the Roman Catholics were deprived of the right of voting, but this disqualification is no part of the original colonial charter, and is inconsistent with "the soul-liberty" of Roger Williams, the founder of that state.

The framers of the Federal Constitution, remembering the persecution of dissenters and nonconformists in the mother country and in several American Colonies, cut the tree of persecution by the root, and substituted for specific religious tests a simple oath or solemn affirmation.

The discontent with state-churchism and its injustice toward dissenting convictions was one of the remote causes of the American Revolution.

2. More important than this clause is the First Amendment, which may be called the Magna Charta of religious freedom in the United States.

The First Amendment provides that "*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.*"

This amendment is positive and protective, and constitutes a bill of rights. It prevents not only the establishment of a particular church, but it expressly guarantees at the same time the full liberty of religion in its public exercise, and forbids Congress ever to abridge this liberty. Religious liberty is regarded as one of the fundamental and inalienable rights of an American citizen, and is associated with the liberty of speech, and of the press, and the right of petition.

A large number of the most valuable provisions of the English Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights of 1688 consists of the solemn recognitions of limitations upon the power of the Crown and the power of Parliament, such as the right of trial by jury, the right of personal liberty and private property, and the right to bear arms. It was left for America to secure the most sacred of all rights and liberties to all her citizens.

The United States furnishes the first example in history of a government deliberately depriving itself of all legislative control over religion, which was justly regarded by all older governments as the chief support of public morality, order, peace, and prosperity. But it was an act of wisdom and justice rather than self-denial. Congress was shut up to this course by the previous history of the American Colonies and the actual condition of things at the time of the formation of the national government. The Constitution did not create a nation, nor its religion and institutions. It found them already existing, and was framed for the purpose of protecting them under a republican form of government, in a rule of the people, by the people, and for the people. All the branches of the Christian Church, except the Oriental, were then represented in America. New England was settled by Congregationalists; Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, by Episcopalians; New York, by Dutch Reformed, followed by Episcopalians; Rhode Island, by Baptists; Pennsylvania, by Quakers; Maryland, by Roman Catholics; while Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans, German Reformed, French Huguenots, Moravians, Mennonites, etc., were scattered through several Colonies. In some states there was an established church; in others the mixed system of toleration prevailed. The Baptists and Quakers, who were victims of persecution and nurslings of adversity, pro-

fessed full religious freedom as an article of their creed. All Colonies, with the effectual aid of the churches and clergy, had taken part in the achievement of national independence, and had an equal claim to the protection of their rights and institutions by the national government.

The framers of the Constitution, therefore, had no right and no intention to interfere with the religion of the citizens of any state, or to discriminate between denominations; their only just and wise course was to put them all on an equal footing before the national law, and to secure to them equal protection. Liberty of all is the best guaranty of the liberty of each.

North America was predestined from the very beginning for the largest religious and civil freedom, however imperfectly it was understood by the first settlers. It offered a hospitable home to emigrants of all nations and creeds. The great statesmen of the Philadelphia Convention recognized this providential destiny, and wisely adapted the Constitution to it. They could not do otherwise. To assume the control of religion in any shape, except by way of protection, would have been an act of usurpation and been stoutly resisted by all the states.

Thus Congress was led by Providence to establish a new system, which differed from that of Europe and the Colonies, and set an example to the several states for imitation.

THE ACTION OF THE STATE CONVENTIONS

The conventions of the several states which were held during the year 1788 for the ratification of the Federal Constitution reflect the conflicting sentiments then entertained on the question of religious tests. At present nobody doubts the wisdom of that clause in the Constitution which removes such tests. "No provisions of the Constitution of the United States are more familiar to us," says a learned American historian,* "and more clearly express the universal sentiment of the American people, or are in more perfect harmony with the historic consciousness of the nation, than those which forbid the national government to establish any form of religion or to prescribe any religious test as a qualification for office held under its authority. Almost every other general principle of government embodied in that instrument has been discussed and argued about, and its application in particular cases resisted and questioned, until the intention of those who framed it seems lost in the Serbonian bog of controversy, yet

* Dr. Charles Stillé, *Religious Tests in Provincial Pennsylvania. A paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, November 9, 1885.*

no one has ever denied the rightfulness of the principle of religious liberty laid down in the Constitution."

But before the adoption of that instrument there was a wide difference of opinion on this, as well as on other articles. The exclusion of religious tests from qualification for public office under the general government was opposed in those states which required such tests, under the apprehension that without them the federal government might pass into the hands of Roman Catholics, Jews, and infidels. Even the Pope of Rome, said a delegate from North Carolina, might become President of the United States!

The opposition was strongest in Massachusetts, where Congregationalism was the established church. Major Lusk, a delegate to the convention of that state, "shuddered at the idea that Romanists and pagans might be introduced into office, and that Popery and the Inquisition may be established in America." But the Rev. Mr. Backus, in answer to this objection, remarked: "Nothing is more evident, both in reason and the Holy Scriptures, than that religion is ever a matter between God and individuals; and, therefore, no man or men can impose any religious test without invading the essential prerogatives of our Lord Jesus Christ. . . . Imposing of religious tests has been the greatest engine of tyranny in the world. . . . Some serious minds discover a concern lest if all religious tests should be excluded the Congress would hereafter establish Popery or some other tyrannical way of worship. But it is most certain that no such way of worship can be established without any religious test." The same clergyman spoke strongly against slavery, which "grows more and more odious in the world," and expressed the hope that, though it was not struck with apoplexy by the proposed Constitution, it will die with consumption by the prohibition of the importation of slaves after a certain date (1808). The Rev. Mr. Shute was equally pronounced in his defense of the clause. "To establish a religious test," he said, "as a qualification for office would be attended with injurious consequences to some individuals, and with no advantage to the whole. Unprincipled and dishonest men will not hesitate to subscribe to anything. . . . Honest men alone, however well qualified to serve the public, would be excluded by the test, and their country be deprived of the benefit of their abilities. In this great and extensive empire there is and will be a great variety of sentiments in religion among its inhabitants. . . . Whatever answer bigotry may suggest, the dictates of candor and equity will say: no religious tests. . . . I believe that there are worthy characters among men of every denomination—among Quakers, Baptists, the Church of England, the Papists, and even among those who have no other guide in the way of virtue and heaven than the dictates of

natural religion. . . . The Apostle Peter tells us that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to him. And I know of no reason why men of such a character in a community, of whatever denomination in religion, *ceteris paribus*, with other suitable qualifications, should not be acceptable to the people, and why they may not be employed by them with safety and advantage in the important offices of government." The Rev. Mr. Payson spoke in the same strain, and insisted that "human tribunals for the consciences of men are impious encroachments upon the prerogatives of God." It is very evident that these Congregational ministers of the gospel represented the true American spirit in the convention, rather than Major Lusk and Colonel Jones, who favored religious tests.*

In the Convention of North Carolina, held July, 1788, the same fear was expressed, that Jews, infidels, and Papists might get into offices of trust without some religious tests; but among the twenty amendments proposed as "a declaration of rights," and put on record, the last is, "that religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and, therefore, all men have an equal, natural, and inalienable right to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, and that no particular religious sect or society ought to be favored or established by law in preference to others."†

In Virginia, on the other hand, the exclusion of religious tests was regarded by the advanced liberal party as quite insufficient, and a more explicit guaranty against the establishment of a religion was demanded. In that state the Church of England had been disestablished, and full liberty secured to all forms of belief and unbelief, by an act of January 16, 1786, several months before the framing of the Federal Constitution, by the combined influence of the numerous religious dissenters (Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, etc.) and the political school of Jefferson, who had early imbibed the Voltairian philosophy of toleration, and during his residence in Paris (1784-1789) had intimately associated with the leaders of French infidelity. He composed the Declaration of Independence (1776), but had nothing to do with the framing of the Federal Constitution (being then absent in France); he rather opposed its centralizing features both in Washington's cabinet, as Secretary of State, and as President, and founded the anti-Federalist party and the state-rights theory, which afterwards

* Elliot's *Debates in the several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution* (Washington, 1836), vol. ii. 156, 131-133.

† Elliot, vol. iv. 242, 244.

logically developed into the nullification theory of Calhoun and the secession theory of Jefferson Davis. He was no member of the Convention of Richmond in 1788, but his influence was thrown against the adoption of the Constitution without sundry guaranties of individual and state rights. On the guaranty for freedom of religion all parties of Virginia seem to have been agreed. The Convention, therefore, recommended to Congress the following amendment on this subject: "That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and therefore all men have an equal, natural, and inalienable right to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience, and that no particular religious sect or society ought to be favored or established by law in preference to others."*

Pennsylvania ratified the Constitution in December, 1787, before Virginia, but a large minority dissented, and, failing to secure a new national convention, issued a long address to their constituents called "Reasons of Dissent," etc., in which fourteen amendments were proposed. Among these amendments, the first is a guaranty of religious freedom.

In the first Congress, Madison, of Virginia, presented to the House of Representatives nine amendments which are almost identical with nine suggested by the minority of the Pennsylvania Convention. The House enlarged the number to seventeen; the Senate reduced them to twelve. Of these the states rejected the first two and adopted ten, which were declared in force December 15, 1791. Among these the first (which was originally the third of the twelve) is by far the most important, and Pennsylvania, the Keystone State, seems therefore to be entitled to the chief credit for it. This is quite consistent with her Quaker origin.

THE LIMITATION OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

The Federal Constitution does not limit religious liberty and the free exercise thereof. But, in the nature of the case, all public liberty is limited by the supreme law of self-preservation, which inheres in a commonwealth as well as in an individual; and by the golden rule of loving our neighbor as ourselves. Liberty is not lawlessness and licentiousness. No

* For the debates in Congress on the Amendments, see the *Annals of Congress*, Vol. I., 1789-1791. The debates in the State Legislatures, if any, are inaccessible to me. Elliot gives merely the debates on the adoption of the Constitution. * Elliot, iii. 594.

man has the liberty to do wrong, or to injure his neighbor, or to endanger the public peace and welfare. Religious liberty may be abused as well as the liberty of speech and of the press, or any other liberty; and all abuses are punishable by law if they violate the rights of others. A religion which injures public morals and enjoins criminal practices is a public nuisance, and must be treated as such.

So far religious liberty in America has moved within the bounds of Christian civilization, and it is not likely to transgress those bounds.

The first case in which the government was forced to define the limits of religious liberty was the case of Mormon polygamy in Utah, which is sanctioned by the Mormon religion. The Congress of the United States has prohibited polygamy by law, and the Supreme Court has sustained the prohibition as constitutional. In the decision, Chief-Justice Waite thus defines the bounds of the religious liberty guaranteed by the Constitution :

“ Laws are made for the government of actions ; and while they cannot interfere with men’s religious belief and opinions, they may with the practice. Suppose one religiously believed that human sacrifices were a necessary part of religious worship, would it be seriously contended that the civil government could not interfere to prevent a sacrifice ? To permit this would be to make the professed doctrines of religious belief superior to the law of the land. Government could exist only in name under such circumstances.” *

This decision is of the greatest importance. It would strictly exclude from toleration also the public exercise of the Mohammedan and heathen religions, which sanction polygamy or human sacrifice.

The popular hostility to the Chinese in California, and the congressional restriction of Chinese immigration, are partly due to American intolerance of the heathen customs and practices of that remarkable people, who, by their industry and skill, have largely contributed to the development of the material wealth of the Pacific States, and deserve a better treatment than they have received.

How far the United States government may go hereafter in the limitations of religious liberty depends upon the course of public opinion, which frames and interprets the laws in a free country.

The constitutions of the individual States, which guarantee religious liberty, generally guard it against abuse, and expressly declare that “ the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the state.” †

* *Reynolds vs. the United States*, 98 Supreme Court Reports.

† So the Constitutions of New York, Illinois, California, and other States.

THE CHARGE OF POLITICAL ATHEISM

The colonial charters, the Declaration of Independence, and most of the State constitutions recognize, more or less explicitly, the great truths of an all-ruling Providence in the origin and history of nations. The Constitution of the United States, whether inadvertently or designedly, omits the mention of God. Hence the charge of political atheism which is brought against it, not only by European champions of the union of church and state, but also by many Americans. During the Civil War, when the religious sensibilities of the nation were excited to their inmost depths, and the fate of the Union was trembling in the balance, a "National Association to secure certain religious amendments to the Constitution" was formed, for the purpose of carrying through Congress such an alteration in the preamble as would recognize the national faith in God and in Christ. The amendment is as follows, the insertions being included in brackets :

"We, the people of the United States [humbly acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all authority and power in civil government, the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler among the nations, and his revealed will as the supreme law of the land, in order to constitute a Christian government, and], in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the [inalienable rights and] blessings of [life], liberty, [and the pursuit of happiness] to ourselves and our posterity [and all the inhabitants of the land], do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."*

These additions in the preamble, or enacting clause, to be operative, would require a special provision in the Constitution itself, giving Congress the power, by appropriate legislation, to gain the proposed end of establishing "a Christian government," and to forbid, under penalties, the public exercise of non-Christian religions. This, again, would be an alteration or express limitation of the First Amendment to the various forms of Christianity. There is no prospect that such an amendment can ever command a majority in Congress and in the several states. The best chance was passed when the amendments suggested by the war and the emancipation of the slaves were enacted. The Constitution of the Confederate States, framed at Montgomery, Alabama, during the civil war (March, 1861), actually did insert Almighty God in the preamble of the revised

* See *Proceedings of the National Convention to secure the Religious Amendment to the Constitution of the U. S., held at Cincinnati Jan. 31 and Feb. 1, 1872*. Philadelphia, 1872. Compare, also, the previous and subsequent publications of that Association, and their semi-monthly journal, *The Christian Statesman* Philadelphia. It has, I believe, ceased to exist.

constitution, but that constitution died with the Confederacy in 1865. The name of God did not make it more pious and justifiable.*

Our chief objection to such an amendment, besides its impracticability, is that it rests on a false assumption, and casts an unjust reflection upon the original document, as if it were hostile to religion. But it is neither hostile nor friendly to any religion; it is simply silent on the subject, as lying beyond the jurisdiction of the general government. The absence of the names of God and Christ, in a purely political and legal document, no more proves denial or irreverence than the absence of those names in a mathematical treatise, or the statutes of a bank or railroad corporation. The title "Holiness" does not make the Pope of Rome any holier than he is, and it makes the contradiction only more glaring in such characters as Alexander VI. The book of Esther and the Songs of Solomon are undoubtedly productions of devout worshippers of Jehovah; and yet the name of God does not occur once in them.

We may go further and say that the Constitution not only contains nothing which is irreligious or unchristian, but is Christian in substance, though not in form. It is pervaded by the spirit of justice and humanity, which are Christian. The First Amendment could not have originated in any pagan or Mohammedan country, but presupposes Christian civilization and culture. Christianity alone has taught men to respect the sacredness of the human personality as made in the image of God and redeemed by Christ, and to protect its rights and privileges, including the freedom of worship, against the encroachments of the temporal power and the absolutism of the state.

The Constitution, moreover, in recognizing and requiring an official oath from the President and all legislative, executive, and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, recognizes the Supreme Being, to whom the oath is a solemn appeal. In exempting Sunday from the working days of the President for signing a bill of Congress, the Constitution honors the claims of the weekly day of rest and the habits of a Sunday-keeping nation; and in the subscription "Anno Domini" it assents to that chronology which implies that Jesus Christ is the turning-point of history and the beginning of a new order of society. And, finally, the

* The Confederate Constitution follows the Federal Constitution very closely, but provides for the theory of State Rights and for the protection of the institution of slavery, which caused the civil war. The preamble reads as follows (with the characteristic words underscored): "We, the people of the *Confederate States, each State acting in its sovereign and independent character*, in order to form a *permanent federal government*, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, *invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God*, ordain and establish this Constitution of the *Confederate States of America*."

framers of the Constitution were, without exception, believers in God and in future rewards and punishments, from the presiding officer, who was a communicant member of the Episcopal Church, down to the least orthodox, as Franklin and John Adams, who were affected by the spirit of English deism and French infidelity, but retained a certain reverence for the religion of their Puritan ancestors, and recognized the hand of God in leading them safely through the war of independence. Franklin proposed the employment of a chaplain in the Convention, who should invoke the wisdom and blessing of God upon the responsible work of framing laws for a new nation.

The history of our general government sustains our interpretation. The only example of an apparent hostility to Christianity is the treaty with Tripoli, November 4, 1796, in which it is said—perhaps unguardedly and unnecessarily—that the government of the United States is “not founded on the Christian religion,” and has no enmity against the religion of a Mohammedan nation.* But this treaty was signed by Washington, who could not mean thereby to slight the religion he himself professed. It simply means that the United States is founded, like all civil governments, in the law of nature, and not hostile to any religion. Man, as Aristotle says, is by nature a political animal.† Civil government belongs to the kingdom of the Father, not of the Son. Paul recognized the Roman Empire under Nero as founded by God, and that empire persecuted the Christian religion for nearly three hundred years. The modern German Empire and the French Republic arose, like the United States, from purely political motives, but are not on that account irreligious or anti-Christian.

It is easy to make a plausible logical argument in favor of the proposition that the state cannot be neutral, that no-religion is irreligion, and that non-Christian is anti-Christian. But facts disprove the logic. The world is full of happy and unhappy inconsistencies. Christ says, indeed, “Who is not for me is against me,” but he says also, with the same right, “Who is not against me is for me.” It is the latter, and not the former truth which applies to the American state, as is manifest from its history down to the present time.

Our Constitution, as all free government, is based upon popular sov-

* “As the government of the United States of America is *not, in any sense, founded on the Christian religion*; as it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion or tranquility of Mussulmans; and as the United States never have entered into any war or act of hostility against any Mohammedan nation, it is declared by the parties, that no pretext arising from religious opinions shall ever produce an interruption of the harmony existing between the two countries. See *Index to Foreign Treaties, United States Statutes at large*, vol. viii.

† ἀνθρώπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον.

ereignty. This is a fact which no one can deny. But this fact by no means excludes the higher fact that all government and power on earth are of divine origin, dependent on God's will and responsible to him (Rom. xiii. 1). God can manifest his will through the voice of the people fully as well as through the election of princes or nobles, or through the accident of birth. In the ancient church even bishops (like Cyprian, Ambrose, Augustin) and popes (like Gregory the Great) were chosen by the people, and the *vox populi* was accepted as the *vox Dei*. When these come in conflict, we must obey God rather than man (Acts, iv. 29). All power, parental, civil, and ecclesiastical, is liable to abuse in the hands of sinful men, and if government commands us to act against conscience and right, disobedience, and, if necessary, revolution, becomes a necessity and a duty.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Philip Schaff". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the main text block.

KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE, OHIO

THEIR ADMISSION INTO THE UNION

It is remarkable that in various encyclopedias and histories, as well as in almanacs and other collections of government statistics, serious discrepancies should be found as to three of the first four states admitted into the Union. In the case of Kentucky and Tennessee the discrepancy concerns the governmental condition previous to their admission; in the case of Ohio it concerns the time of admission. Kentucky, according to some, was formed from a part of Virginia; according to others it was formed from the Territory of the United States south of the river Ohio. So Tennessee is said by some to have been formed from North Carolina, and by others, from the territory before mentioned. For Ohio a number of different dates of admission are given, extending from April 28, 1802, to March 3, 1803.

The Constitution provides that new states may be admitted by Congress, but a new state may not be formed within the jurisdiction of another state without the consent of its legislature. Vermont was the first new state admitted. As New York claimed that Vermont was within her boundaries, Congress made the consent of that state a condition of the admission of Vermont. That consent was given in 1790, and on the 18th of February, 1791, Congress passed an act admitting Vermont, to take effect the 4th of March. Vermont, therefore, is said to have been formed from a part of New York, and to have been admitted March 4, 1791.

On the 4th of February, 1791, Congress enacted that on the first day of June, 1792, Kentucky should be admitted into the Union. The act recites that on the 18th of December, 1789, "the legislature of Virginia consented that the district of Kentucky, within the jurisdiction of the said commonwealth, and according to its actual boundaries at the time of passing the act aforesaid, should be formed into a new state. This would seem to be sufficiently explicit. Virginia consents that a certain district *within her jurisdiction* may become a separate state, and Congress enacts that on a certain day the said district shall be admitted as a state into the Union. Yet in various official publications Kentucky is affirmed to have been a territory, or part of a territory, prior to her admission.

What territories had been organized up to that time? There were two; "The territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio," established by the celebrated ordinance of July 13, 1787, and "the territory of the United States south of the river Ohio," established May 26, 1790. These included all the public domain to which at that time the United States had undisputed title. If Kentucky ever existed in a territorial form, it must have been under the second of these.

Up to this time six states had made to the United States cessions of their claims to western territory. New York, whose claim extended from the lakes to the Cumberland Mountains, ceded in 1781, and without reservation. Virginia in 1784 ceded her claim on the north side of the Ohio, but not that on the south. Massachusetts made cession in 1785, and Connecticut in 1786; both claims lying north of the Ohio. In 1787 South Carolina ceded her claim to a narrow strip lying south of what is now Tennessee; and in 1790 North Carolina ceded her claim to the territory beyond the mountains west. Immediately after this cession, Congress established the Territory south of the river Ohio. It embraced the cessions made by the two Carolinas. Did it include Kentucky?

The only states that had laid claim to what is now Kentucky were New York and Virginia. Had they both ceded to the United States their claims to it, then Kentucky might have been regarded as part of the Territory south of the Ohio. New York had done this, but Virginia had not. Her cession had no reference to any land south of the Ohio. And before the act of May 26, 1790, creating that territory, had been passed, Congress had recognized Kentucky as a part of Virginia. In the judiciary act of 1789, Virginia was divided into two judicial districts: one to consist of the state of Virginia, except that part called the District of Kentucky, and to be called Virginia District; one to consist of the remaining part of the state of Virginia, and to be called Kentucky District. It seems clear then that Kentucky prior to its becoming a state was a part of Virginia, and was not a territory.

We find, nevertheless, in various works, including some published by the government, the assertion that Kentucky was a part of the Territory south of the river Ohio. In the Ninth Census Report, Volume I., on Population and Social Statistics, the map at page 570 puts Kentucky in the "Territory south of the river Ohio." So on page 573 the cession by Virginia is spoken of as "including the state of Kentucky and the parts of the states of Illinois, Ohio and Indiana which lie south of the Forty-first parallel." On page 575, under the heading, "The Territory South of the river Ohio," we read: "The district included the territory comprehended

in the present states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and the territory ceded to the United States by the state of South Carolina."

In the Tenth Census Report, Vol. I., Population, the map for 1790, facing page xii., puts Kentucky and Tennessee in the "Territory South of the river Ohio," just as was done in the other map referred to above. On page xiii. we read: "The States of Kentucky and Tennessee were then [1790] known as the Territory south of the Ohio river." And on page xiv., "During the decade just past [1790-1800] Vermont formed from a part of New York has been admitted to the Union; also Kentucky and Tennessee, formed from the 'Territory south of the river Ohio.'"

In "The Public Domain," printed as one of the House Miscellaneous Documents, 2d Session, 47th Congress, and brought down to January 1, 1884, the same statement is found. Thus, on page 86, under the heading *Area of State cessions to the United States*, we read: "The Virginia cessions were for all the territory west of the State of Pennsylvania, and northwest of the river Ohio and below the forty-first parallel of north latitude, and the area of the state of Kentucky south of the river Ohio and north of her southern boundary." The same is found in substance in other places of the volume. In some instances there is a qualification, as on page 162, "The territory of the United States south of the river Ohio was nominally bounded north by the river Ohio." And again "Kentucky nominally in this territory, was admitted into the Union, June 1, 1792." So page 421, "Kentucky was nominally in the Territory south of the river Ohio, but contained no public domain."

Perhaps the compiler of the volume "The Public Domain," and the compiler of the statistics of the Census Reports for 1870 and 1880, were misled by the designation of the territory created by the act of May 26, 1790. In our day an organized territory has a name as much as a state; it is Dakota, Washington, Montana. But the act of 1790 was "An Act for the government of the Territory of the United States south of the river Ohio," as the ordinance of 1787 was for the government of the territory northwest of that river. As the latter territory began at the Ohio and extended to the northwest, these compilers, and their predecessors probably, thought the Territory south of the river Ohio must stretch southward *from the river itself*. It is difficult to account in any other way for the statements quoted above, that Kentucky was a part of the Territory south of the river Ohio; statements which I trust have been shown to be directly contradictory to the facts of history. The use of the word "nominally" by the compiler of "Public Domain," in some of the passages referred to, shows that he was in doubt whether Kentucky belonged to the territory

or not. Hence in that work, as in the Census Report, there are contradictory statements. But truth is consistent and not contradictory. The action of Congress, that of the Virginia legislature, and that of the people of Kentucky show that Kentucky was never a part of any organized territory, but was regarded as an integral part of the state of Virginia till by the action of Congress it became a state, June 1, 1792.

The error as to Tennessee is of less frequent occurrence than the other, and in character it is the opposite of that as to Kentucky. Tennessee, which existed for some years as a territory, is sometimes asserted to have been formed into a state directly from a part of the state of North Carolina. But few words in addition to what has been said will be necessary to point out this error.

On the 25th of February, 1790, North Carolina made cession to the United States of her claim to the territory lying west of the mountains, which cession was accepted April 2, of that year. On the 26th of May following, Congress organized this, with the cession made by South Carolina in 1787, into a territory under the name of "the Territory of the United States south of the river Ohio." Of this territory William Blount was made governor, and held the office till Tennessee became a state in 1796. In 1795 a census was taken under the direction of the territorial legislature, and the population being found to amount to 60,000, the number which by the ordinance of 1787 and the deed of cession of North Carolina entitled the territory to admission into the Union, a convention was called to form a constitution. The convention met, and on the 6th of February adopted a constitution, which was forwarded to the general government with a notification that on the 28th of March the territorial government would end and the state government begin.

Congress evidently regarded this as the assumption of a right on the part of the territory which did not belong to it; but finally an act of admission was passed June 1, 1796, the last day of the session. The act recites that "Whereas by the acceptance of the deed of cession of the state of North Carolina, Congress are bound to lay out into one or more states, the territory thereby ceded to the United States: *Be it enacted*, etc., That the whole of the territory ceded to the United States by the state of North Carolina, shall be one state, etc., by the name and title of the state of Tennessee."

The condition of Tennessee previous to its becoming a state was thus that of a territory. Yet in various works, and in some regarded as of high authority, it is spoken of as having been formed from North Carolina, as

Vermont from New York, Maine from Massachusetts, and West Virginia from Virginia.

The same writers do not err as to both these states—Kentucky and Tennessee. Those that are wrong as to one are usually right as to the other. The error consists in classing them together in their origin. In the census reports both are said to have been territories; in the American Almanac both are said to have been formed from other states. Each authority is half right and half wrong.

In the case of Ohio the question is not one of government *status* previous to admission, but of the *date* of admission. When was Ohio admitted into the Union? Various dates are found in historical and statistical works, as April 28, April 30, June 30, November 29, 1802; February 19, March 1, and March 3, 1803. Why this diversity of date as to Ohio? For all the other new states acts or resolutions of admission were passed declaring the fact in express terms. Thus, "the said state, by the name and style of 'The State of Vermont,' shall be received and admitted into this Union." The same form in the case of Kentucky is used. For Louisiana and Indiana the language is, "The said state shall be one, and is hereby declared to be one of the United States of America," etc. In the case of Ohio there is no act of Congress declaring admission in these terms. The act which seems to take place of such a declaration is: "An act to provide for the due execution of the laws of the United States within the state of Ohio."

The various dates given above are mentioned incidentally. The *first* date, April 28, 1802, is in "Harris' Tour," pp. 91, 184. The *second*, April 30, is in a note in the "United States Statutes at Large," Vol I., p. ii. The editor gives in the note the dates of admission of all the new states. Of Ohio he says: "Ohio was established as a state of the Union by act of April, 1802." The *third*, June 30, appears in the Report of the Ninth Census, Vol. I., p. 575. The language is, "Ohio, by act of June 30th, 1802, formed as a state," etc. The *fourth* date, November 29, is given by Hickey in his edition of the Constitution. The *fifth*, February 19, 1803, is in the National Almanac, 1820, by Peter Force. Hildreth, in his History of the United States, seems to give March 1, as the date, which makes the *sixth*. In Walker's History of Athens county, Ohio, p. 141, we have the *seventh*, March 3, 1803. Some of these dates are often found, especially November 29, 1802, and February 19, 1803. For the first and third there seems to be absolutely no reason; though one is found in the Census Report for 1870, and the author of a biographi-

cal work published in 1886 regards the authority of Harris as conclusive for the date April 28, 1802: "To make the argument cumulative, the Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris shall be called as a witness."* On the 30th of June Congress was not in session, having adjourned nearly two months before. The 1st of March was the day on which the general assembly of Ohio met under the constitution, and on the 3d of March Congress passed an act assenting to certain propositions made by the convention regarding reservations of land.

In some works we find the two dates, April 30 and November 29, 1802, combined; the first being given as the date of the passage of the act of admission, and the second as the day on which it took effect. Thus Von Holst, in his "Constitutional Law of the United States," p. 33, says: "The twenty-five new states have been admitted in the following order: Kentucky, February 4th, 1791 (June 1st, 1792); Vermont, February 18th, 1791 (March 4th, 1791); Tennessee, June 1st, 1796; Ohio, April 30th, 1802 (November 29th, 1802);" etc. The dates in parentheses are those in which the acts of admission took effect.

There are strong objections to the arrangement of states followed by Von Holst and others. It is contrary to historical verity. It puts Kentucky first on the list of new states, whereas Vermont was, in fact, a state of the Union fifteen months before Kentucky. Nor is there any common principle of classification between the case of Vermont and that of Ohio in the list given above. For Vermont, Congress passes on a given day a definite and absolute act of admission, to take effect on a future specified day. For Ohio, Congress authorizes the formation of a constitution and state government, which must be republican, etc., which state shall be admitted at some future time. Between the two cases there is no likeness. A third principle of arrangement appears in the case of Indiana. On the 19th of April, 1816, an enabling act was passed: the convention met, formed a constitution, and on the 29th of June adjourned. The 19th of April and 29th of June, 1816, are for Indiana precisely what April 30 and November 29 are for Ohio; and on any correct principle of classification they should so appear in Von Holst's table of new states. But these two dates for Indiana are entirely ignored by him, and in place we find December 11, as the one date of admission. In his tabular list of new states Von Holst has followed one principle of classification for Vermont and Kentucky, another for Ohio, and a third for Indiana. One rarely finds a more palpable case of logical *cross-division*.

* Harris in a note refers to the act of Congress printed in the Appendix of his work. This act we find to be the enabling act of April 30, 1802. April 28 is manifestly a typographical error.

The question as to the admission of Ohio is between the dates November 29, 1802, and February 19, 1803. On the 30th of April, 1802, Congress passed "an act to enable the people of the eastern division of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states." The constitution was formed by a convention that met on the 1st and adjourned on the 29th of November of that year. Those who regard this last as the proper date of admission for Ohio hold that when the constitution was formed, and the work of the convention finished, Ohio ceased to be a territory and became a state. They base their opinion on the language of the enabling act. This authorized the people to form a constitution and state government, "and the said state, when formed, shall be admitted into the Union," etc. If Ohio became a state when the convention had finished its work, then after Congress has passed an enabling act for a territory it has nothing further to do. The people send delegates to the convention, a constitution is formed, the convention adjourns, and *presto*, a new state is in the Union.

The words "shall be admitted" in the enabling act must in that case be interpreted as equivalent to "shall become a state." No action of Congress in the way of *admitting* is thought necessary, but the territory comes in *sponte sua*. There happens to be a case in point. It is that of Tennessee already referred to. The people of the territory south of the Ohio were entitled to all the privileges granted by the ordinance of 1787. In that it was stipulated, whenever any division shall have 60,000 free inhabitants it "shall be admitted." The territorial legislature ordered a census to be taken, found the requisite number of inhabitants, formed a constitution and state government, and notified Congress that on the 28th of March Tennessee would become a state. The machinery of state government was immediately set in operation, and two United States senators were elected, who presented themselves with their credentials at Washington. Congress, however, thought differently. The Senate regarded the territorial proceedings as irregular, and voted that the preliminary measures be taken anew. Eventually the Senate yielded, and a bill to admit was passed the last day of the session. But no one in either house dreamed of regarding as final the action of the territory in making the 28th of March the date of transition from territory to state. While the right to be admitted was conceded, no one pretended that Tennessee could become a state without the consent of Congress. The language of Mr. Gallatin was, that if they had 60,000 free inhabitants "it became the duty of Congress to admit them into the Union whenever they had satisfactory proof of the fact."

Admission was thus to be accomplished through the agency of Congress, and after Congress had been satisfied that the requirements had been met. In the case of Tennessee, admitted before Ohio, and in that of every state admitted since, Congress has interpreted the words "shall be admitted" as meaning an admission by the action of that body subsequent to the formation of the state constitution. If Ohio is an exception, the reasons for so regarding it should be made clear beyond any possible doubt.

There is another point which deserves notice in this connection. In the enabling act for Ohio there is a proviso. A constitution and state government might be formed, "provided the same shall be republican, and not repugnant to the ordinance of July 13, 1787." Who is to say whether the constitution is republican, and in accord with the ordinance of 1787? The convention that frames it, or Congress that authorizes it and requires it to possess certain features? When, under this enabling act, the convention has formed a constitution, we should expect it to be at once reported to Congress, with whom is the sole power to admit, for examination. If the constitution is found to be republican and in accordance with the ordinance of 1787, the admission would naturally follow. But the difficulties in the way of regarding the state existence as beginning on the adjournment of the convention, before any report to Congress, and before any examination by that body of the constitution, are insuperable.

What took place after the adjournment of the convention November 29? The constitution, as we might expect, was laid before Congress. The first action was in the Senate January 7:

"*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to inquire whether any, and, if any, what, legislative measures may be necessary for admitting the state of Ohio into the Union, or for extending to that state the laws of the United States." On the 19th this committee made this report:

"That the people of the eastern division of the Territory northwest of the river Ohio, in pursuance of an act of Congress, passed on the 30th day of April, 1802, entitled 'An act to enable etc.' did on the 29th day of November, 1802, frame for themselves a constitution and state government. That the said constitution and government so formed is republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in the articles of the ordinance made on the 13th of July, 1787, for the government of the said Territory; and that it is now necessary to establish a district court within the said state, to carry into complete effect the laws of the United States, within the same." *

* This report is not found in the Annals of Congress, but was furnished me from the manuscripts in the Department of State.

Two days later the report was considered and the committee instructed to bring in a bill. This was done on the 27th; the bill was considered, amended, and passed February 7. It was passed by the House on the 12th, and approved by the President on the 19th. Its title is "An act to provide for the due execution of the laws of the United States within the state of Ohio." It was the first congressional act relating to Ohio since the convention, and it was a recognition of the new state by Congress. As such it takes the place of an act of admission in the usual form, and its date may be regarded as the date of the admission of Ohio. In the volume of *Charters and Constitutions* compiled by order of the Senate, and printed in 1877, it occupies the place which for every other state is occupied by the act of admission. The heading is "Act recognizing the State of Ohio—1803."

The Senate committee had reported the constitution republican and in accord with the ordinance of 1787, and there was nothing to prevent the recognition of the new state. In the case of Indiana the statement that the constitution and state government are republican and in accordance with the ordinance of 1787 is in the preamble of the resolution for admission, while in the case of Ohio it is in the report of the committee already quoted. The same investigation had been made in the two cases, and the same results had been reached. Congress had satisfied itself in each case as to the constitution before it would admit or recognize the state.

Thus far the act of February 19 has been considered simply as one of *recognition*. As the first relating to Ohio after the formation of the constitution in November, 1802, it has been regarded as a virtual act of admission, and as determining the date of the state. While believing the reasons for taking this date instead of November 29, 1802, to be amply sufficient, the argument may be greatly strengthened by considering the *subject-matter* of the act of February 19, 1803. Its title is "An act to provide for the due execution of the laws of the United States within the state of Ohio." The act declares "that the said state shall be one district, and be called the Ohio district; and a district court shall be held therein, to consist of one judge, who shall reside in the said district, and be called a district judge." It provides also for the appointment of a district-attorney and a marshal.

The judicial system of the United States consisted of three classes of courts: the supreme, the circuit, and the district. By the act of 1789, establishing the judicial courts, each state was made a district for judicial purposes; except that Maine and Kentucky, parts of other states, were made separate districts. But the United States judiciary system did not extend

to the territories. The Northwest Territory had its own courts. So has every territory established since. A citizen of a territory could not in 1789, as he cannot now, be a party to a suit in a United States court. When, therefore, the act of February 19, 1803, declared Ohio to be a district in the judiciary system of the United States, it declared it to be a state. The establishment of a district court in it, to take the place of the territorial court, transformed it from a territory into a state. Ohio could not be a judicial district of the United States and at the same time be a territory. The two things were absolutely incompatible.

At the opening of Congress, December 2, 1816, two senators from Indiana presented themselves, and their credentials were read. As already stated, a constitution and state government had been formed by the people of that territory the preceding June. When the credentials were read, Mr. Morrow, a senator from Ohio, moved the appointment of a committee, "to inquire whether any, and if any, what, legislative measures may be necessary for admitting the state of Indiana into the Union, or for extending to that state the laws of the United States." The resolution, it will be noticed, is couched in the identical words used as to Ohio fourteen years before. The committee reported on the 4th, and on the 6th a resolution was passed, "That the state of Indiana shall be one, and is hereby declared to be one, of the United States of America," etc. It was laid before the House the same day, read twice, and referred to the committee of the whole. Some members wished to take it up that day, considering the resolution as a matter of form merely; but others thought that "so solemn an act as pronouncing on the character and republican principles of a state constitution ought to be more deliberately considered." On the 9th the constitution was read through for the further information of the House, and its verification examined. The resolution was then read a third time and passed. It was approved on the 10th, and on the 12th the senators were sworn in and took their seats.

The identity of these two resolutions of inquiry could not have been accidental. Senator Morrow in 1816 introduced an exact copy of the resolution of 1803. Each resolution suggests a choice between two measures, the committees make the same inquiries, and, as a basis for legislative action, report the same condition of facts in the two cases—the constitution and government republican and in conformity to the ordinance of 1787—but in 1803 one of the two measures is proposed, and in 1816 the other. Why did Senator Morrow introduce a resolution with an alternative? Why not limit it to measures for admission? Unquestionably because the measures were equivalent. The end in view would be accomplished by

one as well as by the other. Had the Senate committee reported a bill to extend the laws of the United States to the state of Indiana, instead of a resolution of admission, and the bill had passed, the senators would have taken their seats just the same.

If the Senate Committee in January, 1803, had reported a resolution for the admission of Ohio, and the resolution had passed the two houses and received the approval of the President, no one doubts that the date of Ohio would thereby have been determined. The day of adjournment of the convention would have been no more thought of as the date, than the analogous date as to Indiana was in 1816. But the act of February 19, 1803, making Ohio a judicial district, was an act of equal potency with an act of admission. It accomplished all that the other could have accomplished in making Ohio a state. That the Senate of 1803 and that of 1816 regarded the alternative measures proposed for transforming a territory into a state as of exact equivalence, seems to admit of no doubt. A careful study of the proceedings of Congress connected with the admission of the first six new states leaves the clear conviction that the act of February 19, 1803, was one that made, and was intended to make, Ohio a state.*

* President Jefferson's nomination to the Senate of Griffin Greene and Joseph Wood, "of Marietta, in the Territory northwest of the river Ohio," January 11, 1803, and of Messrs. Byrd, Baldwin and Ziegler, "of the State of Ohio," March 1, 1803, while in harmony with the date February 19, 1803, is, of course, inexplicable with that of November 29, 1802. With the latter as the correct date, he would, indeed, have been guilty of a blunder greater than he was ever known to commit.

A certificate of marriage given by Rev. Daniel Story, of Marietta, "that Levi Barber (afterwards member of Congress) and Betsey Rouse, both of Washington County, Territory northwest of the river Ohio, were joined in the bonds of wedlock on the 15th of February, 1803," shows the opinion at Marietta. Mr. Story had, as parishioners, General Rufus Putnam and Benj. Ives Gihman, members of the Ohio constitutional convention; Paul Fearing, territorial delegate in Congress; and Colonel R. J. Meigs and W. R. Putnam, members of the territorial legislature.

Of like import is the letter of Edward Tiffin, president of the constitutional convention (afterwards governor of Ohio) written to the Senate in December, 1802, and dated at "Chillicothe, N. W. Territory."

Israel Ward Andrews.

DANIEL WEBSTER

Thirty-five years ago Daniel Webster uttered his last words: "I still live." They are memorable and typical words. It matters not whether they were simply the expression of a mere consciousness of existence, or a prophetic forecast of the permanence of his influence and fame in the country which he so powerfully contributed to establish on its foundations. In view of the events which preceded or have followed the life of the great statesman, we are able to see a profound significance in them.

Daniel Webster still lives, because the Constitution with which he was identified has survived the greatest shock that was capable of bringing it into jeopardy. He still lives, because he was one of the few who are appropriately called men of destiny. Every age has its brilliant minds, that make a stir in the little world in which they move, and are thought by their contemporaries, and perhaps by themselves, to be men of genius born to immortality; some of them, perhaps, are exceptionally gifted. But they are soon forgotten; we see that their careers were of narrow scope, their talents scarce above the average; they have been only so many additional units coming into the world according to certain general laws that regard not individuals, but only the aggregate of our common humanity. But from time to time, in important national or cosmic crises, men appear to whom the world naturally turns as the exponents of the demands of the age. By leadership or by suffering, these men tide mankind over a great crisis; willingly or unwillingly their lives mark milestones in the progress of the race. Epochs end and begin with them, whether in the province of thought or the sphere of action. In their appearance at the opportune moment, the world feels, if it does not always acknowledge, that they are the inspired heralds of the powers that control this planet; in a word, they are men of destiny. As such they must live.

Daniel Webster was a representative of one of the most critical and important periods in the history of our Republic, the central figure in a movement which began with the adoption of the Constitution by the states, and terminated with the surrender of Lee at Appomattox Court House, although the results are destined to continue during the term of our national existence.

In order thoroughly to understand the character and appreciate the work of Webster, it is essential to consider the nature of events, the shift-

ing of opinion, the consolidation of sections, and the final acceptance of the principles that developed his genius and identified him forever with the institutions of this great republic. He occupied the middle period of our history, and was its central figure, the leader who successfully foiled the very grave perils which threatened to dissipate our national existence—after Washington had launched the ship of State and Hamilton had equipped it for a prosperous voyage. Hardly was the good vessel out of port than she encountered a network of formidable and unexplored reefs. Webster was the skilled and intrepid pilot who steered her clear and taught our mariners the only sure way to navigate the precious craft intrusted to their care.

It was the great argument against Hayne—not only the greatest oratorical effort of Webster, but the most momentous oration since Demosthenes thrilled the soul of Greece on the plains of Athens—that taught to generations yet unborn the true significance of the compact into which the states of America had entered. The civil war of 1861 was simply the logical result of that speech on the Foote Resolutions. But for the clear understanding of the Constitution then presented by the tremendous genius of Webster, the Northern and Western states would never have offered such united opposition to secession, when the storm at first burst, and the border states would have given more hearty assent to the practical results of the teachings of Calhoun. We are able now to discern more clearly than his contemporaries the bearings of Webster's eloquence.

Webster had yet another mission to perform for his country, no less important, but far more painful and inglorious than the achievements of his colossal brain. Christ said to Peter, "Men shall carry thee whither thou wouldst not." A great principle is therein laid down, that the leaders in the world's progress must often undergo severe and involuntary suffering for the sake of accomplishing the destiny for which they were created. The very great height reached by Daniel Webster made the humiliation proportionally profound, when one of the mightiest intellects America has produced was pitted against a politician of diminutive proportions like Fillmore, and failed, after the utmost effort of his friends, in receiving more than 32 votes to Mr. Fillmore's 133 votes, not one vote being cast for him by a Southern delegate. It was necessary that the country should learn, from the treatment accorded to a man like Webster, the determination of the South, the fixed resolve, the inflexible purpose of the slaveocracy to rule without regard to whom they immolated on the altar of their Moloch. The blow which hastened the death of Mr. Webster opened the eyes of the North and strengthened the opposition of sections which he had so

earnestly labored to prevent during all his public career, but which had now become necessary if we were to have a republic of the free as well as surcease from destructive agitation. In the two pivotal events of his life, the culminating speech of 1830, whose majestic periods, whose burning flights of eloquence, whose clear and irresistible logic shall ring down all the ages, and the convention of 1852, when his lofty genius with trailing robes passed from the public arena through the valley of humiliation to the tomb, we see exemplified alike the leading traits of Mr. Webster's character and genius.

Tender he was: what father ever sorrowed more deeply as his children, one by one, left his side to lie under the daisies of Marshfield by the moaning waves of the gray Atlantic? What man of affairs ever displayed such pathetic regret for the lost partner of his youth? What man of the world, when allusion was made by a stranger to his brother buried across the seas, gave such tears to his memory? Yes, he was a man of pure sentiments, of deep and sincere emotions. His love went out to nature likewise; the cattle of the fields were among his friends; the sunset, the verdure of May, the sad russet of October, all appealed to his heart.

But it was a remarkable trait in his character that he carried his heart with him into public affairs. Men called him stern; the massive grandeur of his physical proportions, of his deportment, his look, his speech, led those who saw him only in his public character to conclude that he was cold, unrelenting, intellectually a monarch, but scant of blood as the bronze statue of him which stands before the State House at Boston. In view of the magnificent inspiration that fired his eloquence on so many patriotic occasions it seems difficult for us at this period to understand how such an opinion of him could have obtained; for as we read his speeches it requires little fancy to imagine that many of their most glowing passages, like strophes of a Greek chorus, could only have issued from one moved not only by intellectual resource, but also by vast vehemence, by Titanic emotion. No man without a heart as well as an imagination could have cast such a spell over Southron and Northman alike in the halls of the Capitol, or carried by storm the opposition of the vast audience which he encountered in 1842 in Faneuil Hall.

The leading quality of Mr. Webster's mind and character was patriotism. But what is patriotism without heart? For over thirty years he was the impersonation of the national spirit. "There are no Alleghanies in my politics," he said. There was no North nor South, no East nor West to him, but one country, one constitution, one flag! When shall we see his like again? God knows we need such patriots now.

Yes, he loved his country with all the fervor of a great nature; it was the ruling principle of his life; it was for this he won imperishable renown and suffered the keenest anguish. Conservative by nature, this quality grew stronger as he advanced in years, a frequent occurrence with men. So great was his dread of aught that threatened the existence and unity of his beloved land, that the same motive which led him to withstand nullification and Calhoun, led him, in the closing years of his life, to adopt a course with regard to the South which was painfully misunderstood, owing to the heated passions of the time. Friends forsook him, the press poured on his name its deadliest venom, and a cloud shadowed his reputation which has not yet entirely passed away.

Although few would deny at the present time that Mr. Webster committed a grave error of judgment at that point in his career, yet the more his character is analyzed the more evident does it appear that the motives which were paramount in his mind were unselfish and patriotic. That he was ambitious to see his great achievements crowned by the bestowal of the highest office in the gift of the people there is no doubt; and who shall blame him? It is not the ambition that is to be deprecated, but the methods often taken to gratify it, and the effect produced on the character of the aspirant, if he fails to appreciate the actual worth of this brief honor. His great disappointment, after the final failure to receive a nomination, arose from the fact that he had not yet discerned, what a century of elections has demonstrated, that the Presidency is like a hereditary dynasty in the matter of the distribution of ability. History shows us that the founders of a dynasty are invariably men of exceptional ability. At different periods their successors are, according to the demands of a period, men of merely average or even mediocre qualities, or of commanding talents, this alternation of ability continuing from age to age. If the extremes of intellectual and moral force and weakness are less marked in the Presidential succession, nevertheless the same law has placed in the White House some of the greatest minds that have appeared in the arena of American politics, and some of the smallest. So clearly has this now been shown to be a law alike with presidents as with kings, that no aspirant to that exalted position need suffer mortification at exclusion, nor, on the other hand, can any incumbent find cause for over-elation in view of the fact that among his predecessors he may find those whose elevation is a puzzle to men of faith, and a cause of cynicism to pessimists.

Daniel Webster was so far the intellectual superior of every President who held office during his long career, that it was no disgrace for him to fail

of the Presidency ; the honor was of little moment if wrung from a generation that preferred them to him. During that period, excepting when Jackson paraded at the capital in fustian and feathers much as Mills has exhibited him in his terrible equestrian statue, there was no concatenation of events that would have given Webster half the opportunity to acquire genuine fame, half the scope for the exercise of his extraordinary powers that he found in the positions he actually held with such admirable skill and such permanent results.

But granting with his enemies that Webster had ambition, "that last infirmity of noble minds," it does not follow that his apparent abdication to the South was wholly inspired by this ambition. The most prominent trait of Webster's character was his conservatism. He was not aggressive or actively progressive. His mind was satisfied with the actual. As a statesman he was far-seeing, it is true, but during his day it was not radical measures that were required, but the full and general acceptance of the Constitution and the laws, of adapting and applying them to circumstances as they should arise ; and yet already the country was divided into parties of extremists, who only agreed when they combined to impugn the patriotism and attack the sincerity of that class of men who by temperament are naturally opposed to radical changes, and prefer to leave something to the modifying influences of time. To the latter class Webster emphatically belonged ; with him the love of the entire country was what religion is to a devotee—it was a cult that grew with increasing age. Everywhere, on all occasions for fifty years, that was the burden of his public utterances. On the lake, before his mansion at Marshfield, a boat was anchored expressly that he might ever see before him the flag he loved waving from its mast ; in his last sickness, a lantern was attached to the mast in order that he might still see the flag from his bedside as death gradually approached. Why more than his contemporaries Webster should have been so moved by a glow of patriotism we know not, unless we accept the theory that it was his mission to foster the national spirit in a community already so torn by centrifugal forces that it was in danger of extinction. Therefore we say that Webster was moved by something more than ambition when he appeared to change his political course in 1842, and continued to fall away from his political friends and party until death closed one of the saddest episodes in our political history. His dread of disunion, his hope that time would suggest a remedy, kept him stationary, while the country he had helped to establish moved on to accomplish its manifest destiny. Regrets we may justly award him, but now that the passions of that period are over, and

that the entire country accepts his interpretation of the Constitution, he must have imperfectly studied the career of the great expounder who in calling him unfortunate would add the epithet insincere.

The same observations apply to estimates of Mr. Webster's religious beliefs. In our day there are many who find it difficult to understand how a mind so logical, so acute, so clear, could have exhibited such a profound and often reiterated faith in what is termed revealed religion. That he had his doubts is evident. But his conservative spirit was again displayed in this case; he could not depart intellectually from the principles imbibed with his native air on the New Hampshire hills, however his practice might sometimes have been at variance with them.

And this leads us to allude to the failings of his moral nature. Greatly exaggerated as they have been, the fact yet remains that Mr. Webster's intellect outweighed proportionately the moral side of his character. As a companion, genial and winning, tender in all his domestic relations, his social intercourse warmed by a sense of humor free from malice, dignified with his equals, not condescending to his inferiors, he added to these admirable social traits a modesty that is rare among minds of his calibre. Unlike Mr. Gladstone, he did not strongly assert himself in his own house, he did not frown on those who ventured to differ with him in opinion, he did not "talk shop," he shrunk from discussing the events in which he had taken so prominent a part, not that he was unconscious of them—his ability and his achievements; he could not but be aware of his power and position. As Cæsar bade the seamen in a storm lay aside alarm, for they carried Cæsar, so Webster, after addressing his family on his deathbed, asked, with deep earnestness: "Have I, on this occasion, said anything unworthy of Daniel Webster?" Did not that sentiment show him to be one of the greatest among the intellectual kings of the earth? And yet this very pride made him unwilling to parade his attainments, and his modesty led him to avoid offensive assertion of his personality in the peaceful domesticity of home. But they tell us that this great man's career was stained by serious blemishes; for these some of his friends fell away from him, and some of his colleagues, carried away by partisan bitterness, sought to impeach him. Yet they are now forgotten, while he "still lives." The perfect man has not yet come; the character equally well balanced has not yet walked this earth. The perfect man would be useless here, for he would be outside of human sympathy. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin." Washington ought not to have dropped an oath at Monmouth; but the fact that he did, undoubtedly helped him to the Presidency. Not that men approved the oath, but they

who thought him cold, or gazing down on the baser herd from aristocratic heights, saw in this act evidence that a human heart beat under his uniform and warmed that stately mien. Per contra, if a man of genius has too much "human nature," people say "no man is a hero to his valet." If this means anything, it means that the valet, and the world with him, have not discovered that a great man is simply a man, always a mere man, *plus the genius or the moral grandeur*. They assume because he has human traits, or foibles, or weaknesses, because he is not free from them like a statue, or does not show his wings in this life, that he is exactly on the same level with themselves. The world of mediocrity goes on piously turning up the whites of the eyes and gloating on the errors of great men, while repeating with "damnable iteration," that "no man is a hero to his valet."

Granting, then, that Webster was human in his weaknesses, we still maintain that such stress should not be laid on them as to blind us to the incalculable services he rendered to every American citizen as long as this Republic shall endure. Of the most prominent defect in the character of Webster—his apparent inability to care for his personal accounts and appreciate the value of pecuniary obligations—it may be urged in palliation that the capitalists of this country should be the last to condemn him. No class of the community benefited more by his services, in financial as well as constitutional questions. It was they who induced him to enter political life; it was they who repeatedly persuaded him to remain in public life when the state of his finances inclined him to return to the practice of a lucrative profession. Aside from the fact that he had no private fortune, while our parsimonious government and our people expect much expenditure from our public servants, in excess of the meager salaries allowed, men of business should remember that business is their vocation; to fail in that is to write down their life a failure. It no more follows because they succeed as financiers that they would succeed as statesmen, as artists, as authors, as scientists, than that the latter would succeed as financiers. While all are of importance to the welfare of the state, capitalists ask too much when they expect a man whose genius is devoted to giving new thought and impulse to his country and his race, to find time and strength to be sufficiently painstaking in pecuniary matters for his own interests; and if his affairs become involved, it should be considered a misfortune rather than a misdemeanor. William Pitt, one of the greatest of ministers of finance, was hopelessly in debt. Is that to be imputed to him as a crime by his countrymen, who profited by the prodigious exertions of his patriotic genius?

We go a step further, and assert that moneyed men who are always in funds to donate to public institutions, ostentatious charities, cathedral windows, and the like, should remember that they benefit the public quite as much when, in a private way, they assist the thinkers. Nor should it be held against such thought-workers if they so accept such attempts to lighten their struggles. Without expressing an opinion as to what extent Mr. Webster was in error in this matter, it is safe to say that none of the men of wealth who aided him in his pecuniary difficulties are likely to be the losers by the transaction either in this world or the next.

The fair fame of great men and public benefactors is among the noblest treasures of a nation. To sully their reputation without sufficient reason is akin to a crime. He who lightly does it for mere party purposes, or from unfairness in considering the relations of things, is an enemy to his country. Let us combat our political foes by attacking their principles if need be, but to resort to personal attacks, or to seek victory through the filthy paths of slander, is a course unfit for patriots and men of virtue or self-respect. It is, alas, one of the sorest evils to which a democratic form of government is liable, until men sometimes come to despair of the existence of public virtue, public spirit, gratitude, or patriotism in the land.

In those features of Webster's character hitherto considered, we have found that his mind and heart worked together. In his purely intellectual traits, on the other hand, we discover an affluence of resource and power granted to no other American born since the Declaration of Independence. As an orator he stands confessedly at the head of the American rostrum ; this gift alone would have given him immortality. The fame of Whitfield rests entirely on his oratorical genius ; his published sermons show a mind below mediocrity. But Webster's speeches read with a clearness, an argumentative force, a grasp of thought, a magnificence of style, that indicate unusual intellectual powers. In his time Webster stood at the head of the American Bar ; as a lawyer he was the peer of Jeremiah Mason. The cases he argued and won are among the most remarkable of the century. In his legal arguments he exhibited a power to deal with details, and to search out and win on the essential points of a case, while displaying great fairness in considering both sides of the argument. His fame was secure both as an orator and a lawyer when Destiny summoned him to display yet another phase of his many-sided genius in the councils of the nation. We have had many orators, many great lawyers and jurists, but very few statesmen of the first order, or for that matter of any degree of merit ; politicians in abundance, but rarely statesmen. Among those characters who have achieved that high eminence, Daniel Webster occupies no second place.

In the Senate, inspired by a patriotism above party, he led as a mind well balanced, firm, but not aggressive, thoroughly appreciating the principles of popular government, and until his later years, discerning with unerring clearness the future results of present measures. If at the bar he had shown a keen ability to master details, in the Senate his power took a more massive expression; his eye glanced over a wider field. He dealt with questions of public policy as Michael Angelo treated the marble out of which he summoned his statue of Moses, with the energy and breadth of a genius that only finds adequate expression when handling great subjects. The mind of Webster reveled in problems of state before which the average man stood baffled. His majestic form, his eagle eye, his soaring intellect, only assumed the most harmonious expression when the nation was listening to catch its destiny from his lips.

In the Department of State, Webster showed the same breadth in dealing with public questions, as well as the adroitness of the trained diplomatist. He could wrest a treaty from England which Lord Palmerston declared was a disgrace to British diplomacy; he could evade the perplexing difficulties suggested by a delicate point of etiquette with the graceful facility of one who had been trained in the Machiavellian school of St. Petersburg, while, if need required, he could shake the crown of the Hapsburgs with dispatches. It makes one long to see him again in our councils of State, asserting the rights of our citizens and country, before the arrogant pretensions of foreign cabinets.

Such was Daniel Webster. What need was there to add to his regal endowments a seat in the White House? He would have been merely one more of a list of Presidents of exceedingly various complexion; now he rises before us as an orator, a lawyer, a statesman, and a patriot equalled by few and surpassed by none this country has produced.

The problem he sought to adjust has been solved; new problems now confront us—problems of far deeper significance and moment than such purely economic, hypothetical and temporary questions as protection and free trade. We refer to the equitable adjustment of the relations of labor and capital, and the question of controlling the swarming multitudes who bring the ignorance, squalor, and anarchy of the old world to the new, not sectional but national, and cast their ill-considered ballots with those of the intelligent freemen of the West. Where is the statesman—far-seeing, equitable, and patriotic, not sectional but national—who shall arise to the solution of such problems, and emulate the patriotic genius of Daniel Webster?

S. G. W. Benjamin

HISTORICAL GROUPING

Not far from where I am now standing, a grateful city has erected a stately monument to its soldiers and sailors who died in the late civil war. This monument was erected about fifteen years after the war was over. At the base from which rises its pure granite shaft, may be seen bas-reliefs in bronze, one for each side, which depict appropriate scenes, with portraits to recall the heroic men who bore part in them. One of these metallic studies idealizes the departure of a Massachusetts regiment, in 1861, for the seat of war. How often do I recall that scene, as I many times witnessed it in impressible youth! Most fitly, the artist's central figure is that of our immortal war governor, John A. Andrew. But among the images grouped about him, that of the man is absent who, next to the governor himself, bore the chief part in organizing and dispatching our state troops, and whose face was scarcely less familiar to our Massachusetts soldiers, whether departing or returning. Others historically associated with such scenes are wanting; while among the embossed likenesses more or less appropriate, which are here preserved for posterity, one is that of a distinguished citizen who in 1861 was crying down war, and urging that Southern states be permitted to secede in peace; another likeness recalls a son honored here indeed, years later, but who, through this whole period of fraternal strife, resided in a far distant state and city. I do not bring up this circumstance for reproach, but because it fitly introduces and illustrates the point to which I wish briefly to direct your attention. My subject is Historical Grouping, or what, perhaps, I might better style *historical background*. Whatever memorable scene of the past it may be the function of historian or historical painter to recall, he should delineate with scrupulous fidelity to truth the lesser as well as the greater surroundings; his canvas should group those together, and only those, who were actually related to the event and worked out in unison the great event. Two chief considerations enforce this duty: (1) That in the mad zeal of our modern age for present and future, the past is easily overlaid and obliterated; (2) That while Fame takes decent care of her chief hero, of the actor most responsible, she easily neglects the subordinates, however indispensable their parts might have been. "Set me down as I am," is the common appeal of patriots of every rank to posterity and the impartial historian; and the true relation to the event which the scholar must consider is not that of

one individual, but of many, in the nicely graded proportion of foreground and background.

The Chief Executive, the warlike commander, the great personification of his time, him we follow with the eye; we discuss and re-discuss his achievements; we analyze his motives, his traits, over and over, even until we obscure them by our own ingenuity; we study his individual growth from infancy up, anxious to discover in a single brain, if we may, the seed which must have germinated in other minds and dispersed results to germinate again and still more widely, before the perfect flower and perfect opportunity could possibly have bloomed. The great hero of the age is still, as ever, the man most responsible for what was successfully accomplished; yet what hero ever achieved a great success, except by happily combining the wisdom, skill and valor of others whose ideas, whose lives were intertwined with his own, and by bringing this whole subordinate force to bear properly upon the occasion? Let us look, more particularly to the manifold influences and counter influences which work out the great problems of an age and republican system like our own. The public movements of American society in the present century are not accomplished without the combined force of elements more or less hidden from the casual vision, which in a large degree are coequal. The scholar, the recluse philosopher, the poet, the orator, the editor, the teacher, the legislator, the statesman, gives each an impulse and direction to affairs far greater, in normal times, than the professional warrior. Nor is it the individual mind that sways American politics, but rather the majority or average mind, the mind that has been brought by toilsome precept and discipline to the point of earnest conviction. History has its leaders still; but the leader who unites the highest expression of thought and action rarely appears in the modern days; our foremost administrator is apt to be more vigorous than original, and in this country, at least, we look no longer for the autocrat, the warrior chief, who plans conquest and drains his people that he may march an army whithersoever he will. A further thought arises in this connection: namely, that the reputation once achieved has now no sure bulwark to protect it. The sacrificial days are over. The people observe no longer the calendar of their demi-gods. Ulysses cannot reckon upon offices of tenderness, when he is gone, from his blameless Telemachus. So great and so constant becomes the pressure and counter pressure of ideas in our modern life, that civilization seems to wear into the solid land itself, like some turbulent torrent, washing away at one bank and bringing down alluvium at another. The past, with its traditions and examples, is ignored; not that we mean to falsify, but that we are in-

different to it; novelties absorb the present attention; the son cavils at the faults and limitations of the father; and in this headlong and incessant push and jostle of men, parties and ideas, it is not enough for fame that a man filled well the measure of his own age, if a new age requires new measures.

Such being our present situation, in place of the few ambitious great, we find the scope fast enlarging for the many men and their petty and manifold ambitions. And no easier or cheaper means of gratifying a petty ambition can be found than in clustering about the leaders who have gained recognition and come into fashion, buzzing at their ears, and borrowing somewhat of the luster and prestige of good neighborhood. Of the deserving recipients of applause some die late, some early; all do not leave their papers sorted and ready for posterity to judge of their own admitted inspiration. Here, then, is the opportunity for the parasite, the flatterer, the eleventh-hour convert, indeed for all survivors who can grasp the key of the situation for themselves and their friends, to work seasonably upon the platform and into the conspicuous background, when the artist appears: just as loiterers elsewhere insinuate themselves into a group when they see the camera mounted. The picture is taken and placed on exhibition for the admiration of posterity. Who are not friends, who are not enthusiasts, when the man, the cause, has triumphed? And as for the artist whose handicraft was thus employed, why should he be less susceptible to the kindness of benefactors, than the great masters into whose immortal paintings of Saints and Martyrs, and of the Holy Family itself, were introduced the portraits of their own patron bishops and duchesses?

Against all this false grouping for historical effect, wherever it may be found, this sordid commingling of souls noble and ignoble, this separation of the acknowledged leader from the associations which combined to produce his great action, and gave him strength, dignity and sympathy at the momentous opportunity, I invoke the justice, the scholarship and the incorruptible honor of the historian. Let him take his impartial stand among bygone men and events, and, so far as in him lies, reproduce the past as it was. Let him extricate reputations from the dust of oblivion and cunning entanglements, and award posthumous honors anew without fear or favor. Let him observe the laws of perspective, and bring foreground and background into their just and harmonious relation. Let him distinguish scrupulously between the recognition which follows success

and that rarer sort which precedes it in the day of personal sacrifice. And in order to do all this, let him not trust too closely to epitaphs placed on tombstones of the dead by the immediate survivors, nor to effigies bronze or brazen; for much depends upon the bias and worldly hopes of the men who set them in position. To rescue history from the age most dangerous because most likely to pervert its truth, and yet at the same time, the age most plausible in its expression—that age I mean which next succeeds the event—should command one's diligent effort. For every epoch is best read and explained by its own light, by its own contemporaneous record; and every other record ought to be held but secondary and subservient in comparison by the student who searches for the real truth of events. This last observation may be thought a trite one: but I am well convinced that it is at the very foundation of historical study and criticism, such as a society like ours ought to practice and inculcate.

James Schouler.

[This valuable paper was read before the American Historical Association at its Boston meeting, May 23, 1887.—EDITOR.]

TWO LETTERS OF HORATIO GREENOUGH

POETRY EMBODIED IN MARBLE

(A Fragment of History of American Art)

The recent publication of *Letters of Horatio Greenough* reminded me that I have several letters of this distinguished American sculptor, relative to two of his works ordered by me many years ago, and still in my possession, but which have never been known to the public as they deserved. My order is briefly alluded to on page 121 of the volume above referred to. These two works are believed to have been regarded by the artist himself as among his best. The "Abdiel" is an embodiment of Milton's lines (*Paradise Lost*, v. 896-907):

"So spake the seraph Abdiel, faithful found,
Among the faithless faithful only he ;
Among innumerable false unmov'd,
Unshaken, uneduc'd, untterrify'd,
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal ;
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From amidst them forth he pass'd,
Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustain'd
Superior . . ."

Mr. Greenough had long meditated on the subject, and desired to put it into marble. The statue unites the expression of tender compassion with just indignation in a very remarkable manner, recalling to me a similar blending of contrasts in Greenough's head of Satan, which I once saw at his brother's house in Cambridge ; formal beauty being, in this latter case, blended with intense ugliness of expression. The "Abdiel" is also remarkable for its giving no sense of littleness, though of less than life size. The bas-relief is a happy realization of the vision which the beloved apostle had of the angel of the Revelation (xxii. 8-10), whose superhuman dignity prompted him to adoration, but, proving to be that of a nature like his own ("I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets"), changes his first feeling to pleased surprise, still touched with awe. The

"Aristides" referred to in one of the letters is a fine copy, by Mr. Greenough, of the celebrated antique in the Museo Borbonico at Naples.

With this brief note, by way of introduction, the letters are here presented.

Edwin Elbridge Salisbury

NEW HAVEN, August 26, 1887.

"Florence Jan'y 30 1838."

E. E. Salisbury Esq'—

I was much pleased by the suggestions of your letter of the — and shall adopt them entirely in the plan of the bas-relief. I propose to give the figures 18 inches height—the form of the bas-relief will probably be a square. To convey the full force of the expression you desire is not easy, and I will own to you that I fear I shall disappoint you—still I will do my utmost.

The statue of Abdiel I have long contemplated modelling for myself. . . . If we make it less than life it cannot be larger than three feet without having a dwarfish appearance. . . . I have come to a point in the exercise of my art when it is necessary that I should rather seek to perfect a few works than to despatch many. . . . It is impossible for me to promise at what time this work would be completed, unless I should learn whether the Government has chosen me to make one of the great groups for the staircase of the Capitol. If such be the case, I should require at least three years, as I could give only a portion of my time to the model.

With respectful regards to Mrs. Salisbury,

Believe me Dear Sir,

Yours truly,

Horatio Greenough"

"Florence April 28 1839."

E. E. Salisbury Esq'—

My dear Sir.

For answer to your inquiries respecting the actual state of the works I have on hand for you, I have the satisfaction to inform you that the Abdiel is entirely out in the marble, and that it is free from stain, or vein, or any blemish whatever, and, as there is not in any part of it a thickness of more than $\frac{1}{10}$ of an inch over the ultimate surface, I feel safe in assuring

you that you will have every reason to be satisfied on that score. The bas-relief waits only for the blocker to be free from the Abdiel to commence that also. I hope to finish both in the course of the summer. Had I been able to procure another rough-blocker, I should have been far advanced in the bas-relief. You perhaps will be surprised when I tell you that the bas-relief has cost me more time, and a greater expense of models, in short a greater outlay, than the Abdiel—yet such is the fact. . . . Yet I have done it willingly and cheerfully, and have twice modelled it entirely, with a view of perfecting it as far as lay in my power. As you are the first American gentleman who has ever ordered a bas-relief, it is but right that you should enjoy the benefit of taking the sharp edge off my curiosity and eagerness to sculpture one. The statue of Aristides is much admired, it is also free from stain. . . . Accept my thanks for your delicacy in not hurrying me in the completion of these works. Believe that I shall be unremitting in my attention to them, and that they will be a sample of what I can do. Called on, as we daily are, to choose between speed and safety, an honest name hereafter and the approval of our own conscience, or gain and the temporary approval of our employers—it is a great comfort to be *encouraged* to *obey* rather the dictates of the art than the suggestions of a mere mercantile punctuality. I wish it were once well known that no man can state how long he will be employed in embodying poetry in marble—we should be saved much mortification, and our friends some disappointment.

I am about commencing a colossal group by order of the U. S. Gov^t, to be placed on one of the blocks which flank the great staircase on the east Front of the Capitol. The group is intended to commemorate the danger of our first contact with the Aborigines, and I think is susceptible of great dramatic interest, as of great variety of form and character and expression. I remain Dear Sir

Your obliged Friend and Serv^t

Horatio Greenough "

E. E. Salisbury Esqr
London

GENERAL STERLING PRICE

THE NEW MEXICO INSURRECTION—1846-47

A grand figure—probably the grandest next to Benton—in the history of Missouri is that of General Sterling Price, who played a leading part in the early organization of New Mexico, and became, fifteen years later, a prominent commander in the armies of the Southern Confederacy. He now rests beneath the soil of his dearly beloved native state, Missouri, where his former comrades in arms—many of them the aged survivors of two wars in which he distinguished himself—are preparing to erect a suitable monument to his memory.*

General Price, gentle and kind though he was, possessed a heart filled with all the fire and ambition of a soldier, and the zeal of a true patriot, and little to his taste was the peaceful command of the United States forces in the territory of New Mexico in the summer of 1846. He had resigned his seat in the national Congress that he might take part in the active service of punishing the insolent Mexicans for their insults to the American flag and people, and the depredations committed by them on American soil. His first ambition had been the conquest of California, and his second to invade Chihuahua; but in the former General Kearny superseded him, while General Alexander W. Doniphan, the eminent soldier-statesman of Missouri, who has but recently been carried to the grave, with the universal sorrow of his adopted state, had been sent on the latter expedition;† leaving General Price, with his Missouri volunteers, to guard Governor Bent's affairs in the territory of New Mexico.

Fortune, however, turned in his favor, and an insurrection in the territory afforded him and his men an opportunity to render service of value to



GENERAL STERLING PRICE

* The writer is one of the Vice-Presidents of the Price Monument Association of Missouri. The first year of the work of the Association has just been successfully completed.

† See sketch of General Doniphan, in *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, vol. xiii., 187.

their country, and of great importance to the successful prosecution of the war with Mexico. A conspiracy, headed by the Mexican Generals Ortiz, Lafaya, Chevez, and Montoya, and supported by the leading Mexicans of the territory, was formed for the overthrow of the American government at Santa Fe, and the re-instatement of Mexican authority. Their plan was for a general uprising throughout the territory, and on December 19, 1846, to fall upon the unsuspecting American soldiers and settlers and massacre them, capture and put to death Governor Bent and his officers, and organize a local government for themselves, acknowledging allegiance only to the Mexican government. Their plans were singularly frustrated for the time being: a Spanish mulatto servant girl overheard the leaders in consultation, and conveyed the intelligence to General Price, who, although scarcely crediting her story of so horrible a plot, sent messengers of warning to each post of soldiers in the territory.

The conspirators remained quiet until the alarm and suspicions of the Americans had fully subsided, and then by a bold stroke began the work of executing their bloody plot. Governor Bent, accompanied by five of the principal officers of the territorial government, was surprised and captured while sojourning at Arroyo Hondo, and the entire party foully murdered by Mexicans, on January 19, 1847; and four American traders at El Moro, and two on the Colorado River, were brutally killed the same day.

The insurgents now hastily gathered their forces at La Canada, a point on the Taos road about twenty miles northwest from Santa Fe, intending to march upon and reduce the capital. The Mexican army at this point numbered two thousand or more, and General Price, with some four hundred men and a few pieces of artillery, went out to meet and engage them in battle, which he did, with successful result. On the approach of General Price, the Mexican forces took a strong position on a high hill, and the general, finding he could not dislodge them with his light artillery, ordered Captains Wood and Augney to charge the hill with their companies of Platte and Cole County volunteers, which they did most gallantly, routing the enemy and winning the field for the United States forces. A large part of the credit of this victory is given, by his contemporaries, to Captain J. S. Wood, of Platte County, Missouri, whose company led in the charge. General Price himself said of it: "The charge at La Canada was one of the most gallant achievements in the Mexican war."

This first battle virtually decided the fate of the insurrection; several unimportant engagements were fought after this—the Americans being easily successful on every occasion—until the storming and capture of Fort Pueblo de Taos, where the greater part of the insurgent forces had taken

refuge, ended the short but sanguinary war. During the assault upon this strong fortification, the brave Missourians cut their way through the adobe walls of the fort with crow-bars, axes, and picks, and killed or made prisoners the entire garrison. The fort was admirably constructed for defense, especially against the Indians, who were fierce and warlike in that locality, and was claimed at the time of this battle to be more than a hundred years old. Inside the enclosure was a cathedral, one wall of which, for the first story, was formed by a part of one of the walls of the fort. Entrance to the fort was effected by the soldiers of General Price by cutting through the outer wall into the cathedral, whence an easy passage was gained to the court-yard and into the citadel. At an early stage of the attack, Captain Burgwin, a brave American officer, with a handful of his men, scaled the wall into the fort by means of rope ladders, but were fiercely attacked and driven back; the men all escaped, some of them severely wounded, but the daring captain was instantly killed inside the fort, and his body was not recovered until after the capitulation of the Mexican garrison.

On the evening of February 4, 1847, the Mexicans surrendered the fort and its occupants, and gave up their leaders to be prosecuted for the murder of Governor Bent and the other territorial officers. The New Mexican insurrection was now at an end, and several of the leaders were tried by the civil courts at Santa Fe, convicted, sentenced, and hanged for the murders in which they had participated. The total losses of the insurgents, in all engagements, were two hundred and eighty-two killed, and about fifteen hundred prisoners; while the loss to General Price's forces was fifteen killed and forty-seven wounded. The number of Mexicans and Indians wounded has never been ascertained.

General Price returned to Santa Fe after the reduction of Taos, and resumed the civil and military government of the territory, and continued to exercise it undisturbed, except by the numerous depredations of bands of Mexican and Indian thieves, until the close of the war with Mexico. He assisted in formulating the territorial laws, and by his uniform kindness and justice pacified the larger portion of the native population, placed the American colonization of the country on a firm footing, leaving the territory in the prosperous condition it has ever since maintained.

A large, stylized handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "William A. Wood". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent, sweeping underline that extends across the width of the text.

KINGSTON, MISSOURI.

THE FIRST REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK



IN May, 1886, the edifice of the First Reformed Dutch Church standing on Joralemon Street, in the rear of the City Hall, Brooklyn, was demolished. Thus disappeared an interesting historical link which connected the present with the earliest history of Dutch churches on Long Island.

In a paper prepared in 1834 by General Jeremiah Johnson, to place under the corner-stone of this structure, it was said: "From tradition we learn that a place for divine worship was prepared before the first church was built, in the stone foundation of a fort which had been erected to protect the earlier settlers against the Indians." In 1654 Rev. Johannes Theodorus Polhemus came from Ithamarca, in Brazil, where he had been laboring as a missionary, and became the pastor of the churches in Brooklyn, Flatbush, and Flatlands. The Brooklyn people, however, were not satisfied with this arrangement, and in 1658 requested from the Classis of Amsterdam a good Dutch preacher. Accordingly, Rev. Henricus Selyns was sent to them. On his arrival in the summer of 1660, Governor Stuyvesant deputed Nicasius de Sille and Martin Cregier to introduce him to his congregation.

Honorable Dearly Beloved—This short and open letter serves only as an introduction to the bearer, the Rev D^r Henricus Selyns, by the Government of Amsterdam at your request he having accepted the calling of the preacher and all other duties depending thereon in the village of Breukelen. We recommend you to receive him affectionately, and keep in respect, honor, and love; to attend with diligence the services he will conduct; to procure him according to your promise decent and comfortable lodgings, so as to honor God in His service, and prepare you more and more for eternal happiness, for which God alone will grant His blessing. I close in recommending you one and all in Gods care and protection and remain

Your well wishing friend & Governor P STUYVESANT

Dominie Selyns then read a testimonial from the clergymen of Amsterdam, and preached his inaugural sermon. The church had twenty members, inclusive of one elder and two deacons. They had as yet, however, no church edifice. Dominie Selyns, in his letter to the Classis of New Amsterdam, dated October 4, 1660, says: "We do not preach in a church, but in a barn." The building of a place of worship, however, must have followed soon after this. The next season Dominie Selyns married a beautiful and gifted young woman in New Amsterdam, whose portrait he has handed down to posterity in a charming little birthday ode. The church is described as a large, square edifice, with solid and very thick walls, plastered and whitewashed on every side up to the eaves. The roof ascended to a peak in the center and was capped with an open belfry. The windows were small, and placed six feet from the floor. They contained stained glass brought from Holland, representing vines loaded with flowers. The interior of the building was thus rendered so dark that it was impossible to see to read in it after 4 P. M. The two Labadist travelers who visited Long Island in 1679 speak in their journal of this church as "a small and ugly little church standing in the middle of the road."

Dominie Selyns returned to Holland at the expiration of his engagement, and Charles Debevoise, the village schoolmaster, read prayer and a sermon from some approved author for a time. Rev. Mr. William Nieawenhuis then supplied the pulpit for a year. Rev. Casparus Van Zuylen was called 1677, and returned to Holland 1685. Rev. Randolphus Van Varick served from 1685 to 1694. He, with other ministers, suffered severe persecutions during the Leislerian troubles in 1689. They defied the authority of Leisler and were dragged from their homes, cast into jail, and heavily fined. These severities are said to have hastened Dominie Varick's death. Rev. Wilhelm Lupardus succeeded him in 1702. After this came two contending pastors, Rev. Bernardus Freeman and Rev. Johannes Arondeus, from Rotterdam. In 1746 Rev. Ulpianus Van Sideren was called, and served the church until 1784; his colleague was Rev. Antoneus Curtenius. In 1757 Rev. Casparus Rubell, of Hesse-Cassel, Germany, was called to preside over all the churches in Kings county. Dominies Rubell and Van Sideren served to the close of the Revolutionary war; the former was a loyalist, while the latter was a whig, so that their intercourse was anything but agreeable. Rev. Martinus Schoonmaker was called to the churches at Harlem and Gravesend in 1763, and during the Revolutionary war preached for the Collegiate churches in Kings county. He was suspected by the British as a spy, and an attempt was made to capture him, but he was warned by the consistory and escaped. When the British took Har-

lem his house, with all his effects, were burned. After the close of the war he was called to the six churches in Kings county, having for his colleague Rev. Peter Lowe. He officiated in the Dutch language, and Mr. Lowe in English.

Dominie Schoonmaker died May 24, 1824, aged eighty-seven years, and with his death the official use of the Dutch language in the pulpits of the Dutch Reformed churches of Kings county ceased.

On June 28, 1805, the ground was purchased on which the recent church stood, and in 1807 the third church edifice was erected. It was built of blue stone, with heavy walls painted a dark lead color, it had a tower in the eastern front, and stood near the road. Galleries were on three sides, but the building had very limited accommodations. The people came largely from the country, and are described as driving to church in long green wagons. A chapel was built in Middagh street in 1811, to accommodate the inhabitants of the village. In 1834 the corner-stone of the fourth church was laid by Abraham A. Remsen, senior elder. Addresses were made by Rev. Maurice W. Dwight, pastor, and Rev. Thomas De Witt, D.D., of the Collegiate Church, New York. The edifice was dedicated May 5, 1835.

Rev. John B. Johnson, of Albany, became the pastor of the church in 1805. While stationed at Albany he was selected to preach the funeral sermon of General Washington, on February 22, 1800. Succeeding pastors and the dates of their coming are : Rev. Selah S. Woodhull, 1806; Rev. Ebenezer Mason, June, 1826; Rev. Peter B. Rouse, October 13, 1828; Rev. Maurice W. Dwight, grandson of President Edwards, of Northampton, Mass., May 26, 1833; Rev. Anson P. Van Giesen, Nov. 1, 1855; Rev. Alphonso A. Willets, June, 1860; Rev. Jos. Kimball, Nov. 21, 1865; Rev. Henry R. Dickson, Oct. 28, 1875; Rev. David N. Vanderveer, D.D., Sept. 15, 1878.

Among a number of historical relics possessed by the first church society are two silver cups with the following inscription :

Anno 1684, den 3 October
heeft Maria Baddia aen de Kerke
Van Bruekelen Lervert een
Zilvert beecker om het
Aboutmael mjt Te Delen.

Chas. D. Baker

MINOR TOPICS

AN EXTRAORDINARY INDIAN TOWN

EDITOR OF THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

The student of American colonial history finds many a difficulty which he cannot resolve. At one time there are conflicting statements of authors, and the novice is unable to decide which is right. Anachronisms crop out of which no account is taken, and how shall he determine the truth when modern collators agree in the incidents? The time is changed, or the agents do not coöperate, and there is a reasonable doubt if the original record is not apocryphal and the writer "a fraud."

Such thoughts arise on reading a "Journey to the Cherokee Mountains," recorded in *The Natural History of North Carolina*, by John Brickell, M.D., Dublin, 1737. He says: "The latter end of February, Anno Domini 1730, we set out on our intended journey, being in number ten white men and two Indians, for our huntsmen and interpreters." They took the usual outfit of horses, implements, and provisions. "*They met with no human specie all the way,*" or incident worthy of record, except "sleeping on beds of moss under the shade of a tree, near the fire," till fifteen days out, at six o'clock, they discovered a large party of Iroquois Indians, in a town with a State-House, war-captains, and councilors. "The King asked him how his brother (the governor) did?" They lodged two days in one of the King's houses, near the centre of the town, and on benches covered with skins. The rest of the buildings were in a confused order—no regular streets nor shops, or even handicraft trade among them. There was a great number of men and women "and boys and girls stark-naked." Brickell "asked of the King to see his *Quiogozon* or *Charnel House*. It was the largest one we ever beheld." They traveled four days further west, over two ridges of mountains, and saw *one Indian, who fled*, and "in thirty-two days arrived among Christians." There is no place of departure or destination given; no notice of the origin or purpose of the expedition; no responsibility or report to any public authority or appointing power—solely a private enterprise, with no valuable results.

How vastly superior in all particulars were the bold marches of Lederer into the same regions. Yet this expedition stands forth as an important event in the early history of the Province, and is thus noticed by Governor Martin in his *History of North Carolina*, vol. ii., pp. 1-8. "Dr. John Brickell was sent by Governor Burrington to the Western Indians, and set off *from Edenton* the latter part of February, 1731, with ten white men and two Indians." He tells the story of the journey as recorded by Brickell, and their return, and "in thirty-two days reached the settlements of white people." This record is accepted and fully

indorsed in the recently published, comprehensive, and exhaustive "*Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. V., chap. v., p. 301, by Professor Wm. I. Rivers," as conferring especial distinction on the times. He says: "One service, however, he (Governor Burrington) rendered, in conciliating the Indians on the Western border. To this end he sent Dr. John Brickell with a party of ten men, and two Indians to assist them. The account (Brickell's) of the expedition adds to our knowledge of the condition of that remote section of the province as the interesting work of Lawson (I.) does with respect to other sections."

The amount of "conciliation of the Indians," and of "increased knowledge of the country," appears in the record, and is very meagre. By a collation of dates we will assume that Brickell set out the 25th of February, 1730. The outward journey occupied twenty-one days, and the return thirty-two days—the sum, fifty-three days, extending to April 18, 1730. We are sure in regard to the year, as he says, p. 108: "There were two Buffalo calves taken in the year 1730 by some of the planters on the New river; whether transported to Europe or not, I know not, as I left the country very soon after." New River is a small stream in Onslow County, on the coast, where the presence of an historical buffalo is not known. It is well, also, to note the dates given by Governor Martin, vol. II., p. 1.

Burrington was appointed governor in England, April 29, 1730. He reached North Carolina in the middle of February, 1731; qualified as governor February 25, 1731, which was the earliest date he could issue a commission; called the legislature to meet April 13, 1731, and needed authority from it to do such an act.

It seems, then, Brickell had accomplished his journey eleven days (between the 18th and 29th of April, 1730), before the governor was appointed in England, near ten months before he arrived in North Carolina; and, more, Brickell left the country the year before the governor came.

We look in vain for proof that these two dignitaries had any official relations, were in North Carolina together, or that they ever met or heard of each other.

The records of Governor Burrington's administration of some three years contain no mention of Brickell or his expedition, or they would have been quoted by Martin or Rivers. On the contrary, the evidence of the only competent witness, Brickell, proves an alibi for himself, and an absolute negative in each particular. It seems difficult to account for the confused statements of Governor Martin, and, more so, for their adoption by Professor Rivers. If the latter has ever carefully read and compared Lawson and Brickell, we cannot account for his literary judgment in placing them so nearly on a level. Other American writers have done the same, and it is not too much to say that Brickell has been a stumbling-block to historians for just one hundred and fifty years.

Now that Professor Rivers, most conspicuously of all, stands forth as his champion, he has indirectly become responsible for the existence of this permanent and populous town of Iroquois, some five hundred miles from their native seat, in 1730! The "Sinnegars," or Senecas, were known in these parts, before the treaty of 1751,

only when on the warpath against the Catawbas, Saponas, and other southern tribes, or stimulating the Tuscaroras, as in 1711, to indiscriminate murder of the whites.

We find no mention by any one of the numerous writers on the Six Nations of such a distant migration and peaceful residence of a large town of the Iroquois, at this or any other period of their history.

OLIVER P. HUBBARD

NEW YORK, September 9, 1887.

HARVEY BIRCH NOT ENOCH CROSBY

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

A letter from Mr. James E. Deane, in your July issue, taking exception to my calling attention to Miss Cooper's complete demolition of the myth that Enoch Crosby was the original of her father's great creation, "Harvey Birch," published in the *Atlantic* for February, 1887, requires only a word or two. It seems Mr. Deane is the publisher of a new edition of Barnum's *Spy Unmasked*, in which this Crosby myth was first produced, in 1828, seven years after the publication of *The Spy* of Cooper, and which, he states, "has unfortunately drawn this fire of adverse criticism," meaning my comments in the May *Magazine of American History*. Mr. Deane is mistaken, for not till after my article was published did I know of the existence of his reprint, which, he says, is "probably the only edition printed within the past fifty years." Mr. Deane is evidently not aware of the fact that five editions of the book have been printed, the last of which was issued in New York in 1864. I think a sixth edition was also published in Philadelphia, but of this I am not certain. I have, since Mr. Deane's reply to my article, obtained and examined a copy of his reprint, and find that he has "followed copy" truly, giving Barnum's unfortunate "conclusion" in full, for which he deserves credit. It is evident from the reprint that Mr. Deane religiously believes that Enoch Crosby was "Harvey Birch," and that Mr. Cooper merely described his adventures and actions during the Revolution in *The Spy*. Hence he republished the Barnum book with additions, and a genealogy of the Crosby family, by William S. Pelletreau, to perpetuate the glory of Crosby. This genealogy, it seems, was also published by Mr. Pelletreau himself in the April number, 1877, of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, in which he says "that Crosby was the hero" (of *The Spy*) "admits of no doubt." Miss Cooper however, expressly says, and her information came from her father, that "every incident in the book," except what was stated by John Jay, "was invented by Mr. Cooper."

If my brief article has served to call attention to Mr. Deane's reprint I have no objection, but it also has called attention to Miss Cooper's irrefragable evidence of its worthlessness as truth. Crosby was simply one of many spies employed at the same time, did his duty, and was paid for it, and that is all. Neither he himself, nor Barnum, nor Mr. Deane, nor Mr. Pelletreau say, or dare to claim, that Enoch Crosby refused gold for his services from John Jay.

GUY HATFIELD, of Scarsdale.

Memorandum of the Route pursued by Colonel Campbell and his column of invasion, in 1779, from Savannah to Augusta ; with a Narrative of occurrences connected with his march, and a record of some of the military events which transpired in that portion of the Province of Georgia during the War of the Revolution.

[From the original Manuscript in the Abertaff collection.]

Annotated by Colonel Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL.D.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA.

[Continued from page 258.]

The Town of Ebenezer* is settled by Germans and contains 20 odd houses. There was a kind of a silk manufactory established here, but it never arrived to any great perfection.

From Ebenezer to Trytlands,† or the *Two Sisters*,‡ is 10 miles. After passing

* "Colo Campbell with the troops under his command arrived from Cherokee hill at Ebenezer the 3^d of Jan^y without any opposition or difficulty, except that of repairing the Bridge upon the Creek that covers one flank of the town. There was at that time a post established here, and some works thrown up. A quantity of provisions, ammunition, some Artillery and small Arms were ordered to be, with all possible expedition, brought from Savannah to this place to supply as well such troops as might be stationed here, as others that might proceed into the upper part of the Province, or to furnish some Companies of Militia with such of these Articles as they were in need of, if they were thought deserving of that encouragement and Confidence.

In the months of March and April this post was made very strong with additional Redoubts and Artillery, for it was always considered that it ought to be made one of the principal posts because a Chain of Communication across the Country and the Ogeechee river might have its right flank well fixt and secure at Ebenezer, while its left might extend to and be covered by the Garrison of Sunbury.

These posts it was suposed would secure the lower part of the Province and protect its Inhabitants against the Incursions of plundering partys sent by the Rebels from the upper Country or from South Carolina. The two Creeks and swamps that cover $\frac{3}{4}$ of the circumference of this post have made it naturally very strong, and whatever was thought necessary to be added from Art, the Engineers executed before the troops crost to Carolina, for it was not intended to maintain any posts higher up the Country while the province continued in its present State. The troops that lay here during the Summer were very sickly, and upon that account the place is since said to be unhealthy in that time of year."

† The home of John Adam Treutlen, a patriot and a man of mark, who was elected the first Republican Governor of Georgia.

‡ "This post was established the 4th of January. Two bridges in the Swamp leading to the

the Creek, which you cross upon quitting Ebenezer, you come to a few good Plantations that extend from the right of the road almost to the river-side. They yield both Corn and rice, and have plenty of pasture for cattle. The Bank of the river here at Trytland's is higher upon this side than the other, and the ferry, (which is sometimes used), a little above its house, is very difficult to be got to, in the same manner as that at Zubilee's.

From the *Two Sisters* to Tuccassee King is * 3 miles. This last plantation lies high in comparison to the Ground that we have just travelled over. The present possessor has but a scanty livelihood if his Stock of Cattle does not turn out to good account. A Run of water that washes the bottom of a Gulley which seperates the rising Ground that this farm house stands upon from a higher hill of deep sandy ascent, makes this situation more convenient. There is no scarcity of Cattle or hogs, and great plenty of venison in this district.

From Tuccassee-King to Hudson's † house and ferry is 10 miles. The road, after ascending the steep sandy hill above mentioned, is very good and easy. The bank of the river on this side is high and steep, almost parallel to the Main road, and nowhere above 2 miles distant from it.

Mount-pleasant, Killicrankee, &^{ca}, upon the right hand are well improved Plantations valuable for their produce, and immediate Communication with the river. This Stage has few swamps near the road, and the woody part is an open firm pine-barren that may be easily galloped thro'.

ferry were ordered to be destroyed. The Rebels from behind a small breastwork fired across the river upon the party that was sent upon this service. They likewise sent some patrols to the bank opposite to the house. Trytland † was lately a Tavern-keeper, but to be a Col^o (which he is now), in the rebel service, he has deserted a very profitable Plantation and a good dwelling house at this place."

* "A party of Mounted Militia from a company formed here, the 4th of January, was instructed by Col^o Campbell to patrol in this neighbourhood untill the The King's troops moved up the country. For the present the highest post that they were to occupy was that at the Sisters. The Col^o returned to Savannah to meet Gen^l Prevost who was expected there with the troops from St Augustine.

In the Month of April it was proposed to try some means of attacking the Rebels under General Lincoln, or forcing them to retire from the Savannah into the interior parts of S. Carolina. Their Head-quarters were then at Purisburg, and detached posts opposite to the Sisters, to Hudson's Ferry &^{ca}. About two miles above Tuccassee King and opposite to Parachicola swamp was the place where it was intended to cross the River for the above purpose. Some of our Corps were then at Hudson's and the Old Court House. Carriages were prepared to transport some Flat-boats and Canoes by land from Ebenezer, but tho' it was imagined that this intended Scheme was kept very secret, yet it is more than probable that Gen^l Lincoln was informed of it; for, previous to any orders being given to draw in and collect our most distant Troops, Lincoln moved with the main part of his force to the Neighbourhood of Parachicola Swamp, which effectually made the Idea of crossing at that place be laid aside. When the Troops marched up the Country there was a post always kept at Tuccassee-King."

† "The 26th of Jan^y Col^o Campbell, with the Corps under his immediate command destined for Augusta, arrived at Hudson's and, after fixing upon a Detachment to remain there, he marched early

¹ John Adam Treutlen.

Hudson's house is upon a high, healthy, open situation, and close to the bank of the river, which overlooks a field and swampy wood upon the Carolina side. The Flat used at the ferry was stationed a little above the house. To quit this Ground you descend gradually an easy piece of road, cross a run of water that once kept a mill agoing, and then raise a hill that is steep for Carriages and difficult to be forced if disputed by an enemy.

At 2½ miles from Hudson's the road forks;—the one to the right leading to the low or old bridge upon Briar Creek is call'd the river or lower road, and the other to Paris's bridge * &^a the upper or back road. From the fork to Mill Creek (7 miles) the road cannot be called bad, though more unequal and rough than what we have hitherto past over. The wood is open, and except two spots where water lodges upon the road, carriages may go on without much difficulty or interruption.

About 200 yards before you get to Mill Creek there is a clear spot that the road leads thro'. † The ground to the right rises gradually thro' an open pine-barren till you get in sight of the Savannah. The left is bordered by a Swamp. In advancing to the Creek the Ground slopes gently before. The thicket upon the left hand is very close and swampy. The wood upon the right is open and easy. The Creek has commonly but little Water, and is fordable almost every where above and below the Mill-dam.

From this place to the beginning of the causeway that carries you to the bridge, you pass in a Pine-barren thro' an ugly swamp that covers a piece of the road with water. The Causeway is more than 800 yards long, with a deep swamp immediately upon each side. The quantity of water that is constantly here made it necessary for the preservation of the Causeway to open a passage across the road over which a bridge is made which you pass before you get to the Main bridge upon the Creek, which you no sooner pass than you get to a farm with a few out-houses. About two miles from thence there is a ferrying place upon the Savannah. When there is a boat or a flat here, it is kept at Matthews's bluff on the Carolina side. After passing by two small plantations, ‡ you come, (at 4 miles from

the 27th with the light Infantry, 1st Battⁿ 71st, N. York Volunteers, some Mounted Carolinians and Rangers,—the whole about 900 men. It was from this post that our troops under the orders of Col^o Provost march'd the 2^d of March to surprise the Rebels at Briar Creek. Hudson's house was surrounded with a stockade, and was kept possession of untill the Army crost into Carolina."

* Mill-Haven.

† "When Col^o Prevost march'd from Hudson's to surprise the Rebels at Briar Creek, the 1st Battⁿ 71st, with 2 field pieces, was ordered to this place to cover and mask the movement of the Corps that made the Circuit to get into the Enemy's rear. but it can by no means be thought a strong post, especially for an inconsiderable force, because any enemy may turn either or both flanks and attack them and the rear at the same time."

‡ "The surprise at Briar Creek was so compleat that the first notice the Rebels had of the approach of an enemy was when the Light Infantry fired upon and drove in their picquets at one of those plantations about 1 mile and ¼ from the Bridge. In the pannic and Consternation that they

the Bridge), to Conners's. Before you can discover the house you pass thro' some swamp-water and a sandy, woody ridge that crosses the road at Right Angles and extends in that direction for some hundreds of yards. This is the strongest piece of Ground that fronts you from the lower bridge till after you pass Mobile's Pond.* From Conners's you pass by Green's and Roberts's to Herberts — miles off. Burton's ferry is — miles from the road. In setting out from Herbert's you pass a small run of water, and then rise a gradual, tho' sandy ascent to get into a level, good road for about 5 miles, which carries you to Mobile's Pond,—a good, extensive plantation, clear and open, upon the right of the road for a considerable extent, though a close wood lines the left. A cross road from the upper or back one falls in here. It is not much frequented by wheel Carriages.

From Mobile's to Widow Gryner's the Road is deep with sand, and in some places broken and uneven.

From Widow Gryner's to Tellfare's † Saw-mills and house (10 miles) the road is difficult for Carriages. There is one deep Gulley that could not be forced in front if well defended. The run of water is here deep and the hills upon each side are so steep and rugged that the road is necessarily made to slant and wind to be passable for Carriages.

From Tellfare's house to Boggy Gutt ‡ (miles) the road is not very good and

were seized with, they ran into the Swamps, Creek, and river, each man as his heels could carry him. But the greater number escaped to our left; and, under cover of the night, with the help of a Boat, a few Canoes, and Rafts, they crossed to Carolina. Most of their horse-men got up the Country, pass by Lambert's without halting or drawing bridle. Had our Troops arrived so as to be able to begin the Attack earlier than between 4 and 5 o'clock, few of the Rebels could have escaped. As it was, the attack was so sudden and unexpected that they attempted to make little or no resistance." For a description of this unfortunate affair in the fork of Briar Creek and the Savannah river, see Jones' History of Georgia, Vol. II. pp. 347-352. Boston, 1883.

* Mobly's Pond.

† Edward Telfair, a prominent merchant and planter, and subsequently a Governor of Georgia.

‡ "It was by this road that Colo Campbell returned to Hudson's on his way back from Augusta. The Ferry at Odam's is crost in a Flat. However, for the greater expedition, we made a wooden bridge a little below the ferry. The 18th the whole crost and marched to Lamberts (10 miles off).

Colo Campbell once intended to establish a Post where Odam's house stands—a high Ground overlooking the ferry and Creek and the Swamp, tho' which the road to Lambert's leads.

Colo Campbell was informed at Boggy-Gutt that a Corps of the Rebels under Brigadier Elbert¹ lay at MacBean's Creek to dispute that pass, but knowing that the Creek was to be passed farther up the Country, the Light Infantry with their field pieces were ordered to march in the night to get into the enemy's rear, while the other Corps advanced to attack them in Front. The Scheme would probably have succeeded, had not Elbert been acquainted of it by the treachery of a man who was too much confided in. The Rebels retired precipitately and left their Provisions upon their Ground, as they were divided into Messes. In the evening of the 30th Jan^y, when our

¹ Colonel Samuel Elbert who, under orders from General Lincoln, had advanced to the assistance of the detachments under Colonel Twiggs and the Colonels Few, while disputing, was not strong enough to prevent Colonel Campbell's crossing. Aid was expected from Colonel Andrew Williamson and Colonel Elijah Clarke, but it did not arrive in season.

there is a scarcity of Forrage. Gerard's ferry upon the Savannah is crost in this Stage, and the road to Odam's ferry forks from it. The Ground upon this side of the Creek at Henderson's is much higher than upon the other. After passing the water that runs from the Dams upon this Gutt about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, the remainder of the Road to MacBean's Creek (6 miles distant) is firm and easy.

The Pass at MacBean's Creek has a very high steep hill upon this side, and tho' the Crown and face of the hill is thinly covered with trees, the bottom and both sides of the road are very woody, close, and swampy. The road, tho' made pretty easy and slanting on the face of the hill, a fall of rain would soon cut it up and destroy it for Carriages. Near the foot of the hill it turns quick to the left thro' a thicket and Swamp, and there takes a serpentine form, which prevents people, even upon the highest Ground, from seeing the passage of the Creek and the road or ground immediately upon the opposite side. Cannon therefore, would avail little in forcing this pass, but a handful of men could defend it against a considerable force coming in front from the opposite side.

From this Creek to Spirit Creek (6 miles) the road is not bad, tho' uneven, and a little hilly. The wood upon each side is open and free of brush. Tho' the run of water that comes from the Mill Dams upon Spirit Creek is pretty considerable, yet it is to be forded in different places in a good dry Season.

From Spirit Creek to Augusta (12 miles) the road is in general rather good than bad, tho' in some places water lays upon it and in wet Weather it must be deep and troublesome for Wheel Carriages. There are 3 inconsiderable bridges across some deep water which deep and extensive Swamps discharge. There is particularly one pass call'd the Coubert,* where the road is made thro' a close, woody, and impassable Swamp 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Henderson's, (at Spirit Creek).

troops arrived at Spirit Creek, the Rebels were upon the opposite side and began to fire upon Us from behind houses and other defences, but upon our firing a few Canon Shots, and throwing two Shells from a 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch Howitzer, they all took to their heels, some by the main road, others ran by a path thro' the Swamp towards the river in order to cross it at —

As the Sun was now down, the troops could do no more than take up their Ground and place the necessary Guards.

Henderson's house here is within a kind of wooden or Stockaded Fort which was erected as a security and Defence against the Indians. Col^o Campbell ordered some repairs to be made to it; and, a few days after, a party was stationed there, and a Corn Mill was employed there for the benefit of the Troops."

* This is a very ugly pass to be forced by the main road. The Swamp is so deep, woody, and close that it cannot be penetrated, and in approaching it the wood is so close to the road that it affords cover and shelter to a skillful enemy, and it will be hazardous for troops unacquainted with it to attempt a pursuit. Before we got near it M^r Manson was brought from a Plantation upon the right of the road. He, with a great deal of pretended friendship, informed us that 300 Riflemen had crost the Savannah the night before to join 400 men to lay in Ambush in the Coubert, (or Cupboard), and attack Us upon our March. He told this with so much seeming Confidence that Col^o Campbell halted, rested the Troops, and then ordered the Light Infantry, Light Dragoons, a Detachment of the 71st, and some others under Colo Maitland, to head the Swamp and by that cir-

Upon coming near Augusta, different roads lead to the town and enter it at as many places. Within some miles of the Town there are three or 4 Mills and plenty of Indian Corn. The upper Country yields plenty of Wheat, and several Inhabitants distill Whisky from Wheat, &^{ca}, which will, upon a pinch and an emergency, satisfy a Soldier in place of rum.

cuit to endeavor to get into the enemy's rear and cut them off. The rest of the troops were to remain where they halted untill it was supposed that the other Corps had got round. But in the mean time some Inhabitants came in to us who undeceived us, and assured us that there was not an enemy upon the road before Us, and that the rear of the Rebels were crossing with some Stores, &^{ca}, from Augusta. We found this to be the case, and that M^r Manson was at best a dubious Character. Upon our Arrival in Augusta we found but a few families, and some of these had but the female part at home. However, a few days after a considerable number of the Country people came in to give up their arms. and take the Oath of allegiance. They readily agreed to form Militia Companies in different Districts, and to keep a guard at various Stations. Officers, (men the most agreeable to the generality of the Inhabitants), were appointed over them for that purpose, but they could not be brought to any regularity: therefore no real, substantial Services from them could be depended upon, or for some time looked for, but by people of too sanguine Expectations who would not consider that they were mostly *Crackers* whose promises are often like their Boasts. However, some from Wrightsborough and the upper Country supplied our Commissary with flower, and others were preparing to distill Whiskey to supply the Want of rum. A Magazin was formed, oven built, and every Step taken to have a well-regulated and well-supplied Garrison established here. Enmissarys were sent into the back Settlements of the Carolinas. An Indian Chief and Warrior, who came from his Nation to receive and give a *Talk*, was loaded with presents and sent back satisfied. The Rebels under Gen^l Williamson were encamped upon a Ridge in the Wood upon the oposite side of the River. Some Flats were made to enable Us to get at them, for their Piquets and Patroles came often to the bank of the river, and sometimes fired across.

About this time a detached Corps from Lincoln's Army arrived at and encamped near Moore's bluff. Their light troops occupied some intermediate passes on the Way to Williamson's Camp, and Intelligence was brought that his Corps was considerably augmented, and that they meant to cross above and below Augusta in order to hem our Detachm^t, if they could, into very small bounds. When the Militia was now ordered to strengthen the posts that were allotted them at the different crossing places along the River, it was plainly seen that they could not be depended upon if their assistance was seriously wanted. They could not be got to turn out or assemble. Acc^{ca} were at the same time received from below of Apprehensions there that Lincoln would cross and take post so as to interrupt or cut off, if possible, our Communication with our posts in that part. It was thought improper to occupy posts so distant as to be liable to such disagreeable Circumstances, and for these reasons Col^o Campbell resolved to march back to Hudson's. He accordingly marched the night of the 14th Febr^y, and went by Boggy Gutt, Odham's Ferry, Lambert's, and the Beaver Dams, &^{ca}.

Most of the Settlements (along both the Roads) from Ebenezer to Augusta, are in a ruinous, neglected State: two-thirds of them deserted, some of their Owners following the Kings troops, others with the Rebels, and both revengefully destroying the property of each other.¹

¹ "The rage between Whig and Tory," says General Moultrie, "ran so high that what was called a Georgia parole, and to be Shot down, were synonymous." So stringent too, were the restrictions upon trade, such was the depreciation of the paper currency, so sadly interrupted were all agricultural and commercial adventures, and so violent was the hatred existing between the "Sons of Liberty" and the adherents to the Crown, that poverty, distress, arson, and murder were the common heritage.

After passing Herbert's the feature of the Country becomes more rough, uneven, and present a more northerly aspect than the lower parts of the Province which produce chiefly Rice and Indigo. Every Plantation is well-stocked with Cattle, and there are some *Pens* that have more than 8000 Head.*

The upper or back road from the Forks near Hudson's is easier and better for Carriages than the River Road, but does not afford so much Forrage. There are several cross roads that branch off from the former, and communicate with the latter. That by Paris's bridge falls into the other at Mobile's Pond and near Herbert's. That which Forks at old Cato's and goes by Odam's ferry enters the other near Gerard's ferry and by Boggy Gutt. That from the New Bridge joins at M^cBean's Creek. Besides these principal Roads, upon which Wheel-Carriages may travel, there are bye-roads and paths that can be shown by persons who have resided for any time in that part of the Province, and though those several Creeks are in most places deep and troublesome to pass, the country-people are dexterous at making small Rafts of Rails, Sapplings, &^{ca}. Upon these they transport their baggage, Saddles, Arms, &^{ca}, and swim their horses along side. Many of the Rebels saved themselves in this manner after the Defeat at Briar Creek."

* This estimate is manifestly extravagant.

NOTES

AUTHORS A HUNDRED YEARS AGO—While delving among the treasures of the office of the Secretary of State, at Trenton, New Jersey, not long since, I found the following curious entry on page 186, Liber AB of Commissions. It is only one of many of a like character which may be found in the same book :

"Persuant to an Act of the Legislature the following Gentlemen have Registered their names as Authors.

Noah Webster, Jr. Esq. Author of a Grammatical Substitute of the English Language in three parts, also an Abridgement of the first part of the Grammatical Institute, also Lectures Critical and Practical on the English Language.

The Revd. Timothy Dwight, author of the Conquest of Canaan, a Poem in Nine Books.

Mr. Joel Barlow, author of the Vision of Columbus, a Poem in Nine Books; also author of a Pamphlet entitled a Translation of sundry Psalms omitted by Dr. Watts to which is added a number of New Hymns.

Bowes Reed,
Secretary."

The date of this record is March 28, 1786.

GEO. P. MORRIS

MONTCLAIR, N. J.

ENGLISH PUBLISHERS AND AMERICAN AUTHORS—The experience of General Lew Wallace with Messrs. Frederick Warne & Co. is peculiar. When General Wallace was last in London, he went to Warne's shop, and bought a copy of *Ben Hur*. He examined it for a minute, and then asked to see the head of the firm, whose attention he called to certain alterations made in England

without any authority from him. "I see you have changed my title," said General Wallace; "and you have written an entirely new preface and signed my name to it." The publisher hesitated, and at last stammered forth that they had thought they could improve on it. "And have you taken any other liberties with my book?" pursued General Wallace, and Mr. Warne answered that they had left out the story of "Ben Hur," and made a few minor changes. And the British publisher who made this confession has never offered to make any payment to the American author, whom he had despoiled and whose work he had disfigured.—BRANDER MATTHEWS in *New Princeton Review for September*.

WEDDINGS IN COLONIAL DAYS—In Mr. Sanford's *History of Connecticut*, recently issued, is the following: "Weddings in early colonial days were usually celebrated quietly at the home of the bride. With the increase of wealth there was a marked change in this respect. Not only were the banns proclaimed in the church, but a general invitation was given from the pulpit to attend the ceremony. Friends and neighbors were entertained with a lavish hospitality at the bride's house. On the wedding-day, muskets were fired; and those who attended the ceremony marched in procession to the bride's home. The wedding feasts lasted sometimes for two or three days. At a grand wedding in New London, on the day after the marriage ninety-two ladies and gentlemen, it is said, proceeded to dance ninety-two jigs, fifty-two contra dances, forty-five minuets, and seventeen hornpipes."

QUERIES

WHO LED THE TROOPS IN THE FINAL UNSUCCESSFUL CHARGE AFTER ARNOLD WAS WOUNDED AT QUEBEC IN 1776?—*Editor of Magazine American History*—Will you kindly insert in your esteemed Magazine the following query? Every history of the United States which I have had access to says that on the morning of January 1, 1776, when Montgomery was killed before Quebec and Arnold wounded, the attacking party was rallied and led to the final unsuccessful charge by General Daniel Morgan, afterwards of famous memory in the South and victor of the Cowpens.

But the following facts seem to be undisputed. Schuyler and Montgomery advanced by way of Lake Champlain and Montreal, while Arnold went by way of Albany—the two bodies joining opposite or near Quebec. Their combined forces hardly exceeded 1,000 men while Carleton, inside of Quebec, had 1,200 troops of the line, besides organizing the citizens into companies. But it appears that a regiment of Continental troops was raised in Berkshire and Hampden counties, Massachusetts, late in 1775, of which Elisha Porter of Hadley was chosen colonel, and Abner Morgan (a lawyer of Brimfield, Hampden county) major. This regiment was ordered to contain 728 men, and it marched to Albany and joined Arnold, and shared his terrible march through the wilderness and the snow, breast-deep and trackless. Now, if the combined troops of Arnold and Montgomery—raised on an emergency at the very beginning of the war, and sent by the Continental Congress in midwinter northward to Quebec—

scarcely numbered more than 1,000 men, how happened it that Daniel Morgan, a Southerner, and at the outbreak of the war in Pittsburgh, was present and in a position to be third in command? Is it not more likely that the Morgan who took command after Arnold's disablement was Abner Morgan, major of the Massachusetts regiment? As a matter of fact, on page 180 of "the History of Brimfield, Massachusetts" (C. M. Hyde, Springfield, Clark W. Bryan & Co., 1879) the statement is made that it was Major Morgan who led the last attack at Quebec (following Major Morgan's career thereafter to the close of the Revolution). The point seems to me suggestive of a possible correction of history—and I hope some of your readers will look into it. The explanation I find generally given is that Captain (afterward General) Daniel Morgan, on the outbreak of the war, marched 400 miles, from Pittsburgh to Boston, to offer his services, and was assigned to Montgomery's command. Query, to whom did he offer his services? A major would have ranked a captain, even if the captain had seen service when Montgomery and Arnold joined forces before Quebec. If the history of Brimfield is right and Bancroft, Hildreth, Bryant and the rest wrong, they ought to be corrected.

L. L. LAWRENCE

P. O. BOX 5, NEWTOWN, LONG ISLAND.

DANIEL CLARKE OR CLARK.—The following query is repeated in consequence of errors in our August number. Daniel Clark or Clarke came to Windsor, Con-

necticut in 1639, died 1710 aged 87. Miss Ann Clarke of Northampton, a descendant (now deceased), said that he was a nephew of Rev. Ephraim Huit (or Huet) former minister of Wraxall near Kenilworth, Warwickshire, and that he came from Chester or Westchester. "Hon. Daniel Clark" was "captain," "secretary of the colony," and held other high offices. Is anything known of his

ancestry, or of his relationship to Rev. Mr. Huit? Address

MRS. EDWARD E. SALISBURY
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

THE CAPTURED OLD WORLD TOWN.—
Did the United States ever capture a town in the Old World, and if so what was its name? AMOS WILLIAMS
BENTLY, IDAHO.

REPLIES

BRIDGER [xv. 93, 513]—I first met this mountaineer at the ferry on Green river, sixty miles east of his fort on the 29th of June, 1852; he then told me that he had come to that country thirty years before, when he was eighteen years of age, and that he was a Kentuckian by birth. His appearance indicated that to be his age; but he was remarkably spare and thin of flesh and nearly six feet in height. Altogether he was the most remarkable white man I ever met on mountain or plain, in his personal appearance and demeanor. Dressed in the clothing of a white man, he seemed to wear it as a stranger to the garb of civilized life. Surrounded, as he had been, so many years by constant dangers, that even while sitting at a camp fire in the midst of white men, his eyes were taking in every moving object in the entire circle of his vision, slowly moving his eyes from over one shoulder around to gaze over the other shoulder so as to complete the circle, taking in everything as far as he could see, this everlasting watch had become a fixed habit; he was the embodiment of "eternal vigilance."

He was an owner in the ferry, and told

me that he was to remain there until the 2d of July, and then go over to the fort, "an afternoon's ride"—a distance which required three days for my ox-teams; so on the afternoon of the third day I kept a lookout for "Bridger" and as he came and went over the undulations of the plains, rising and falling like the flight of the swallow, on a steady run, 'twas a memorable sight to see that hardy mountaineer sweep along. Mounted on one of the best of his big band of horses, he rode as if one horse was intended for one single journey, to be spent in the accomplishment of that one effort.

He told me at the ferry on Green river in a facetiously earnest manner that his fort was situated "in the identical spot that Adam and Eve were first placed on earth, the original Eden."

I was at the fort, and at that time he had there some half-breed children.

JOHN F. OLIVER
STEUBENVILLE, OHIO.

THE SABBATH [xviii. 261]—The well known "Lord's Day Act" of 1676 (29 Car. II. Cap. 7) prohibits generally all work, labor and business on Sunday,

except works of necessity and charity ; and, with more or less modification, it forms the basis of all Sunday laws now extant in the United States.

Prior to this statute, any act done on Sunday was of the same binding force as if performed on any other day. Even Parliament convened on Sunday, for in the reign of Edward I., in 1278 and 1305, three statutes were made on Sunday. Nor did the first restraining laws make any distinction between Sundays and other holydays.

Exceptions to the law of 1676 in favor of hackney coachmen, fishwomen and chair bearers were enacted in 1694, 1699 and 1710, and a clause was subsequently added prohibiting bird hunting ; but it remained in substance until alterations and repeals of English laws ceased to have force in this country.

The English Puritans of the time of James I. were the first to impose the name and character of the Jewish "Sabbath" upon the first day of the week, and those who came to America brought the name and the idea with them.

WILLIAM L. SCRUGGS .

ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

THE SABBATH [xviii. 261]—The substitution of the first day of the week for the observance of the Sabbath, or holy-day of rest, dates back to the early ages of Christianity. The origin lies in the fact that in six days God created all things, resting on the seventh day. The Christians formerly observed both the first and the seventh days. Killikelly says : "The Sabbath was legally proclaimed about the year 1491 B.C. on Mount Sinai." He further says : "Con-

stantine the Great issued an edict, A.D. 321, proclaiming Sunday as a legal day of rest and holy unto the Lord, which edict was subsequently incorporated in the civil law of the empire, and ultimately adopted by all the nations which arose from the ruins of the Roman Empire."

H. B.

BEVERLEY ROBINSON [xviii. 167]—*Editor Magazine of American History :*

It is said in the August number of the Magazine that Beverley Robinson, the "Young Colonel," as he was commonly called, "lived during the latter part of his life in New York, where his descendants may yet be found." In point of fact he lived for many years upon his place, the Nashwaaksis, upon the river St. John, opposite Frederickton, New Brunswick, and only returned to New York in 1816 to visit his son Beverley. He died here very unexpectedly in that year, at the age of 61, and was buried in the west end of St. Paul's Churchyard. His descendants are most of them still living in New Brunswick. His eldest son, Beverley, returned to New York about 1800 and became well known there as a lawyer and as a trustee of Columbia College. He died in 1857, and was buried in the parish churchyard of Jamaica, Long Island. His grandson Beverley is the present head of the family.

Henry Barclay Robinson, a grandson of the "Young Colonel" (the eldest son of the fifth son John) removed to New York 1862, and died in 1874. He was the father of the present John Beverley Robinson of New York.

Colonel Beverley Robinson the younger never lived in New York after the war,

and the gentlemen just named are the only two of his descendants who returned to it.

I had occasion once before, in the *Magazine*, to point out a similar confusion of identity. It is surprising to see how many writers of repute confuse John Robinson, the President of Virginia, with his son John, the speaker of the Assembly.

BEVERLEY R. BETTS

JAMAICA, NEW YORK, *Aug.* 28, 1887.

EGYPTIAN OBELISK [xviii. 169]—The pair of obelisks—one in London and the other in New York city—were erected by Thothmes III., in Heliopolis before the Temple of the Sun—about 1600 B.C. They were three centuries later removed from Heliopolis by Rameses II., and set up in front of Cæsar's temple, where they obtained the well known name of "Cleopatra's Needles." When his wars were ended, Rameses II. caused his name and titles to be inscribed upon the obelisk on each side of the inscriptions of his renowned ancestor, Thothmes III. One of these obelisks was removed to London in 1878, and the other was brought to the United States, and erected on its pedestal in Central Park in January, 1881. Its height, including its base on which it stands, is 80 feet, and its weight, with pedestal and foundations, 712,000 pounds. It is red granite from the quarries of Syene.

C. P. C.

BOODLE [xviii. 82, 171, 262]—In *Unity* for August it is said: "This word seems

to have come into use within five years, and during the same period the thing signified seems to have become wonderfully prominent and important. For one thing, no election can be conducted now without boodle first and last . . . Boodle does not mean capital or stock in trade except the business or trade be something secret, peculiar and illegal. Boodle always means money, but money is not always boodle. Money honestly received and spent, money that circulates in regular and honest channels, that appears in cash book and ledger and expense account is never boodle; but when a sum, a thousand dollars more or less, is given to some one to use in influencing some third party, given perhaps in silence and certainly without requiring any writing of acknowledgment or obligation, that is boodle. Boodle is money used for purposes of bribery and corruption, and the same word is used to indicate the money that comes as spoils, the result of some secret deal, the profits of which are silently divided. The term is also used to cover the ill-gotten gains of the bank robber or the absconding cashier—'he carried away so much boodle.' In elections the primaries have to be 'fixed,' a great many men have to be 'seen,' in short, the amount of money that it seems necessary to use to elect a few honest public servants is a thing to wonder at. And when these men are elected it seems that they often lose the power of distinguishing between 'boodle' and 'straight money.' The word 'boodle' seems destined to take its permanent place in our language."

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

THE history of artists abounds with instances of jealousy, perhaps more than that of any other class of men of genius. Disraeli tells us that Hudson, the master of Joshua Reynolds, could not endure the sight of his rising pupil, and would not suffer him to conclude the term of his apprenticeship; even the mild and elegant Reynolds himself became so jealous of Wilson, that he took every opportunity of depreciating his singular excellence. Stung by the madness of jealousy, Barry, one day, addressing Sir Joshua on his lectures, exclaimed: "Such poor, flimsy stuff as your discourses!" clinching his fist in excitement. After the death of the great artist, Barry bestowed on him the most ardent eulogism, and deeply grieved over the past. The famous cartoon of the battle of Pisa, a work of Michael Angelo, produced in the competition with Leonardo da Vinci, and in which he struck out the idea of a new style, is only known by a print which has preserved the wonderful composition—for the original, it is said, was cut into pieces by the mad jealousy of Baccio Bandinelli, whose whole life was made wretched by his consciousness of a superior rival.

IT is only a little more than two years since an article was published in this magazine, on "The Framers of the Constitution," in which the following paragraph appeared: "We are rapidly nearing one of the most important centennial anniversaries in our national history—that of the adoption of a form of government capable of holding forty republics in one solid and prosperous whole—embracing fifty-five millions of people, and territory in extent nearly, if not quite, equal to that of all Europe. The subject is one of living interest, and will be brought afresh to the reading public in all varieties of written language within the coming three years. Our blessings will brighten in the unusual light, and with the new polish we shall better comprehend the framework that has withstood the storms of a century, and be prepared for the more just appreciation of its stability as the years roll on and the states roll in. But the achievement that preceded and was vastly more remarkable than its adoption was the production of the Constitution. Such a form of government had hitherto been unknown to the science of politics. The structure was a special creation, and at a time when the future of the country was mapped only in the imagination." We recall these prophetic words at this time with peculiar satisfaction, for, just as we go to press, an imposing celebration is in progress at Philadelphia, worthy of the great historic event it will commemorate.

THAT there is such a thing as conscience, and therefore individual responsibility, in the study of history, is a fact not wholly ignored, even by those of its lovers who are unknown to fame. But that there is such a thing as conscience and individual responsibility in the making of history, is not so well appreciated. Right living in view of one's part in this glorious work, and the fact that the sole qualification for the fit discharge of our duty is love of God and country, is well put by Dr. Storrs: "The historical progress which moves admiration has been initiated, and afterward assured and guided by spiritual energies. We have never reached the secrets of history till we apprehend these. And every

man and every woman has his or her work in the world plainly set forth under the light of this great lesson. It is for each, in the measure of the power and opportunity of each, to cherish and diffuse the temper out of which, in their time, the great and benign changes shall come. Neither the eloquent and stimulating speech which went before our civil war, nor the military judgment, fortitude, valor, which presided over its historic fields, would have availed to carry to success the vast revolution which we have seen and for which the country to-day rejoices from the Lakes to the Gulf, except for the patient love of freedom and hatred of slavery, which had been nurtured in quiet homes, by peaceful firesides, in the preceding years. In dispersed villages the real battle was fought—not at Gettysburg nor at Shiloh. The splendid burst of our century-plant into a bloom as rich and brilliant as the Continent ever can show, went back to hidden and homely roots. And till that great experience is forgotten, the lesson which all the study of history imperatively teaches cannot lose its emphasis for us—that every one in a civilized and advancing community has the opportunity to do something for the future, as well as for the present, and that on each is set the crown of this noble right and this imperious obligation."

It is said that the Norwegians on the first sight of roses dared not touch what they conceived were trees budding with fire; and the natives of Virginia are reported as having, the first time they seized on a quantity of gunpowder which belonged to the English colony, sowed it for grain, expecting to reap a plentiful crop of combustion by the next harvest, sufficient to blow away all the intruders.

CHICAGO is to be congratulated on its new library, founded through the munificent bequest of Mr. Walter L. Newberry, who died at sea in 1868. He came to Chicago when it had a population of only ten thousand, and by judicious investments accumulated a large fortune. The library fund in the hands of trustees has reached \$2,000,000, and at its present rate of increase can be easily calculated upon as something substantial. After the purchase of the site, which has already been determined upon, the income only can be used for the building up of the library; but with an income say of five per cent. on two millions of dollars, great things can be accomplished. This library, it is understood, will be made one of reference, thus avoiding competition with the present Public Library, and developing a special function which may become one of immense value. Mr. W. F. Poole is to be in charge, and has already entered on his duties. The plans for the building will be shaped with deliberation; the work of accumulating and arranging the books will begin at once in temporary quarters.

THE rapid increase of libraries on this continent is a most encouraging sign of the times. There is no country in the world where intelligence and culture are so general as in the United States. In almost every little town from the Atlantic to the Pacific may now be found the germ of a public library, where those who have neither homes nor books of their own may keep abreast with the information of the times. These town libraries usually begin in a small way, but once started, books and periodicals roll in, and they grow larger and more useful every year. It is not very long since superintendents and teachers recognized the importance of founding libraries for the schools. Now the school without a library is the exception, not the rule.

THE forming of reading clubs in social circles is becoming very popular the country through. A lady traveling recently in some of the interior towns in Massachusetts found them in every community, and not infrequently three or four in the same village. The membership varies from ten to twenty-five, the lesser number being the more often observed. The ladies form their club, select their books, and each one subscribes for some leading periodical, which is sent to her address. Of course, no two of the members subscribe for the same periodical; thus, each one may read her own first, and pass it on in systematic order. The club by this means is able, at a comparatively small outlay, to become familiar with the contents of all the best current publications. At the end of the season the club holds an auction, enabling the members to retain what is worth preserving, and the remainder of the periodicals and books are sold.

IT is a curious circumstance that in the height of the vast popularity of "Marco Bozzaris," the sister of Fitz-Greene Halleck never heard of it, much less that the great poem was written by her brother. In a letter to her of March 26, 1827, he says: "I am much surprised and quite amused at your not having heard of my rhymes on 'Marco Bozzaris.' You remind me of the Chinese in one of Goldsmith's essays, who, on inquiring at a book-seller's shop in Amsterdam for the works of the immortal Chongfu (or some such name), was astonished to find that the illustrious and immortal author and his writings were totally unknown out of China. Why, 'Bozzaris' has been published and puffed in a thousand (more or less) magazines and newspapers, not only in America, but in England, Scotland, Ireland, etc. It has been translated into French and modern Greek. It has been spouted on the stage and off the stage, in schools and colleges. It has been quoted even in the pulpit, and placed as mottoes over the chapters of a novel or two. . . . And, after all, that *you* should never have heard it, or read it—*you*, almost the only person living to whom the music of my fame can be delightful, is really worthy of remark."

IN 1863, Fitz-Greene Halleck wrote to a lady friend who had solicited his photograph—he was then seventy-three years old—saying: "It is not by a great deal so handsome, begging its pardon, as I am at present; for in order to be in the fashion, I have allowed my beard to grow long, and, to avoid being accused from my youthful appearance of being under forty-five and liable to be drafted into the army, I keep it nicely whitewashed; so that were you to meet me you would mistake me for my good friend, Mr. Bryant, the poet, and would esteem and respect me accordingly. I think that the sun since it commenced taking likenesses for a living, has been more successful in its hats and great coats than in the human face divine. Because it is as old as creation, it evidently takes pleasure in making those who are silly enough to sit to him look as old as himself."

IT is interesting to remember that the year 1839 was distinguished by the first experiment in New York through which Daguerre's novel process of making pictures became known to the public. As they required an exposure of twenty minutes—too long for taking portraits—he stated that living objects could not be taken; they could not keep still long enough. Professor Morse, of telegraph fame, was one of the first to see that a new field of art industry would be opened, and made some interesting experiments.

BOOK NOTICES

A DIGEST OF THE INTERNATIONAL LAW OF THE UNITED STATES; taken from documents issued by Presidents and Secretaries of State, and from decisions of Federal Courts, and opinions of Attorney-Generals. Edited by FRANCIS WHARTON, LL. D.; in three volumes, pp. 825, 832, 837. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886.

These volumes, issued under a resolution of Congress, are *not* a digest of international law, but of the international law of the United States—two very different things. The influence of the American republic upon the law of nations during the century that it has existed has been so great as to modify if not change in many particulars that law as understood and laid down prior to 1783. From the 4th of July, 1776, till the Constitution of the United States went into operation, in 1789, thirteen separate, independent and perfect sovereignties existed in North America. As such thirteen perfect and sovereign states, independent of each other, they were respectively and severally named, and respectively and severally acknowledged to be such, by the King of Great Britain, in and by the treaty of peace of 1783. In 1789 "the United States" as such, and as the world now knows them, began their national existence, as a great duplex republic, one as to all the outside world, several as to themselves as its equal confederated parts. A form of government entirely new, and, as John Quincy Adams said, forced by their own necessities from a reluctant people. In fear and trembling the great experiment was begun; the world looked on derisively, and it was long before those who adopted it felt that confidence in their own work which alone could insure its stability. A great living English statesman has described the Constitution of the United States as the greatest form of human government ever struck out at once from the brain of man. And well may he say so, for its results have changed practically, if not actually, in both domestic and international matters, the pre-existent rules and forms of action of every other government in the civilized world. Of course, this result in matters international was not effected without great friction. A quasi war with France, one war with Great Britain, one with Algiers, one with Mexico, and the greatest civil war in the annals of mankind, have resulted in the laying down and carrying out by the American Republic of those rules of law and modifications of the former law of nations which, by consent of all existing governments, are now in operation. Of this, so to speak, United States international law, Mr. Wharton has given, in this great work, the first

and only digest that exists. It is more than a digest: it is a history with full citations of all authorities, of the relations of the United States with all civilized peoples, and their action with them upon all subjects which fall within the power or the cognizance of national governments; and it is written with great clearness and marked ability. Strange to say, no such work has ever before been attempted. It covers not only the printed publications of the Government, but also the vast mass of manuscript volumes of record in the department at Washington. "I have," says Mr. Wharton, "carefully studied, not merely the messages of our Presidents, but the volumes, now nearly four hundred in number, in which are recorded the opinions of our Secretaries of State. I have no hesitation in saying that the opinions of our Secretaries of State, coupled with those of our Presidents, as to which they were naturally consulted, form a body of public law which will stand at least on a footing of equality with the state papers of those of foreign statesmen and jurists with which it has been my lot to be familiar. But where are to be found the documents which embody the utterances of those charged with the direction of our foreign affairs? . . . It will be seen that three-fourths of them are still in manuscript, accessible only by special permission of the Secretary of State." Then, referring to the fact that the earlier published state papers are all long since out of print, Mr. Wharton continues: "Whether these records should be reprinted as a whole is a matter of interest. If they were, they would cover four hundred volumes of the ordinary law-book size. It would be difficult for one, seeking in haste to find rulings on some pending question of international law, to come to an accurate result from the study, in the short time assigned him, of so vast a mass of authorities. I have endeavored to meet this want by the present digest. In seeking for material I have turned every page of the volumes of records in the Department to which I have referred; and I have consulted in connection with them the various publications to be found in the annexed table" a table which covers seven pages of small type. From this it can be seen how thoroughly and well Mr. Wharton has performed his task. No more useful and valuable work has for many years been issued from the Government press, and none which is a greater boon to historians and public men.

YORK DEEDS. Book I., 1642-1666 [Maine].

Preface and Introduction by H. W. RICHARDSON. 8vo, pp. 422. Portland, Maine, 1887: John T. Hall.

In the introduction to this volume, Mr. Richardson, under whose supervision, in behalf of

the Maine Historical Society, the work has been produced, gives an animated sketch of the early history of Maine, taking into account the numerous documents which have accumulated since Williamson wrote his history of Maine, and which were inaccessible to that author. This is, we believe, the first attempt to reconstruct the narrative in connection with the new and important material. Mr. Richardson says: "The source of all land titles in Maine is the crown of England. The first English settlement here was authorized by a royal license, which guaranteed to the emigrants all the liberties, franchises, and immunities of Englishmen at home. They came as English subjects, and they brought with them the laws of England. It was declared in the same instrument that one purpose of their coming was to bring the savages living in this region to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government. The Indians occupied the soil as a boat occupies a river. They did not inclose and improve any considerable portion of it. They did not possess it as their property. The origin of property is the right which every man has to the fruits of his own labor. If he fences, clears, and cultivates a piece of land previously unimproved and unoccupied, he creates a value which is justly his. The Indian deeds conveyed no property of this kind. The King's license conveyed no property in this sense. King and sagamore alike granted permission to English subjects to create property in American lands."

The introduction covers some fifty-seven pages, and is an able presentation of the story of the discovery of the region and its occupation by English-speaking people. The early charters are brought under discussion, as well as the London Company, the fisheries, and the fur trade. We are shown how Captain John Smith, that "experienced, honest, but headstrong and imperious adventurer," set himself against the opinions of the time, and was excluded from further participation in the enterprises on the New England coast. He, indeed, used strange language in a book written for English eyes, in an age when wages were regularly fixed by magistrates at the quarter sessions; he said: "Here (in America) are no landlords to rack us with high rents, or extort fines to consume us; here every man may be master and owner of his own labor and land." Smith argued that if the fishermen and traders were encouraged, the country would settle itself.

During the period covered by this first book of deeds the representatives of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, of Alexander Rigby, and of the Duke of York, the general court of Massachusetts, and the royal commissioners sent over in 1667, all claimed and exercised jurisdiction within the present limits of Maine. Gorges and Rigby, it will be seen, expected to transplant the feudal land system of England to America. They

dreamed of great domains and an industrious tenantry and profitable rent-rolls. This volume is one of surpassing interest and value to all classes of students as well as the historian.

CHRIST IN THE CAMP: or, Religion in Lee's Army. By J. WM. JONES, D.D., Secretary Southern Historical Society. 8vo, pp. 528. Richmond: B. F. Johnson & Co., 1887.

A large amount of material has been published about the war in the last few years, the greater part of which, however, has consisted of descriptions of campaigns and discussions of the military movements involved. The official reports, as published by the government, together with the careful study of these by many competent persons, are giving us a technical history of the civil war more fully and more carefully done than any on record.

But there are many things about the civil war, and the armies who fought it, more interesting than the strategy of campaigns, the tactics of battles, or the military genius of commanders. The next generation will not be less interested in the daily lives of the soldiers than in their military movements. They will want to know what manner of men they were, by what motives they were guided, how they bore themselves in camp and on the march, as well as in battle. It has been a matter of surprise to some historians that the Confederate armies were so steadfast, so daring, and so self-sacrificing.

Of course, the ability with which they were led was one of the strong elements of Confederate success. Another was the fact that the war to them was a defensive one, in which their homes and their household gods were at stake. The feeling of patriotism was probably never more vigorous among any soldiers than among those that followed Lee. The book before us shows to what point the patriotic feelings of all classes in the South were wrought. But, in addition to all these causes, Dr. Jones' book throws a flood of light upon the characters and the aims of the men who won so many and so great victories. A large proportion of the ragged soldiery that followed Lee, Jackson, and Stuart were earnest Christian men, inspired by a faith as strong, and living lives as pure as Cromwell's Ironsides. These men, in many cases, had left their homes of refinement and ease to shoulder a musket, and to undergo all the privations of a Confederate camp. Whatever ebullition of feeling may have taken some of them into the army, nothing but the strongest convictions of duty kept them there. It is after reading Dr. Jones' book that we can best understand how these men bore cheerfully their trials, and fought on with undiminished courage when hope of success had fled. Even on the last disastrous retreat to Appomattox, Lee's army showed an undaunted front to their pur-

suers, and though well-nigh starved, was ready to engage in battle on the very day of the surrender. These men were simple, honest, earnest, God-fearing. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, Stuart, and many others, were leaders thoroughly in religious sympathy with the men they led. To such hosts, death, wounds, toils, privations, had no terrors, when in that way lay the path to heaven.

Dr. Jones preserves many valuable statistics showing the labors of various organizations engaged in the religious work in the army and hospitals; and his account of how this work was carried on, taken from contemporary authorities, is very interesting. But all this yields in interest, as well as importance, to the picture he gives of religious life in the Army of Northern Virginia; to the description of church services and prayer-meetings in which whole brigades participated; of the great revivals which took place in every part of the army; of the activity of church work when in winter quarters; of the gathering of thousands upon some hillside in summer to worship God, where general officers, including Lee and Jackson, knelt with their men and guided their devotions; where chaplains' words were often heard as the men were preparing for battle, and the services were often interrupted by the opening of the firing; where such men as General Gordon, of Georgia, preached to their men before leading them into the "perilous edge of battle."

There are some repetitions in this book, difficult to avoid in such a compilation, and a want, in several instances, of chronological sequence. In some places dates are omitted, or only the month given, without the year. It would add to the clearness and value of this volume if these oversights should be corrected in the next edition.

JOURNALS OF THE MILITARY EXPEDITION OF MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN against the SIX NATIONS OF INDIANS in 1779. With records of Centennial Celebrations. By FREDERICK COOK, Secretary of State. 8 vo. pp. 579. Auburn, New York: Knapp, Peck & Thomson, Printers, 1887.

The several journals published in this volume not only cover General Sullivan's expedition, but give some account of Colonel Van Schaick's Onondaga campaign in the spring of 1779, and of Colonel Daniel Brodhead's Allegany campaign in the summer of 1779, with copies of original maps made by the surveyors of the expeditions. Following these are the records of the centennial celebrations of 1879 at Elmira, Waterloo, Genesee, and Aurora, in the state of New York, together with thirty or more of the scholarly addresses delivered on those occasions.

One feature of the work which makes it specially interesting is a series of biographical sketches, with many fine portraits. Ex-Governor Horatio Seymour, who was unable to be present at the Elmira celebration, wrote: "The campaign under General Sullivan was a military necessity. It was something more than a mere raid upon savage tribes: it was a movement against a powerful confederacy, which had exerted great influence through more than two centuries of warfare. The Six Nations were never regarded in the same light as other Indian races by the governments of Europe. As a rule they held that the mere act of discovery gave all rights of control over the persons and territories of other savage tribes. But no such claim was put forth against the Iroquois. The power of their confederacy, their victories in war, their policy in peace, lifted them, in the eyes of the world, to a position in which they were treated with all the forms and consideration ever accorded to independent, powerful governments. The monarchs of France and Britain had sued for their favors, had courted their alliance. They looked upon the Iroquois as the arbiters who had the power to decide whether the civilization of this continent should be French or English in its aspects. It was to them that the agents of the colonies, from Nova Scotia to the Carolinas, sent ambassadors to invoke aid to check or punish other Indians when they attacked the borders of the whites. It was to the Iroquois that New England appealed when King Philip threatened the existence of its colonies. Nor was the appeal in vain.

Indifference to history, and to the features of our country which have shaped it, is the offspring of ignorance. Why should we cheat and wrong ourselves by failing to make the scenes in which we live of interest by a knowledge of their events? No people can rise to a high degree of patriotism who do not cherish the memory of their fathers' deeds."

The volume is crowded with thrilling records and brilliant utterances. It bears evidence on every page of conscientious care in its compilation, painstaking industry and editorial taste.

TRANSACTIONS AND REPORTS OF THE NEBRASKA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. II. 8 vo. pp. 383. Lincoln, Nebraska: State Journal Company, Printers, 1887.

The material in this volume relates chiefly to the territorial and early periods of Nebraska history. It consists of papers read at the two last annual meetings, with varied sketches and biographical notes. Mr. A. G. Warner's five sketches "From Territorial History" are packed with interesting statements and incidents. We are forcibly reminded of the extreme youth of Nebraska in his account of efforts made as late as 1854 to find inhabitants enough in Jones County (then a vast district) to hold an election

for assemblymen. The report of the investigator was: "Said county contains no inhabitants at all, save a few in one corner that properly belong in Richardson, and who ought to vote there." The author further tells us that nearly all the members of the first territorial assembly of Nebraska came over from Iowa for the express purpose of being elected to that body. It is amusing to note in the same connection that in many instances constituencies were imported from outside places in two-horse wagons, "with necessary ballot-boxes, election blanks, and refreshing refreshments." One such party started to hunt up Burt County; it was such a long, weary distance that their patriotism and horses flagged, and without caring much about the exact locality they were in, they stopped in a piece of woods in Washington County and held a picnic. "The result was a set of vastly formal returns, by which the desired number of assemblymen were elected." The first serious work of the early assembly was the passing of special acts of incorporation. The only way to get an approximately sound title to land was to have a town incorporated—and lack of inhabitants in no way interfered with that process. In March, 1855, the first insurance company was born. The papers of Hon. C. H. Gere, of Hon. Hadley D. Johnson, of Judge James W. Savage, of Rev. Samuel Allis, and many others, are rich in historical instruction. The credit of this admirably edited volume, is due to Hon. Robert W. Furnas, of Brownville, President of the Nebraska Historical Society, and George E. Howard, its able secretary.

HISTORY OF THE KINGS-BRIDGE, now part of the 24th Ward, New York City. With Map and Index. By THOMAS H. EDSALL, member of the New York Historical Society. 8vo. pp. 102. Privately printed. New York City, 1887.

There is much interesting information embodied in this little work. The historical sketch-map of Kings-Bridge with which it opens, is a pertinent geographical lesson in itself. It shows just what the author is writing about. The area consists of about four thousand acres to the south of the city of Yonkers, and bounded on the east by Bronx River; it extends to Spuyten Duyvil on the south and the Hudson on the west. A clever description is given of the early owners of the property, and also of those who came into possession later on. Revolutionary matters in that locality are treated in considerable detail; and the author has made a careful study of political and church history. We notice some errors, one of orthography in particular, which ought to be corrected in a future edition. The name of the first Van Cortlandt in this country is printed on page 12,

as "Olaf;" it should be Oloff. In the appendix are several documents of value, a copy of the "O'Neale Patent," and of several deeds executed by Elias Doughty.

POCAHONTAS, alias Matoaka, and her descendants through her marriage at Jamestown, Virginia, in April, 1614, with John Rolfe, Gentleman; with biographical sketches by WYNDHAM ROBERTSON, and illustrative historical notes by R. A. BROCK. 8vo. pp. 84. Richmond, Va., 1887. J. W. Randolph & Co.

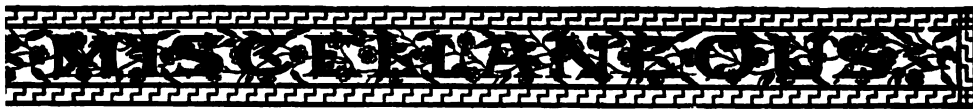
To all who are interested in the discussions pro and con concerning the true story of Pocahontas, this little work will be welcome. Rev. Philip Slaughter, D.D., of Virginia, writes to the author: "I congratulate you upon having procured from England authentic copies of the only original portrait of Pocahontas, so that we may see her as she appeared to the eyes of the artist instead of through the medium of the engraved caricatures." The picture to which he refers is the frontispiece to the volume. The story of Pocahontas is here told in all its bearings, and the modern critics are placed on trial for their statements to her disadvantage. The author firmly believes in Smith's story of his rescue by Pocahontas. An interesting feature of the book is the chapter on the descendants of Pocahontas, including the names of Alfriend, Archer, Bentley, Bernard, Bland, Bolling, Branch, Cabell, Catlett, Cary, Dandridge, Dixon, Douglas, Duval, Eldridge, Ellett, Ferguson, Field, Fleming, Gay, Gordon, Griffin, Grayson, Harrison, Hubbard, Lewis, Logan, Page, and others.

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"We were at school together, the little Jew and I;
He had black eyes, the biggest nose,
The very smallest fist for blows,
Yet nothing made him cry."

The two gems of the collection are "The Women of Mumbles Head," by Clement Scott, and "Letting the Old Cat Die," by Mary Mapes Dodge, the popular editor of *St. Nicholas*.



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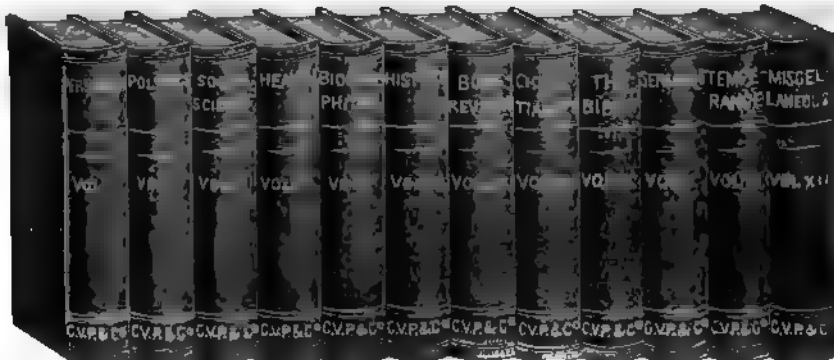
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ASSETS, - - - - - \$114,181,963.24.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force January 1st, 1886.....	120,952	\$368,081,441 76	Policies and Annuities in force, January 1st, 1887.....	129,907	\$393,809,000 88
Risks Assumed.....	14,673	56,830,718 97	Risks Terminated.....	9,656	30,004,937 60
	139,625	\$425,814,160 28		139,625	\$423,814,160 28

Dr. Revenue Account. Cr.

To Balance from last account.....	\$99,865,644 11	By paid to Policyholders:		
Premiums.....	15,634,730 66	Endowments and Purchased Insurance.....	\$4,908,730 61	
Interest and Rents.....	3,177,456 01	Dividends and Annuities.....	8,797,434 23	
		Deceased Lives.....	5,490,930 00	\$13,196,103 74
		By Other Disbursements:		
		Commissions and Commissions.....	\$1,730,630 83	
		Taxes.....	277,169 85	
		Expenses.....	1,091,613 91	
		By Premiums on Stocks and Bonds Purchased.....		3,107,416 59
		Balance to new account.....		50,566 14
	\$121,002,800 78			\$121,002,800 78

Dr. Balance Sheet. Cr.

To Reserve for policies in force and for risks terminated.....	\$108,360,120 95	By Bonds secured by Mortgage on Real Estate.....	\$90,118,949 66
Premiums received in advance.....	78,274 84	United States and other Bonds.....	40,071,741 00
Surplus at their per cent.....	5,643,568 25	Loans on Collaterals.....	4,170,917 05
		Real Estate.....	10,591,200 10
		Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at Interest.....	9,301,203 01
		Interest accrued.....	3,166,870 85
		Premiums deferred and in transit.....	4,583,317 01
		sundries.....	128,978 00
	\$114,181,623 24		\$114,181,963 24

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

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Vol. XVIII. CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1887. No. 5.

Portrait of Oliver Cromwell. *Frontispiece.*

The Manor of Shelter Island. Historic Home of the Sylvesters.

Mrs. MARTHA J. LAMB. 361

ILLUSTRATIONS.—Map of 1686, showing location of Shelter Island—The Home of Thomas Brinley in England—Heirlooms of Charles I.—Picture of the box planted by Mr. and Mrs. Sylvester—Original letter of Nathaniel Sylvester to John Winthrop in 1675—View in the Garden—Entrance Gate to the Mansion Grounds—Historic Stone Bridge—Quitclaim Deed of what is now Lloyd's Neck—Portrait of Samuel S. Gardiner—Sunset Rock—The Sylvester Mansion, built in 1737—View from Front of Henry Dering's House—One of the last of the Slaves—Tortoise-shell Snuff Box—The Haunted Looking Glass.

The American Chapter in Church History; or, The Relationship of Church and State in the United States. Part II. Rev. PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D. 390

Hamilto Oneida Academy in 1794. J. WALSTEIN ROOT. 396

Aaron Burr. A Study. (I.). CHARLES H. PECK. 403

An Interesting Dialogue in 1676. Between Bacon the "rebel," and John Goode of Whitby. G. BROWN GOODE. 418

Horace Greeley's Practical Advice. (An Incident of Reconstruction in Mississippi. Judge J. TARBELL. 423

The Religious Movement of 1800. T. J. CHAPMAN, A.M. 426

Minor Topics. Beecher's Humor—A Lament—General Washington's Land. 434

Original Documents. Two Interesting Letters: fac-simile of autograph letter of Governor George Clinton to Governor Hamilton, in 1752—General Peter Muhlenburg to Colonel Richard C. Anderson of Kentucky, in 1794. 439

Notes. Harvard Catalogue—Hon. Mark Skinner—The Constitution—Daniel Webster—The Pringle Family. 442

Queries. A portrait of Columbus—Nelson's River—Author of Lines—The School Law—The Phelps Family. 444

Replies. Boodle—The Stamp Act—Who Led the Troops in the final charge after Arnold was wounded at Quebec in 1776—Robert Drummond. 445

Societies. The Weymouth Historical Society—The Rhode Island Historical Society—The Fairfield County Historical Society. 448

Historic and Social Jottings. Illustrated. 449

Book Notices. A Short History of Architecture, by Tuckerman—The Personal Memoirs and Military History of U. S. Grant *versus* the record of the Army of the Potomac, by McClellan—Trans-Allegheny Pioneers, by Hale—Life of Father Isaac Jaques, by Martin, translated by Shea—The Two Spies, Hale and André, by Lossing—Three Good Giants, translated from the French by Dimitry—The Making of the Great West, by Drake—The Longfellow Prose Birthday Book, edited by Laura Winthrop Johnson—Life Notes, or, Fifty Years' Outlook, by Dr. Hague—Uncle Rutherford's Attic, by Joanna H. Mathews—Beecher as a Humorist, by Eleanor Kirk. 453

Advertisements—Books, Schools, etc., 1 to 12—Periodicals and Miscellaneous, 13 to 22.

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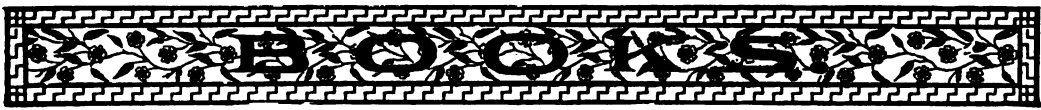
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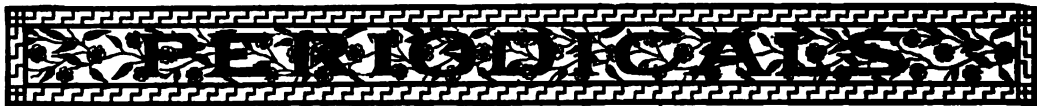
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THE MANOR OF SHELTER ISLAND

HISTORIC HOME OF THE SYLVESTERS

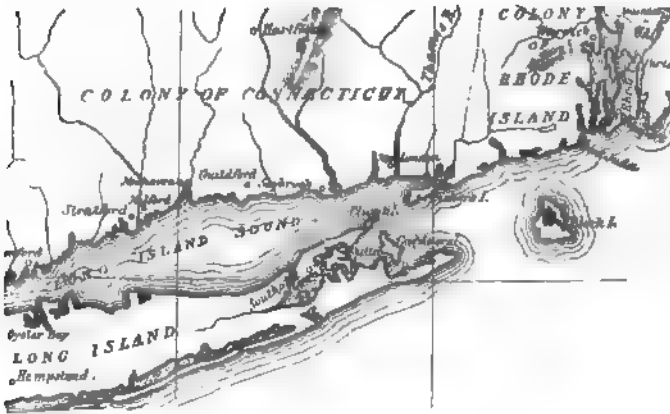
THE picturesque island which lies in the briny deep so lovingly near the eastern shore of Long Island—between its two extreme points, Montauk and Oyster-pond (now known as Orient), stretching out like the tines of a fork—has had a remarkably interesting and romantic history. The Indian inhabitants whose wigwams dotted its hillocks and glens when it was first discovered by Europeans called it “Manhansack-ahaquashuwamock,” meaning *an island sheltered by islands*. Hence its poetic name, Shelter Island.

Two hundred and thirty-six years ago, in June, 1651, this whole island was purchased for sixteen hundred pounds of “good, merchantable, Muscovada sugar.” Its extreme length was six miles, its width four miles, and although its shape was irregular it was estimated to contain about nine thousand acres. It was Stephen Goodyear, of New Haven, an eminent merchant and for a considerable period deputy-governor of the colony, who sold the property; and it was Nathaniel and Constant Sylvester, Thomas Middleton, and Thomas Rouse who bought and paid the sugar for it. The only one of these new landholders who made the island his permanent dwelling-place was Nathaniel Sylvester. Rouse within five years sold his one-fourth part to John Booth, who transferred it to Nathaniel Sylvester; and Thomas Middleton and Constant Sylvester established themselves at Barbadoes. The island had long been the headquarters of the Manhansett tribe of Indians, whose sachems appear to have been more enlightened and sagacious than most of their dusky contemporaries. They were pleased rather than otherwise to have white people come among them; they cared little for the soil which they never tilled, but they were tenacious about their rights in the matter of hunting and fishing—particularly fishing. This granted, they were the best of friends and really a protection to the pioneers.

The Dutch had included this island with Long Island in the map of their new American province of New Netherland; but it was too remote

from their seat of government at Manhattan to receive attention. Its general characteristics were unknown until the English appropriated it.

In April, 1636, by request of Charles I. the English Plymouth Company had granted the whole of Long Island *and the islands adjacent* to William Alexander, first Earl of Stirling, who was an ardent friend of the king. In this transaction the chronic dispute with the Dutch as to the just proprietorship of Long Island and its surroundings was entirely ignored. The following year the earl appointed James Farrett his agent for the sale of his lands, sending him to America. Farrett came authorized to select ten thousand of the best acres in the magnificent domain to become his own personal property. He traveled through its length and breadth, examining it with a critical eye, and then with unerring judgment chose Shelter Island,



MAP OF 1686, SHOWING LOCATION OF SHELTER ISLAND.

together with its little neighbor, Robbin's Island. By virtue of his commission from the Earl of Stirling Farrett confirmed Lion Gardiner's purchase in 1639 of the Isle of Wight (Gardiner's Island) and empowered him to make and put in practice all

needful laws of church and state. But he projected no improvements of any note on Shelter Island, being occupied in trying to sell large tracts and in bringing about settlements by New England people in the eastern part of Long Island, in order to maintain possession in defiance of the Dutch, who derided Lord Stirling's claim. Meanwhile his funds gave out; his letters to the earl, who was dangerously ill, were unanswered; he was obliged to mortgage Shelter Island to raise money for current expenses, and when the news of the death of Stirling, in 1640, reached him, changing the whole aspect of affairs, he sailed at once for England. Shelter Island passed into the possession of Mr. Goodyear, and for another decade its native inhabitants caught fish in the sparkling waters and reveled in the free use of their beautiful hunting grounds.

The Sylvesters were Englishmen who, through their adherence to

Charles I., and subsequently to Charles II., found it inconvenient to remain in England. Had there been no Oliver Cromwell, Shelter Island would have had a very different and doubtless much more prosaic history. The disasters that befel the unfortunate Charles I. and his final execution turned the attention of many a Royalist toward the new world. While Cromwell was leading his army against the Scots at Dunbar, in 1650, the Sylvesters (there were five or six brothers, all of whom were wealthy merchants) were resolutely preparing to leave the kingdom; and when, on the 3d of September, 1651, Cromwell achieved his great victory over Charles II. at Worcester, they had already, nearly three months before, secured Shelter Island



THE HOME OF THOMAS BRINLEY IN ENGLAND.

in America, and the family had found a temporary asylum in Holland. Important business interests must be adjusted, and then three of the brothers, with their families and their mother, a lady of strong character and many virtues, removed with their effects to Barbadoes. Even there they were not beyond the reach of the Cromwell government, and on several occasions were in great trouble. Constant Sylvester was arrested and imprisoned for a time as the leader of the loyalist faction. Madame Sylvester, the mother, is on record in Barbadoes as asking that she might be treated as an Englishwoman, not as a Dutchwoman. The father-in-law of Nathaniel Sylvester was Thomas Brinley, auditor of Charles I. and also of Charles II., and keeper of the accounts of the dower of Henrietta Maria. He was a man of integrity, wealth, and sound judgment, very much loved

and trusted by the royal family. It was to the fastnesses near the ancestral home of the Brinleys in Staffordshire that Charles II. fled after his final defeat by Cromwell; and Thomas Brinley was one of the few who met the fugitive monarch at Woodstock, under the roof of Sir Henry Lee,

of Ditchby. A few days later Charles II., while journeying south in disguise hoping to escape into France, summoned Thomas Brinley to meet him at Oxford to consult about supplies. As a consequence of his compliance, Brinley's estates were confiscated and a warrant issued by Parliament for his arrest. He eluded his pursuers, however, and with the king reached the continent in safety; but he was obliged to live in exile until the Restoration. His family were scattered. His lovely young daughter, Grissell Brinley, only sixteen years of age (she was baptized in 1636), went forth from his luxurious mansion to wed her lover, Nathaniel Sylvester, who, although he had been absent from England for several months, appeared upon the scene to claim her hand. Their romantic wedding occurred in the early part of 1652, and their bridal tour was a voyage across the Atlantic, ending in a veritable shipwreck. Their fellow-passengers were Francis Brinley, brother of the bride, founder of the well-known Brinley family in this country, Governor William Coddington of Rhode Island, with his bride—he had just married Anne Brinley, elder sister of Grissell—and Giles Sylvester, brother of the bridegroom. This family party stopped at Barbadoes and were handsomely entertained at the home of Constant Sylvester. They then sailed for Newport, but, encountering a terrible storm, were driven upon the rocks near Conanicut Island.

Their unlucky ship, *The Swallow*, was dashed in pieces, prior to which the ladies had been rescued through the heroic efforts of Sylvester, Coddington and Brinley; and before the wreck was complete, nearly all on board, including a large number of servants belonging to Sylvester, were saved. The vessel was laden with necessities for the new homes in America, and the loss under the circumstances must have been very severe; some of the household goods were washed ashore by the breakers, and saved. The record is extant of a priceless cabinet, which



Sylvester earnestly besought the captain of the vessel to save at any risk, supposed to have contained royal treasures from the Brinley archives. It was broken open in the struggle for life, and a portion of its contents destroyed; but there still exists in possession of the descendants a quaint silver knife and fork, broken, with carnelian handles and enameled case of Italian workmanship, of Charles I., an heir-loom given to each Princess Mary at her christening, which, tradition informs us, crossed the ocean in



THE BOX PLANTED BY NATHANIEL AND GRISSELL SYLVESTER
TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.

this royal cabinet. A shallop was obtained at Rhode Island, and after weary waiting on a desolate shore, and agonizing delays attended by excessive discomfort, Sylvester, his wife, and a part of his servants reached their future home. And a conspicuously undeveloped watering-place they found in which to spend their honeymoon. How much of a habitation had been provided before they arrived history is shy about telling; Sylvester was on the island when it was bought from Goodyear in 1651, and he had sent at least one shipload of goods and workmen to precede his coming.

But the chances are that they had nothing better than a tent to live in at first, and the outlook that winter of 1653 must have been the reverse of cheery. Fortunately, both Sylvester and the charming Grissell were highly educated, and not only capable of appreciating the natural beauties of their island retreat, but of forecasting the future, and they were warmly attached to each other. They overcame all obstacles, and built a remarkably substantial home, considering the circumstances—a house that stood the storms of more than eighty years. Bricks for the massive chimneys and scriptural tiles for the fire-places were imported from Holland, and the doors and windows from Barbadoes or England. Being a shipping merchant in the West India trade, Sylvester's facilities for obtaining what he wanted rendered him in a measure independent. He supplied the island with as many negro slaves as he could employ to advantage in the beginning. Ere long the evidences of cultivated taste were to be seen in all directions. Gardens, rose bushes, foreign shrubs and plants, and fruit and shade-trees encircled the dwelling. The box planted by the bridal pair (supposed to have been brought from England) is still flourishing, as may be seen in the illustration, and is in perfectly healthful condition, the oldest box probably on this continent, and one of the precious links by which the centuries may be spanned. The view looking toward the inlet of the sea from behind this ancient box is almost precisely the same it was when the present house was new, one hundred and fifty years ago.

It is exceptional in the history of domestic architecture in America that two structures on one site should reach comfortably over so long a period of time. The homestead built by Nathaniel Sylvester in 1652-3 was succeeded, in 1737, by the present mansion-house, as it has always been called by the people of the island, erected by his grandson, Brinley Sylvester. The elaborate carving of the panels, wainscotings, cornices, and mantels of the new house was executed in England; but some of the ornamental features, and the doors, sashes, tiles, etc., of the old one were worked into the new, sufficient to render it a worthy successor of the original. It is a historic home in the full sense of the term, reaching backward in its own frame-work a century and a half, and in some of its essential parts two centuries and a third, reflecting with peculiar emphasis the life and character of its long line of occupants. In the yard is an antiquated hawthorn hedge, which took firm root in the soil about the same date as the box, and is preserved with equal tenderness and care.

Fisher's Island, afterward erected into a manor under New York, was the home of John Winthrop, the younger, when the Sylvesters came to Shelter

In Shelter Island 17th of 3rd mo 1670
 Most Worthey & Indeard Friend

The dayes since I have of those
 All and for all and never to be forgotten day since which from time to time I have
 received from my dearest and true friend and partner in my most dear and
 to salute thee. And to assure thee that my heart is to the Lord thou must have
 them owned all my blessings. And thou shalt have which shall be given thee from
 Deity both to be pleased. And to grant thee, that be accompanied with heaven
 by Joy. As also that in the Expiration thou shalt be received by him
 and placed among his Saints.
 Upon the 10th of Decr. 1669 I arrived in New York to find that your hope
 was not to have found the Dutch and one of them but that they had
 nearly found the Dutch and sent aboard of a States man of 20 years of age and
 ignorant of the language. But did not hazard to venture my feet upon such
 a storm. For in the night he left with beyond his secret words to be
 receive the remainder. Under mine which now being considered so favorable
 has been pleased to promise that said beyond that I do not molest him. For he is
 his confidence to recover the same. And has given other of our support. This
 summer will further manifest. I have expected to have met in your service
 from the Governor which he hath been pleased to favour me withal. For which
 Providence of the Lord, and in receiving that love in my opinion and to find
 in the Lord to me in the kind of distress. It is the desire of my soul to be
 in able me to prosper in name for evermore.
 Having great desire with my wife to see thy face and to make personal
 acknowledgements for those obligations to be laid under thy hands in return and to
 for permitting this summer to give thee a visit. And to be so kind to receive
 and on for the my familiar expressions desiring thee with all to believe
 them to flow from a bosom which is full of joy and love to thyself & whole
 family. And that I recall to me of thee in such that thy name is like a good
 favor to us and our children. I shall add no further but that with presentation
 of my and my wife's profound respects unto thyself and Daughters. I
 make bonds to take leave. And to assure thee that I shall be my endeavors
 may be found in the Integrity of Heart ever to Remain.

Thy Most Indeard & Faithful Friend
 Nathaniel Sylvester

Island. Friendly intercourse was soon established between the two isolated families. Mrs. Winthrop was an agreeable and accomplished woman, and she became very much attached to the sweet young bride. Many of Sylvester's letters to Winthrop are extant—having been exhumed from the Winthrop papers—three of which are before me at this moment, throwing a flood of light upon their domestic experiences in the long ago. The penmanship is remarkably fine, and the style of expression that of a scholarly man of the world. On October 10, 1654, Sylvester writes on business, addressing Winthrop ceremoniously, with the following preface: "After my heartie thanks for your last courtesies I have made bould by the bearer, my brother, to salute both you and Mrs. Winthrop in these lines," etc. A letter, dated September 8, 1655, is written in a most pathetic strain. The baby is sick, cannot breathe through its nose, and is in danger of strangling. Sylvester appeals anxiously to Winthrop for advice as to what shall be done for the little one (two months old), and for medicine if possible. He says: "Our greef is great to see the child lay in y^e sad condition, and here we are quite out of y^e way of help." A letter addressed to Winthrop in 1675 will be found reproduced in full on the preceding page.

The sugar business in which Sylvester was concerned became very lucrative. Timber was furnished from Shelter Island with which to manufacture the hogsheads, it being better suited to the purpose than any produced in the West Indies. There is on record an account of the gift of a hogshead of sugar to Winthrop by Constant Sylvester. About this time (1656) the first Quakers appeared in Boston. The extraordinary proceedings against them are well known to all cultured Americans. They were regarded as blasphemous heretics, and the most barbarous and atrocious persecutions followed. Many of the principal sufferers found an asylum on Shelter Island. George Fox, founder of the society of Quakers, was twice a guest of the Sylvesters in their hospitable home, and preached to the Indians from the door-steps of the mansion. Hither fled the aged Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, who, after imprisonment, starvation, and whipping, were banished from the jurisdiction of Boston on pain of death, and who soon died, within three days of each other, tenderly cared for by Mr. and Mrs. Sylvester under their own roof. It was this incident that inspired one of Whittier's most beautiful poems:

"So from his lost home, to the darkening main
Bodeful of storm, good Macey held his way;
And when the green shore blended with the gray
His poor wife moaned: 'Let us turn back again.'

‘Nay woman, weak of faith, kneel
down,’ said he,
‘And say thy prayers : the Lord
himself will steer
And led by Him nor man nor devils
I fear ;’
So the gray Southwicks from a rainy
sea
Saw, far and faint, the loom of land
and gave
With feeble voices thanks for friendly
ground
Whereon to rest their weary feet and
found
A peaceful death-bed and a quiet grave,
Where ocean-walled and wiser than his
age,
The Lord of Shelter scorned the
bigot’s rage.”

It seems on glancing backward into these dark ages as if the more extreme the acts of cruelty, the faster the Quakers multiplied. The son and daughter of the Southwicks were fined ten pounds each, and as an expedient for raising the money the General Court at Boston absolutely passed a resolution to sell them into slavery, and offered them to one sea captain after another for the markets of Virginia and Barbadoes. No buyer could be found ; the inhumanity was too glaring. Other instances followed where Quakers were fined, and having no visible property, were sentenced to be sold as slaves. Yet no ship masters would ever become parties to such transactions, and the attempts failed. Two “Gospel



THE ANCIENT BOX IN THE GARDEN.

messengers" from England, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson (one coming by way of Virginia, the other *via* Barbadoes) met at Shelter Island, and went to Boston in 1659 to remonstrate against the "unholy cruelties." They were promptly seized, imprisoned, and sentenced to banishment on pain of death. Regardless of the edict, these Quakers continued four weeks preaching in Salem, within the limits of the colony, making many converts, and then marched back triumphantly to Boston and gave up their lives, a willing sacrifice, to show the world the impotence of persecution "to stay the work of the Lord." They were hanged on Boston Common, and Mary Dyer was to have been executed for her religious opinions at the same time; but a reprieve came after her ascent of the ladder, and she was banished instead. She went to Shelter Island, where she remained several months; but, in March, 1660, she suddenly made up her mind to go to Boston, and consequently her doom was sealed; she was hung on Boston Common. The same day two other victims were brought before the General Court at Boston, Joseph Nicholson and wife, but death appeared to have no terrors for them. They were released and subsequently found their asylum for a time on Shelter Island. Many who had been mutilated, maimed, their flesh lacerated by the whips, or burned with hot irons, were tenderly nursed—their wounds dressed and healed—by the Sylvesters. John Rouse, whose ears were cut off, was the son of Sylvester's former partner. William Leddra, executed early in 1661, came from Barbadoes to Shelter Island, before going to Boston. At the very moment the court at Boston was passing sentence of death on Leddra, Wenlock Christison walked boldly into the court room! For a moment Governor Endicott almost lost his voice in dismay. "Wast thou not banished on pain of death?" he finally asked. "Yea, I was," said Christison. "What dost thou here then?" asked Endicott. "I come to warn you to shed no more innocent blood," said the contumacious Quaker. He was quickly handed over to the jailer; but the case of Edward Wharton just before this and his indignant protest, questioning the right of the court to murder him when it had no charge against him but his "hat and his hair," had disconcerted the magistrates. What he said was ringing in their ears: "Note my words; do not think to weary out the living God by taking away the lives of his servants. What do you gain by it? For the last man you put to death, here are five to come in his room"—and the court trembled, and became suddenly divided in sentiment; Endicott was so disturbed that for two days he refused to preside.

But events on the other side of the Atlantic were about to terminate these merciless outrages. The fall of the Cromwell government and the

restoration of Charles II. spread consternation among those rulers in Massachusetts who had assumed powers never conferred by their charter. It looked as if the skies were about to fall on them. Mrs. Sylvester, who had opened her doors so generously to the starving and suffering, had been writing graphic and truthful accounts of the horrible persecutions to her father in his exile, who was always near Charles II.; and the young king thereby was kept well informed on the subject in all its dreadful details. When the news of the tragic fate of William Leddra reached England and it was further stated that many other Quakers in Boston were sentenced to die, Edward Burroughs sought and was granted admission to the royal presence. The interview was brief, Charles II. being perfectly familiar with the situation. When Burroughs said: "A vein of innocent blood has been opened in your dominions"—the king interrupted him with, "I will stop that vein;" and when Burroughs suggested that "it should be done speedily," the king responded, "as speedily as you will," and at once called his secretary and dictated the famous mandamus, which, as the "King's Missive," has been immortalized in verse by one of our beloved American poets, and which was forwarded to Boston at once by Samuel Shattuck, one of the exiled Quakers. The scene described by Whittier on its arrival is in accordance with the records:

"Under the great hill sloping bare
To cove and meadow and common lot,
In his council chamber and oaken chair,
Sat the Worshipful Governor Endicott.
A grave, strong man, who knew no peer
In the pilgrim land, where he ruled in fear
Of God, not man, and for good or ill
Held his trust with an iron will.

The door swung open and Rawson the clerk
Entered, and whispered under breath,
'There waits below for the hangman's work
A fellow banished on pain of death—
Shattuck of Salem, unhealed of the whip,
Brought over in Master Goldsmith's ship
At anchor here in a Christian port,
With freight of the devil and all his sort!'

Twice and thrice on the chamber floor
Striding fiercely from wall to wall,
'The Lord do so to me and more,'
The governor cried, 'if I hang not all!

THE MANOR OF SHELTER ISLAND

Bring hither the Quaker.' Calm, sedate,
 With the look of a man at ease with his fate,
 Into that presence grim and dread
 Came Samuel Shattuck with his hat on his head.

'Off with the knave's hat!' An angry hand
 Smote down the offense, but the wearer said
 With a quiet smile, 'By the King's command
 I bear this message and stand in his stead.'
 In the governor's hand a missive he laid
 With the royal arms on its seal displayed,
 And the proud man spake as he gazed thereat,
 Uncovering, 'Give Mr. Shattuck his hat.'

He turned to the Quaker bowing low—
 'The King commandeth your friends' release,
 Doubt not he shall be obeyed, although
 To his subjects' sorrow and sin's increase.
 What he here enjoineth, John Endicott,
 His loyal servant, questioneth not.
 You are free! God grant the spirit you own
 May take you from us to parts unknown.'

So the door of the jail was open cast,
 And, like Daniel, out of the lions' den,
 Tender youth and girlhood passed,
 With age-bowed women and gray-locked men.
 And the voice of one appointed to die
 Was lifted in praise and thanks on high,
 And the little maid from New Netherland,
 Kissed, in her joy, the doomed man's hand."

Soon after the capture of New York by the English, the owners of Shelter Island obtained a confirmation of their title, as required by the laws of 1664. They also arranged with Governor Nicolls for a perpetual exemption from taxes and other public burdens, through the payment of £150, "one half in beef and the other half in pork." The last clause of the release document is as follows:

"Now know ye, that by virtue of commission and authority given unto me by his Royal Highness, James Duke of York, I for and in consideration of the aforesaid sum of £150, and for other good causes and considerations we thereunto moving, doe hereby grant unto y^e said Nathaniel and Constant Sylvester, and to their heirs and assignees forever, that the said Island called Shelter Island, is, and forever hereafter shall be, by

these presents discharged, exonerated, and acquitted from all taxes and rates, either civil or military, etc. . . . Given under my hand and seale in James fforte y^e 25 day of May in y^e year Anno Dom, 1666."

[Signed by GOVERNOR NICOLLS.]

Six days later the governor issued the following patent, confirming the island to the Sylvesters, with manorial privileges :

" Having come by several deeds, conveyances, and grants to Constant Sylvester of Barbadoes, and Nathaniel Sylvester, residing in Shelter Island, aforesaid, merchant ; and by which said island shall be held, reputed, taken, and be an entire enfranchised township, manor, and place of itself, and forever have, hold, and enjoy like and equal privileges and immunities with any other town, infranchised place or manor, within this government, the same to be held, as of his majesty, the King of England, in free and common soccage, and by fealty only, yielding and paying yearly one lamb, upon the first day of May, if the same shall be demanded."

Seven prosperous years rolled by. The Sylvester manor had been well cared for and grown fruitful and attractive. Suddenly, like a thunderstorm in a clear sky, New York was captured by the Dutch. It was at a time of war in Europe, and the whole country was in agitation. One bright morning several Dutch men-of-war appeared off Shelter Island, and the captain of one of them with about fifty soldiers paid Sylvester a very significant visit. Soon after this the question was discussed with much heat how far the English towns in the province of New York should submit to the new Dutch government. Nathaniel Sylvester was in active conference with his neighbors, and accompanied the delegates to Hartford, thence to New York. The Connecticut men were reported as " shy and cautious " about giving advice : but Sylvester was out-spoken, and having had his own experiences already, counseled the Long Island towns " by all means to submit to the Dutch authorities." They assented, and for a while the signs of promise were satisfactory. Sylvester at the same time asked the Dutch for a confirmation of the manor privileges which Nicolls had granted Shelter Island in 1666. In view of the fact that the heirs of his deceased brother Constant at Barbadoes* and Thomas Middleton in England were part owners, their shares were confiscated by the Dutch, from whom Sylvester bought them for £500, to be paid " in this country's provisions."

* Constant Sylvester died in 1671. In his will he left to his daughters Grace and Mary £2,000 each at day of marriage, or at the age of twenty-one, and over and above that, £100 each to buy them a jewel at the age of sixteen years. Peter Sylvester was the only one of the Sylvester brothers who remained in England. He was a merchant in London, where he died in 1657. His wife was Mary Brinley, sister of Mrs. Nathaniel Sylvester, and Mrs. Governor Coddington.—*Waters' Genealogical Gleanings in England ; Broadhead*, vol. ii., 217.

Upon his giving a bond for payment, Shelter Island was duly conveyed to him with the privileges desired. The Sylvester manor at that time embraced about fifteen square miles, and he was the sole owner during the remainder of his life.

The prospect of an attempt on the part of the English to recover New York led the Dutch to enforce rigid regulations in each town. An oath of allegiance to the Dutch government was exacted. The towns at the eastern end of Long Island were not altogether agreeable. Huntington asked to be excused from taking the oath; Easthampton asked to be left as she was; Southampton said the town could not abjure its king, and swear allegiance to a foreign power; Setauket apologized, but said her people wished to preserve their English allegiance, and yet live at peace with the Dutch; and Southold objected to some of the conditions. Governor Colve was disposed to send a large force and "punish the rebels," but his councilors advised otherwise; it being a time of war between the English and Dutch, the New England colonies might come to the help of the towns and provoke serious mischief. Sylvester, and Lewis Morris from Barbadoes who was his guest at Shelter Island, by special messenger October 25, 1673, asked Colve to send a second delegation, and try to bring the towns to order by peaceful methods. Morris had come to look after the estate of his late brother, Richard Morris, of Morrisiana, and undertake the guardianship of his boy nephew, Lewis Morris, who afterward became the celebrated governor of New Jersey. Commissioners were appointed by the Dutch governor, of whom Hon. Cornelis Steenwyck was the leader, and sailed for Southold. Meanwhile messengers to Hartford from Southold asked for "protection and government" against the Dutch, which request was regarded favorably. Governor Winthrop was consulted, personally it is believed, by Sylvester, and approved of resistance. He sent a messenger to Colve with a letter containing "very pertinent and needful premonitions for the preventing a confluence of evil consequences," whatever that might mean. Connecticut promptly commissioned ex-Governor Wyllys and young Fitz John Winthrop to proceed to Southold with "necessary attendants," and treat with such Dutch forces as they might find there, whom they were directed "to warn that opposition would provoke the Hartford authorities to consider what they are nextly obliged to doe."

The Dutch commissioners started from New York on the 31st of October, and had a boisterous time on the Sound. Not until the 6th of November had they reached a point near Plum Island; and here a sail was discovered to leeward. It proved to be the little craft bearing the Connecti-

cut commissioners to the same goal, which struck its colors to the Dutch, and anchored near Shelter Island. A boat was sent for Wyllys and Winthrop, who came on board the Dutch vessel, and both parties exhibited their credentials. Toward evening Sylvester, at a signal, sent his son with a boat to land the commissioners on Shelter Island, who spent the night at the manor-house.

The next morning, about ten o'clock, after an appetizing breakfast, the novel sight might have been seen of two of Sylvester's boats, manned by his colored servants, crossing the water to Southold, the foremost contain-



ENTRANCE GATE TO THE MANSION GROUNDS.

ing the urbane Connecticut gentlemen with the king's jack in the stern, the second boat containing the New York commissioners with the prince's flag in the stern. They reached Southold at about two o'clock in the afternoon, where were gathered a large armed force. The Dutch saw a troop of cavalry parading near the shore who offered them horses to ascend the heights, and as Wyllys and Winthrop had already mounted they accepted the proffered civility and all rode together into the village. Steenwyck requested that the inhabitants be convoked that he might communicate to them the object of his visit, but ex-Governor Wyllys replied that the people of Southold were subjects of the King of England and had nothing to do with any orders of the Dutch at New York. It was an ani-

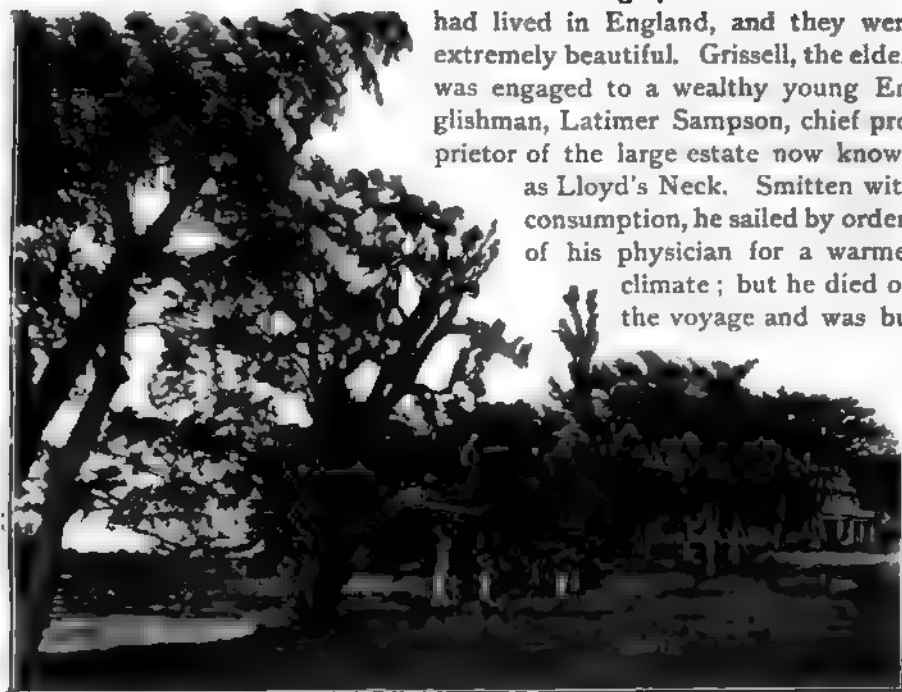
mated scene, the conversation being in both Dutch and English, and without regard to the order of the verbs. One man from Southampton who was present intimated to Steenwyck that it would be unwise to bring "that thing" to Southampton; whereupon Steenwyck asked what he meant by the word "thing." "The prince's flag," was the reply.

Steenwyck reported: "When taking leave of the Connecticut commissioners they asked us what village we intended to go to first in the morning, and assured us that they should be there, as they intended to be present at every place our commissioners should visit." On leaving Southold the Dutch commissioners entered the boat and were rowed back to Shelter Island, where they passed another night at the Sylvester manor-house. Having resolved not to visit any more Long Island villages, confident it would do more harm than good, they embarked next day on their return voyage to New York.

Some troops were raised in Connecticut at once, and under the command of Fitz John Winthrop stationed at Southold. The winter passed by without incident, but in March, 1674, provisions were needed for the fort, and Governor Colve sent a party of soldiers to collect them from Sylvester at Shelter Island, whose bond was now due. The real purpose of this expedition was to bring the refractory towns into subjection; but armed men were hurried from Southampton and Easthampton to the defense of Southold, and Captain Winthrop was there with his Connecticut auxiliaries. Sylvester promptly delivered his stipulated provisions to the Dutch officers on demand and next morning he seems to have been with the Dutch flotilla before Southold, for the records state that he was the chosen ambassador sent to demand the surrender of that town. The answer which he carried back was to the effect that the Dutch commander would be received "as a person that disturbs his Majesty's subjects." A few shots were exchanged after this, but the strength of the English was too apparent for a serious attack. The Dutch retired in disgust, and steered their vessel in the direction of New York. The struggle for supremacy in that locality between the two fighting nations ended with this adventure. Peace was proclaimed in Europe, and New York restored again to the English. When Sir Edmond Andros came into the government he found three of the eastern towns on Long Island quite firm in their intended secession from New York. They announced themselves as belonging to Connecticut. Whereupon Andros took immediate steps to bring them to order. He wrote to Winthrop, advising him "to disabuse his would-be subordinates of their *notion*;" and he appears to have visited Southold and Shelter Island in person. On his return to the metropolis he wrote to

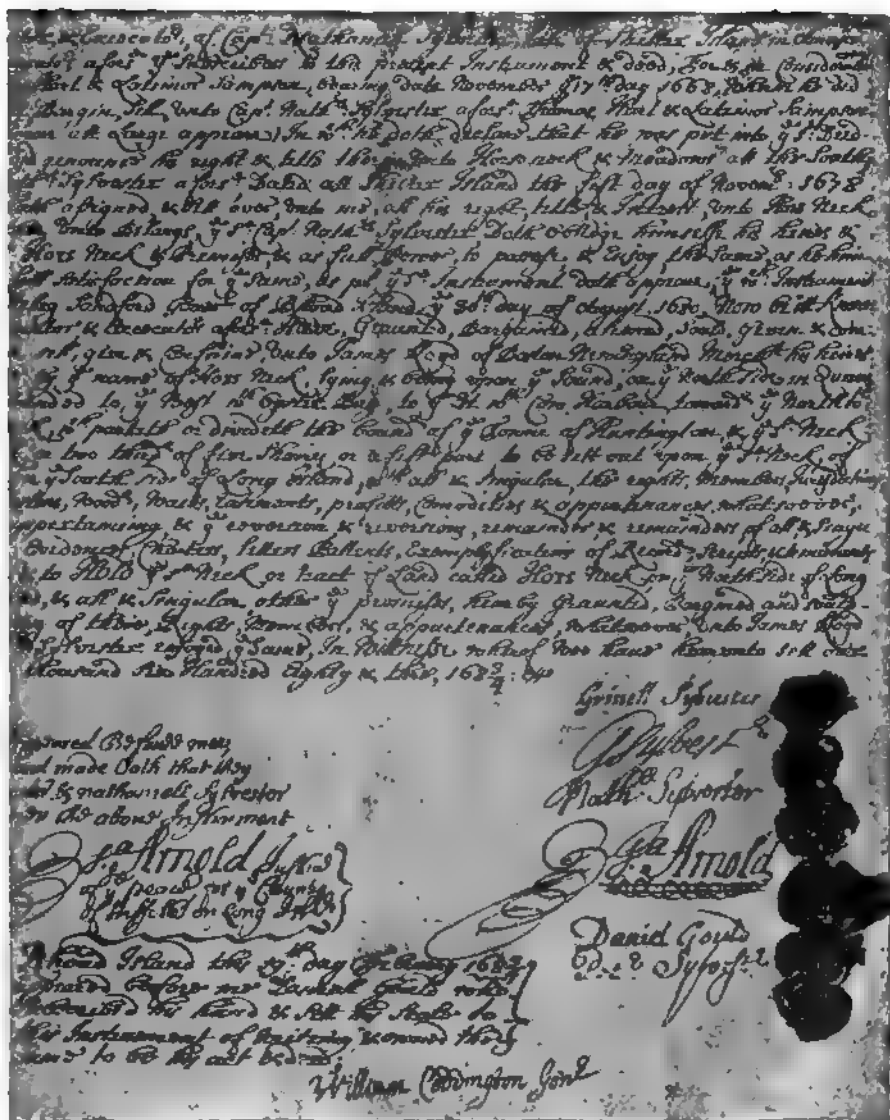
Winthrop that everything was satisfactorily arranged. The next year, 1675, Andros was in Southold again on the occasion of his expedition to Saybrook, and there is reason to believe that he also went to Shelter Island for a day or two.

Sylvester at that time had two charming daughters just blossoming into womanhood. There had been no schools on Shelter Island, but the best tutors had been employed for his children, and these young women were as thoroughly educated as if they had lived in England, and they were extremely beautiful. Grissell, the elder, was engaged to a wealthy young Englishman, Latimer Sampson, chief proprietor of the large estate now known as Lloyd's Neck. Smitten with consumption, he sailed by orders of his physician for a warmer climate; but he died on the voyage and was bu-



HISTORIC STONE BRIDGE, AND SITE OF ANCIENT INDIAN VILLAGE.

ried at sea, leaving by will all his possessions to his beloved Grissell. Tradition has handed along a touching and romantic account of the final parting of the lovers on the old stone bridge, with its cyclopean terrace-wall, just to the right of the manor-house, and names and dates which make the heart beat are carved upon the rough-hewn stone steps, built in the wall by the slaves of the estate to connect the bridge with the water's edge, forming the ancient landing-place. But the story is no myth. The will of Latimer Sampson was recorded by Matthias Nicolls,



SUBSEQUENTLY ERECTED INTO THE "MANOR OF QUEEN'S VILLAGE," NOW KNOWN AS LLOYD'S NECK

New York, and the Lloyds and other prominent families of Boston. As the lady was a minor, it seemed advisable that all the parties who were or could become interested in the estate of her father, Nathaniel Sylvester, should unite in a quitclaim deed of the Latimer Sampson property—

sisters and brothers, trustees, officials, etc. This unique document is preserved so perfectly with its signatures and seals that we reproduce it in full for the benefit of our antiquarian readers. Grissell Sylvester, after becoming Mrs. Lloyd, removed to Boston. Lloyd's Neck, under Governor Dongan, was erected into the "Manor of Queen's Village," and in the course of years was the residence of her son, Henry Lloyd, who married a daughter of John Nelson, of Boston.

The old stone steps, to which reference is made, seem to be saturated through and through with tender memories; here the Southwicks landed, and here Mary Dyer waved her last farewell to those who had befriended her; here Nathaniel Sylvester greeted George Fox, and Lewis Morris, and Edmundson, Winthrop, Sir Edmund Andros, and a score of other notables. And subsequently, as the successive proprietors of the manor maintained a high-bred and courtly hospitality, these historic steps were trodden from time to time by illustrious personages from both sides of the Atlantic. Governor Dongan passed over them, and so did many of the New York governors of the last century, not excepting John Jay.

The marriage of Patience Sylvester, the sister of Mrs. Lloyd, was also an exceptionally romantic affair. Among the exiled Huguenots of the period was Benjamin L'Hommedieu, who settled in Southold. There being no church on Shelter Island, the Sylvester family were accustomed to attend Sabbath worship in Southold. One pleasant Sunday morning soon after his arrival, L'Hommedieu was attracted by an extremely novel object moving over the sparkling waters of the bay. As it came nearer he observed two remarkably handsome young women in a barge, with a canopy over it, and six negro slaves rowing it. The vision haunted him. He went to church that morning, and, despite Puritanical customs, permitted his eyes to remain open during prayer. The story is so like every other love story that it is hardly necessary to say that his French heart was hopelessly lost before the preacher had reached "Amen" in his benediction. The sequel was a beautiful wedding, and Miss Patience Sylvester was henceforward Mrs. L'Hommedieu.

An anecdote is told of this sweet lady that will bear repeating. She was asked on one occasion by some envious friend if she was not very proud of her riches, naming quite a list of her possessions in detail. Her reply came with emphatic sincerity, "No, I am not proud of my father's ships, nor of our fine linen, and handsome silverware, and costly dresses; but I am proud of one thing—I know how to spin."

The descendants of Mrs. Patience L'Hommedieu have been as numerous and notable as those of her sister, Mrs. Lloyd. Her son, Benjamin

L'Hommedieu, married Martha Bourne; and his son, Ezra L'Hommedieu—who married Mary Catharine, daughter of Nicoll Havens—was one of the most eminent lawyers in the country, and many years in Congress. He bought the Sylvester homestead, and made the place his permanent home. It passed from him to his daughter, Mary Catharine, who married Samuel S. Gardiner, a descendant of the founder of the manor of Gardiner's Island, and brother of Hon. David Gardiner, one of the six gentlemen killed in 1844 by the explosion of a gun on the steamer *Princeton*, near Mount Vernon, while on a pleasure trip down the Potomac, by invitation of the President. During Gardiner's life-time this historic property was popularly known as the "Gardiner Estate." At his death it went to his daughters—he had no sons—two of whom married Professor E. N. Horsford, of Cambridge. Later on, in the settlement of the estate, it passed into the hands of Professor Horsford, whose children are the lineal descendants of Nathaniel and Grissell Brinley Sylvester, through the L'Hommedieu line.

Nathaniel Sylvester had five sons, and he bequeathed Shelter Island to them in equal parts; his large accumulations of property elsewhere were wisely distributed. He made his "endeared wife" his principal executor, together with his brother-in-law, Francis Brinley, his son-in-law, James Lloyd, Isaac Arnold, Lewis Morris, and Daniel Gould. Three of his sons died without issue, and their interests went to Giles, the eldest son, who thus became proprietor of four-fifths of the island, his brother Nathaniel, who lived in Newport, owning the remaining one-fifth. But Giles left no children, and by will his property went one-third to his widow, and the remainder and larger part, embracing Sachem Neck, the southern end of the island, to his friend William Nicolls, patentee of 90,000 acres at Islip, whose wife was a daughter of Jeremias Van Rensselaer and Maria Van Cortlandt, and who figured prominently in the public affairs of New York for a quarter of a century. Jonathan Havens married their daughter Catharine and built an imposing mansion on Shelter Island; he was the father of Nicoll Havens (whose daughter was Mrs. Ezra L'Hommedieu) and grandfather of the statesman, Hon. Jonathan Nicoll Havens. The



SAMUEL S. GARDINER.

Nicolls property has continued in the Nicolls family through successive generations, and is still in their possession.*

William Nicolls was the only son of Matthias Nicolls, the first secretary of the province of New York, and, like his father, was immensely rich and esteemed an aristocrat. He was, likewise, an able lawyer, and was made

attorney-general of the province in 1687, at the age of thirty-one. He was in the commission of the peace, and, refusing to surrender his authority under Jacob Leisler's edict in 1689, was imprisoned thirteen months. By the new governor from England (Sloughter) he was released and appointed to the privy council. Sent to England in 1695 to represent the affairs of the colony to the king, his vessel was captured by the French, and he lay for several months in a Paris prison, but finally reached Whitehall. In the overturn of politics in New York on the question of Leisler, Nicolls was one of the counselors of Governor Fletcher, who was accused of sharing in the spoils of ocean robbery. Lord Bello-mont, in 1698, wrote to the lords of trade that Nicolls was Fletcher's chief broker



SUNSET ROCK.

[Engraved from a photograph.]

in the matter of protections, and had a place of rendezvous with pirates on the Long Island shore. These charges were without foundation, but they

* In a memorandum left by Hon. John Watts, senior, is the following paragraph: "As my own father had added an s to his name (making Watt Watts), for what reason I have never heard, Mr Nicolls (William) left the s out of his name, calling himself, as all his descendants have done. Nicoll. Mr. Smith. *History of the City of New York*, i., 507.

may have given rise to many of the weird legends which have been handed along by the slave population of Shelter Island, where Nicolls resided a part of each year. "Sunset Rock," so named for having been the resort, formerly, of the Shelter Island ladies to watch the sun in its going down, reciting poetry and singing songs meanwhile, is pointed out as near the spot where the notorious Kidd buried his ill-gotten treasures. The story goes, that he came with twenty men to perform the work, and when it was done he cut off all their heads to prevent their telling anybody about it. The slaves and the common people on the island fully believed that every dark night or in a fog (for a century or more) twenty headless men might have been seen in blue coats, with their heads under their arms, guarding the hidden treasures. These superstitious people used to venture in that direction far enough to espy the light, and then run away in terror. Some of the more courageous tried many times, in the bright daylight, to dig for the gold, but no sooner would they get their crowbars under the rock than some unearthly noise would drive them away. William Nicolls is best remembered by his vigorous work in the New York legislature in the early part of the eighteenth century. He was a member of the assembly twenty-one years and its speaker sixteen years. He died in 1722. He bequeathed his Sachem Neck estate on Shelter Island to his son William, who was speaker of the assembly for many years, as his father had been before him.

The Sylvester homestead descended to Brinley Sylvester, the son of Nathaniel of Newport, who came to dwell in the home of his fathers. His first business was to build the new mansion as before mentioned, and improve the property generally. He was extravagant in his expenditures, and lived in a style of grandeur exceeding all his predecessors. He presided over his rich and extensive plantations with the dignity of a lord, and on every side there was costly and showy display. He was polished in his manners, scholarly in his tastes, hospitable, generous even to recklessness. On the death of Brinley Sylvester, without sons, his eldest daughter Mary, who had married Thomas Dering, a merchant of Boston, inherited the family domain, and from them it descended to their son, General Sylvester Dering. Henry Dering, brother of the general, built a commodious house on Shelter Island, overlooking the sea. The old approach to the Sylvester mansion-house was through an avenue of cherry trees about sixty feet broad. Similar avenues were planted in front of Henry Dering's house, and of that built by Ezra L'Hommedieu, prior to his purchase of the Sylvester mansion on the death of General Sylvester Dering.

Until about 1735 the Sylvesters always kept a chaplain at the island, or, as he was called by the people, a priest. During several of the early



THE SYLVESTER MANSION, SHELTER ISLAND, BUILT IN 1937.

decades there was but one family on the island, with their dependents and Indian neighbors. In 1730, seventy-eight years after its settlement by Sylvester, a *quasi* town organization was formed, its male inhabitants of full age at the time numbering twenty. Five of these bore the name of Havens. In 1733 they built a little Presbyterian meeting-house, the money for which was largely given by the wealthy land-holders. Brinley Sylvester contributed more than \$6,000. He also gave the first minister, Rev. William Adams, a home in his house until his death in 1752, after which Mr. Adams continued for many years to reside in the family of Mrs. Dering. The pulpit, stairs, sounding board and some of the pews were brought from the Rutgers Street Church in New York, and placed in the little edifice. Whitfield preached in it in 1764, and also to



VIEW FROM FRONT OF HENRY DERING'S HOME.

a large concourse of people in the grounds of the mansion. He was the guest of the Derings for some days, and afterward corresponded with them. The Derings intermarried with the Nicoll family. They were noted far and wide for their generous hospitality.

The successor of the little church was built in 1815. The timber for it was obtained in a singular manner. A terrible September gale swept over the island and prostrated an old and valuable grove of stately locust trees on General Dering's estate. These he offered as a free gift for the frame of the edifice, which was built, according to the fashion of the times, with great high-backed square pews. It was remodeled and enlarged in

1858, and a belfry was then built. The ground was originally donated by Jonathan Havens.

During the period immediately prior to the Revolution, there were not less than two hundred negro slaves on the island. They have gradually dwindled away, but many of their descendants remain, and are, as a rule, industrious and respected. The Derings fled, during the Revolutionary War, to Middletown, Connecticut, and the island was, during a long time, at the mercy of the British. Their fleets for three years wintered in Gardiner's Bay. The wood on the island was felled and carried off, as well as the cattle and the crops. "Hay Beach Point" received its name from having been the convenient



ONE OF THE LAST OF THE SLAVES ON THE SYLVESTER MANOR.

place for loading the confiscated hay, wood, and grain upon their boats. High grounds on the northeastern side of the island are still pointed out as the camping-place of the British soldiers, and on one bluff the stones mark the spot where many were buried.

The site of one of the most important Indian villages on the island is but a few rods distant from the rear of the Sylvester mansion, and the

elevation seems to be a solid mound of oyster shells and savage paraphernalia; it may be seen just in the background of the sketch of the old stone bridge. One of the curiosities of the island is a footprint in the rock just outside the entrance gate to the grounds. The tradition is that it was made by the last chief of the Montauks, who in despair took three long steps, this one on Shelter Island, one at Orient Point, and the third at Montauk, then jumped into the ocean. The Shelter Island footprint is that of the right foot, and thus marks his starting place; it is confidently asserted by the common people that it will fit the right foot of any one from a child to a giant.

The history of the purchase of lands, the erection of hotels and villa residences, and the transformation of a portion of Shelter Island into one of the most delightful watering-places on this continent is no part of the purpose of this paper. The villas may continue to multiply, and the triumphs of modern domestic architecture prove a never-ending surprise and delight, but the historic home which has made all these things possible will not be overshadowed in its delightful seclusion. It touches the past gently, and while the present estate probably does not now include more than two square miles, it still, in many of its aspects, is fully equal to the fifteen of its first proprietor. It is scarcely fifty years since the first *public* highway was laid out on the island; now there are beautiful drives in every direction. Greenport and the ferry are modern luxuries of far more recent date than the first roads. One of the natural curiosities of the island is a fresh-water pond covering thirty acres, and about sixty feet deep; it is lower than the level of the sea, and has no visible outlet.

An appropriate monument has recently been erected to Nathaniel Sylvester by his descendants, on the family estate, and the cemetery and grove where it stands is called Woodstock from its threads of relationship to the ancient English manor of Woodstock, where Charles II. was concealed in his flight.

The historic mansion has its haunted chamber, but just precisely



THE TORTOISE SHELL SNUFF BOX.



THE HAUNTED LOOKING-GLASS.
[Engraved from a photograph.]

what sort of spirits come to wake its occupants in the dead of night, with loud rappings in one of its corner closets, has never been satisfactorily explained. The clanking of chains sometimes attends these nocturnal disturbances. The ghosts, curiously enough, never appear to any of the family kin; they exhibit a decided preference for stranger guests. The weird ghost stories and legends which have been perpetuated by the descendants of the old servants of the families would fill a volume; this class of people seem to have been superstitious in the extreme. On one occasion a quaint looking-glass found stored away in the attic was exhumed and hung on the wall of one of the bed-rooms. It so happened that this room was soon afterward occupied by an old nurse of the family. Some weeks passed by, when it accidentally came to the knowledge of the household that the woman was sleeping at night with her head entirely covered with the bed-clothes. On being asked the reason, she said the looking-glass was haunted—that every night, at midnight, some of the ladies who had been reflected in it years and years ago came back to see who was in the room where it hung!

The delusion was such a pretty one that the woman was given another apartment and the haunted looking-glass held dear for its portraits—one of which may be seen in the sketch; and unless some of the curious

damsels of the past break it in peering into the present, it will doubtless be handed along to posterity as a priceless treasure. The dwelling is filled with heirlooms of the most captivating character, keepsakes from ancestors on many a well-known tree, that have descended through the centuries. The Brinleys of Cromwell memory are here represented by relics; a tortoise shell snuff-box with heads, in silver, of William and Mary was a gift nearly two hundred years ago to one of the Sylvesters; the only original letter known to exist, in the handwriting of Lion Gardiner, the founder of the manor of Gardiner's Island, is here preserved; and we might go on indefinitely had we the space for a catalogue. The main part of the house is large and roomy. The entrance hall is patterned after those of a former century, and the stairs are unique in construction. Few dwellings in America have welcomed more celebrities under its roof, and there are none extant more rich in varied and romantic associations. The suggestive lines of the poet Jebb strike the chord which already vibrates:

" Isle in a sister's arms so gently wound,
Home of a loyal race from days of old;
In thee Sylvester's soul still breathes around,
True chivalry and kindness never cold —
As when the hopeless fled for hope to thee,
Inviolatè, twice girdled by the sea."

Martha J. Lamb

THE AMERICAN CHAPTER IN CHURCH HISTORY
OR
THE RELATIONSHIP OF CHURCH AND STATE IN THE UNITED STATES
PART II
THE STATE CONSTITUTIONS

The Federal Constitution did not abolish the union of church and state where it previously existed, nor does it forbid any of the states to establish a religion or to favor a particular church. It leaves them free to deal with religion as they please, provided only they do not deprive any American citizen of his right to worship God according to his conscience. It does not say: "*No State* shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion;" nor: "*Neither Congress nor any State,*" but simply: "*Congress* shall make no law," etc. The states retained every power, jurisdiction and right which they had before, except those only which they delegated to the Congress of the United States, or the departments of the Federal government. In the language of the Tenth Amendment, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." Hence, as Justice Story says, "The whole power over the subject of religion is left exclusively to the state governments, to be acted upon according to their sense of justice and the state constitutions." The states are sovereign within the limits of the supreme sovereignty of the general government, which is confined to a specified number of departments of general national interest, such as army and navy, diplomatic intercourse, post-office, coinage of money, disposal of public lands, and the government of territories.

In New York and Virginia the union of church and state was abolished before the formation of the Federal Constitution; but in other states it continued for many years afterward, though without persecution. Massachusetts and Connecticut retained and exercised the power of taxing the people for the support of the Congregational Church, and when it was finally abolished, many good and intelligent people feared disastrous consequences for the fate of religion, but their fears were happily disappointed by the result. In Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Maryland,

and New Jersey, atheists and such as deny "a future state of reward and punishment" are excluded from public offices, and blasphemy is subject to punishment.* In Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and Tennessee, clergymen are excluded from civil offices and the legislature, on account of their ecclesiastical functions. The constitution of New Hampshire empowers the legislature to authorize towns, parishes and religious societies to make adequate provision, at their own expense, for the support of public *Protestant* worship, but not to tax those of other sects or denominations. An attempt was made in 1876 to amend this article by striking out the word *Protestant*, but it failed.†

It is remarkable, however, that after the adoption of the Federal Constitution no attempt has been made to establish a religion, except in the Mormon Territory of Utah. Most of the more recent state constitutions expressly guarantee religious liberty to the full extent of the First Amendment, and in similar language.

We give a few specimens:

The constitution of Illinois (II., 3) declares that "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination, shall forever be guaranteed, and no person shall be denied any civil or political right, privilege or capacity on account of his religious opinions," and that "no person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship against his consent, nor shall any preference be given by law to any denomination or mode of worship."

The constitution of Iowa (I., 3, 4) declares that "the general assembly shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; nor shall any person be compelled to attend any place of worship, pay tithes, taxes, or other rates for building or repairing places of worship, or the maintenance of any minister or ministry. No religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust, and no person shall be deprived of any of his rights, privileges or capacities, or disqualified from the performance of any of his public or private duties, or rendered incompetent to give evidence in any court of law or equity, in consequence of his opinion on the subject of religion."

Similar provisions are made in the constitutions of Alabama, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, New

* See the constitutional provisions of these states in Cooley's *Constitutional Limitations*, p. 579, note. In the year 1887 a blasphemer was punished in New Jersey, in spite of Ingersoll's defense.

† Cooley, p. 580, note 2.

York, Oregon, Texas, and other states, but usually with an express caution against licentiousness and immoral practices. *

Judge Cooley enumerates five points which are not lawful under any of the American constitutions: 1. "Any law respecting an establishment of religion." 2. "Compulsory support, by taxation or otherwise, of religion." 3. "Compulsory attendance upon religious worship." 4. "Restraints upon the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience." 5. "Restraints upon the expression of religious belief." †

The exceptions are remnants of older ideas, and cannot resist the force of modern progress.

It is a serious question whether the constitutions of all the states should not be so amended—if necessary—as to prevent the appropriation of public money for sectarian purposes. Such appropriations have been made occasionally by the legislature and the city government of New York in favor of the Roman Catholics, owing to the political influence of the large Irish vote. Such appropriations are acts of injustice to the Protestant population, which, owing to its greater wealth, bears the main burden of taxation. The state must, above all things, be just, and support either all or none of the religious denominations.

The case of Mormonism is altogether abnormal and irreconcilable with the genius of American institutions. In that system politics and religion are identified, and polygamy is sanctioned by religion, as in Mohammedanism. This is the reason why the Territory of Utah, notwithstanding its constitutional number of inhabitants, has not yet been admitted into the family of independent states. The general government cannot attack the religion of the Mormons, as a religion, but it can forbid polygamy as a social institution, inconsistent with our western civilization, and the Supreme Court has decided in favor of the constitutionality of such prohibition by Congress. The Mormons must give up this part of their religion, or emigrate.

THE EFFECT OF THE CONSTITUTION UPON THE CREEDS.

The ancient or œcumenical creeds (the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian) are silent on the relation of church and state, and leave perfect freedom on the subject, which lies outside of the articles of faith necessary to salvation.

But some Protestant confessions of faith, framed in the Reformation period, when church and state were closely interwoven, ascribe to the civil magistrate ecclesiastical powers and duties which are Erastian in

* See Cooley, *Constitutional Limitations*, ch. xiii., p. 579.

† *L. c.* p. 580.

principle and entirely inconsistent with the freedom of the church. Hence changes in the political articles of those confessions became necessary.

The Presbyterian Church took the lead in this progress even long before the American Revolution. The synod of Philadelphia, convened September 19, 1729, adopted the Westminster standards of 1647, with a liberal construction and with the express exemption of "some clauses in the XXth and XXIII^d chapters of the Confession in any such sense as to imply that the civil magistrate hath a controlling power over synods with respect to the exercise of their ministerial authority, or power *to persecute any for their religion.*" * After the revolutionary war, the United Synod of Philadelphia and New York met at Philadelphia, May 28, 1787 (at the same time and in the same place as the convention which framed the Federal Constitution), and proposed important alterations in the Westminster Confession, chapters XX. (closing paragraph), XXIII., 3, and XXXI., 1, 2, so as to eliminate the principle of state-churchism and religious persecution, and to proclaim the religious liberty and equality of all Christian denominations. These alterations were formally adopted by the Joint Synod at Philadelphia, May 28, 1788, and have been faithfully adhered to by the large body of the Presbyterian Church in America. They are as follows:

ORIGINAL TEXT, 1647.

Ch. XXIII. 3.—Of the Civil Magistrate.

The civil magistrate may not assume to himself the administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; ¹ yet he hath authority, and it is his duty to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the Church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed; and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered and observed. ² For the better effecting whercof he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi. 18; Matt. xviii. 17; xvi. 19; 1 Cor. xii. 28, 29; Eph. iv. 11, 12; 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2; Rom. x. 15; Heb. v. 4.

² Isa. xlix. 23; Psa. cxxii. 9; Ezra. vii. 23-28; Lev. xxiv. 16; Deut. xiii. 5, 6, 12; 2 Kings, xviii. 4; 1 Chron. xiii. 1-9; 2 Kings, xxiii. 1-26; 2 Chron. xv. 12, 13.

AMERICAN TEXT, 1788.

Ch. XXIII. 3.—Of the Civil Magistrate.

Civil magistrates may not assume to themselves the administration of the Word and Sacraments, ¹ or the power of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; ² or, in the least, interfere in matters of faith. ³ Yet, as nursing fathers, it is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the Church of our common Lord, without giving the preference to any denomination of Christians above the rest, in such a manner that all ecclesiastical persons whatever shall enjoy the full, free, and unquestioned liberty of discharging every part of their sacred functions without violence or danger. ⁴ And as Jesus Christ hath appointed a regular government and discipline in his Church, no law of any commonwealth should interfere with, let, or hinder the due

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi. 18.

² Matt. xvi. 19; 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2.

³ John, xviii. 36; Mal. ii. 7; Acts, v. 29.

⁴ Isa. xlix. 23.

* Moore's *Presbyterian Digest*, Philadelphia, second ed., 1873, pp. 4 et seq.

ORIGINAL TEXT, 1647.—*Continued.*

that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God.¹

Ch. XXXI.—Of Synods and Councils.

For the better government and further edification of the church, there ought to be such assemblies as are commonly called synods or councils.²

II. As magistrates may lawfully call a synod of ministers and other fit persons to consult and advise with about matters of religion;³ so if magistrates be open enemies to the church, the ministers of Christ, of themselves, by virtue of their office; or they, with other fit persons, upon delegation from their churches, may meet together in such assemblies.⁴

¹ 2 Chron. xix. 8-11; chaps. xxix. and xxx.; Matt. ii. 4, 5.

² Acts, xv. 2, 4, 6.

³ Isa. xlix. 23; 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2; 2 Chron. xix. 8-12; chaps. xxix. and xxx.; Matt. ii. 4, 5; Prov. xi. 14.

⁴ Acts, xv. 2, 4, 22, 23, 25.

AMERICAN TEXT, 1788.—*Continued.*

exercise thereof among the voluntary members of any denomination of Christians, according to their own profession and belief.¹ It is the duty of civil magistrates to protect the person and good name of all their people, in such an effectual manner as that no person be suffered, either upon pretense of religion or infidelity, to offer any indignity, violence, abuse, or injury to any other person whatsoever, and to take order that all religious and ecclesiastical assemblies be held without molestation or disturbance.²

Ch. XXXI.—Of Synods and Councils.

For the better government and further edification of the church, there ought to be such assemblies as are commonly called synods or councils.³ And it belongeth to the overseers and other rulers of the particular churches, by virtue of their office, and the power which Christ hath given them for edification, and not for destruction, to appoint such assemblies; and to convene together in them, as often as they shall judge it expedient for the good of the church.⁴

¹ Psal. cv. 15; Acts, xviii. 14, 15, 16.

² 2 Sam. xxiii. 3; 1 Tim. ii. 1; Rom. xiii. 4.

³ Acts, xv. 2, 4, 6.

⁴ Acts, xv. 22, 23, 25.

In ch. xx., § 4, the last sentence, "and by the power of the civil magistrate" was omitted, so as to read, "they [the offenders] may lawfully be called to account, and proceeded against by the censures of the Church."

The only change made in the Larger Catechism was the striking out of the words "tolerating a false religion," among the sins forbidden in the Second Commandment (Quest. 109).

The example set by the Presbyterian Church in the United States was followed by the Protestant Episcopal Church, which was organized as a distinct communion in consequence of the separation from the Crown and Church of England in 1785. At first this church made radical changes in her liturgy and reduced the Thirty-nine Articles to twenty, and afterward

to seventeen, and omitted the Nicene and Athanasian creeds.* But the "Proposed Book" of 1786 failed to give satisfaction and was opposed by the English bishops. The General Convention at Trenton, New Jersey, September 8-12, 1801, adopted the Thirty-nine Articles, yet with the omission of the Athanasian Creed in Article VIII., and of Article XXXVII., on the Powers of the Civil Magistrate, which asserts in the first paragraph that

"The Queen's [King's] Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England and other of her [his] dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and it is not, nor ought to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction."

For this first section in Article XXXVII. the following was substituted :

"The power of the civil magistrate extendeth to all men, as well clergy as laity, in all things temporal ; *but hath no authority in things purely spiritual.* And we hold it to be the duty of all men who are professors of the gospel, to pay respectful obedience to the civil authority, regularly and legitimately constituted."

As to the Methodists, who are the most numerous body of Protestant Christians in the United States, they had previously disowned the political articles of the Church of England by adopting the abridgment of John Wesley, who in 1784 had reduced the Thirty-nine Articles to twenty-five.

The Lutheran Formula of Concord (1576) excludes the Anabaptists from toleration "in the church and in the state."† But this prohibition has lost its force even in Germany and in Scandinavia, where it used to be rigidly enforced.

The Baptists and Quakers always protested against the union of church and state, and intolerance.

The independence of the church from the state is universally adopted, and religious persecution universally condemned, even by the most orthodox and bigoted of our churches.

Philip Schaff

* Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, III., 807, sqq.

† "Anabaptista . . . talem doctrinam profitentur quæ neque in Ecclesia neque, in politia [Germ. ed.: noch in der Polizei und weltlichem Regiment], neque in æconomia [Haushaltung] tolerari potest." Epitome, Art. XII. See Schaff, *l. c.*, III. 173.

HAMILTON ONEIDA ACADEMY IN 1794

Thirty years ago, an aged Clinton lady,* talking with the elders of our generation, was wont to tell with special zest her recollection of the first of July, 1794. She remembered to have seen, on that day, a gay procession pass her father's house, just west of Clinton. A company of militia cavalry, clad in the blue and buff of the old Continentals, and commanded by handsome Captain George Kirkland, led the way. Behind them rode ladies and gentlemen, with one in the uniform of a Revolutionary general. The company moved westward, along the forest road; and, as she afterward learned, escorted Baron Steuben to lay the corner-stone of Hamilton Oneida Academy. Of the ceremony of which this was the prelude, no account has been handed down. The actors and spectators alike have gone, leaving the story in its details untold. But standing on the hillside where they stood nearly a century ago, we may, at least in general outline, picture the scene. The July sun is shining brightly over the wooded hills of the Oneidas; and, in the valley, Clinton, only a hamlet, lies in quiet. Upon a hill, a mile and a half from the village, where the steep ascent softens almost to a plain, in a small clearing amid the elms and hemlocks and maples of the forest, an unwonted throng is gathered. Scattered on the outskirts are the stalwart braves of the Oneidas, faithful friends of the missionary and the colonies. Within these are the citizens of Clinton and its vicinity, who have so manfully aided the missionary in his labors. Drawn up on one side in military array are the soldiers; the missionary hero, Samuel Kirkland, Baron Steuben, Skenondoa, the Christian chief of the Oneidas, and Kirkland's family and personal friends, occupy the position nearest the spot where the stone is to be laid. The hum of conversation ceases as Dominie Kirkland offers a simple prayer that the institution, whose beginning they are about to witness, may live and prosper with the favor of God. Then Baron Steuben, who had trained the soldiers of liberty, steps forward and does his part in founding a school to train the coming generations to preserve their heritage. He declares the stone fitted to its purpose, and dedicates the academy to religion and truth, for the service of all who in the future shall come within its walls.

It was a scene worthy fuller remembrance. In it all there stood pre-eminent the figure of one man, the missionary himself, the dream of whose life was just now beginning to be realized. The founder of Hamilton

* Mrs. Lucas, daughter of Eli Bristol.

Oneida Academy was worthy to mark the way for the toil and suffering of coming students; the institution was the practical outgrowth of the training and consecrated purposes of the founder's entire life.

Samuel Kirkland was born on the 1st of December, 1741. He is first heard of at the Rev. Dr. Wheelock's school in Lebanon, where he was admired and respected by all who knew him. At the age of twenty-one he entered Princeton College; but filled with great zeal to begin his work, he left college during his Senior year and began his life as an Indian missionary. After two years of toilsome and dangerous labor among the Senecas, he returned to the civilized world and was ordained to the Gospel ministry. On the day of his ordination he received a commission from the "Honorable Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge," as an Indian missionary. He is supposed to have been the missionary of all the tribes of the Iroquois; but, owing either to their central position or good moral character, he made his home among the Oneidas. Here, year after year, he worked. When the Revolution broke out, he exerted his influence to prevent the Oneidas from taking up arms for the English, as the other Iroquois tribes had done, and with the aid of Skenondoa he succeeded in keeping the greater part of this tribe steadfast for the American cause. He thus gained consideration and influence which were afterward of great service to him in his plans for the academy.

Mr. Kirkland's effort was not only to Christianize the Indian, but to educate, to civilize him, to make him the equal of the white man. He believed that the Indian could be educated and civilized; and he determined, whatever the difficulties in the way, to undertake it. He had, a short time before, presented to a board of commissioners at Boston a "Plan for the Education of the Indian," which he now began to follow. He established four small schools among the Oneidas. But these were not enough; they only taught the rudiments of the common branches. The Indians, to Kirkland's thought, should go farther; some from among them should be disciplined to be themselves teachers and spiritual leaders. Accordingly an effort was made to build a higher school, one that would be of advantage to both the red man and the white man. The Indians were to be selected from the neighboring tribes and "instructed in the principles of human nature, in the history of civil society, so as to be able to discern the difference between a state of nature and a state of civilization, and know what it is that makes one nation differ from another in wealth, power, and happiness; and in the principles of natural religion, the moral precepts and the more plain and express doctrines of Christianity."*

* Kirkland's "Plan of Education for the Indians."

How was the money for such a project to be raised? The State of New York and the Indians conjointly had given to Kirkland four thousand seven hundred and sixty acres of land; but this was not sufficient to build an academy, for land at that time was of little value in the market. Clinton had been settled hardly five years, and the inhabitants of the region thereabouts had little, if any, ready money. Mr. Kirkland, however, was not to be deterred by such obstacles. He determined, as soon as an opportunity presented, to take a trip to various parts of the State to see what could be done in regard to his favorite scheme.

In the month of October, 1792, while riding through the woods one Sunday morning, he was struck in the eye by a branch of a tree. It was a painful wound which might prove dangerous if not attended to; and he was prevailed upon to visit Albany and New York to consult the oculists. He went willingly, as this would give him the desired opportunity to push forward his educational plan. At Albany he saw the governor and the regents of the University. He applied to the board for a charter for his academy, and on the 29th of January, 1793, it was granted. The board appointed as trustees Alexander Hamilton, John Lansing, Egbert Benson, Dan Bradley, Eli Bristoll, Erastus Clark, James Dean, Moses Foote, Thomas R. Gould, Sewal Hopkins, Michael Myers, Jonas Platt, Jedediah Sanger, John Sergeant, Timothy Tuttle and Samuel Wells—all men of note and influence. Mr. Kirkland met Alexander Hamilton, who took unusual interest in his efforts, and was of such assistance that Mr. Kirkland thought it but a fitting compliment to call the institution Hamilton Oneida Academy. He passed on to Philadelphia and saw President Washington, who expressed himself as warmly in favor of the scheme.

When he returned from his trip he began to circulate his subscription paper. He headed it with a subscription of ten pounds in money and "three hundred acres of land to be leased and the proceeds applied to the support of a competent instructor." With great earnestness he tried to impress on the minds of the citizens the necessity for such an academy and the advantages to be gained from it. He so stirred the hearts of the people that nearly every one gave something from his scanty store, sacrificing comfort and pleasure that they might aid the earnest missionary in his work. Nothing could better show the character of the people and the sacrifices they made than the subscription list itself, which now, yellow with age, hangs carefully framed in the memorial hall of the college. The names which read so humbly are those of the hardy, earnest, God-caring pioneers of central New York. They came, many of them, to positions of prominence; they wielded no little influence, and the history

of Oneida County holds them in honored memory. As the list shows, they gave not only money but time ; subscriptions were payable in lumber, in glass and nails, in grain and blacksmith's work ; but in one way or another the people universally contributed.

After spending about a year in gathering funds and making preparations, the corner-stone was laid. With the combined efforts of the neighborhood the frame was raised and the roof covered ; then the funds gave out and the work stopped. Kirkland's enemies, for so earnest a man could not but have them, laughed at him and called the attempt "Kirkland's folly." In 1794 the regents appointed a committee to look into the affairs of the academy, but for some unknown reason no report was made. In 1796, however, the committee appointed by the board the year before reported as follows :

"The trustees of Hamilton Oneida Academy, in the county of Herkimer,* have erected the frame of a building for an academy, which will require considerable money to complete. There is a small school room half a mile from the academy, in which scholars have been formerly taught, but no teacher has been employed nor school kept since September, 1794."†

The school here spoken of was an effort on the part of the friends of the academy to begin the academy work ; but it manifestly met with no encouragement. The regents' report for 1796, made in 1797, ‡ shows that the academy was in a worse condition than the preceding year, that all the money was exhausted, that there was no prospect of the building ever being finished, and that the property had been levied on to satisfy unpaid debts. The regents positively refused to appropriate any money whatever, thinking that it would be money thrown away. But Mr. Kirkland persisted. He worked hard himself and he pressed others into the endeavor to raise funds. Mr. Joel Bristoll (whose descendants have been almost continually connected with the institution, whose son was the first valedictorian of Hamilton College, and long a trustee, whose grandson was for some years an instructor, whose great-grandson is now in the faculty of the college) made especially great efforts in behalf of the building, and to him, in part, the final success of the enterprise is due. He succeeded in raising enough money to finish completely one large room on the second floor and two smaller ones on the first floor. At this time, also, two chimneys were built. The money again gave out, and for a year or two nothing more was done.

* Oneida County was not yet formed.

† *Minutes of Board of Regents*, Vol. I., p. 134.

‡ *Regents' Minutes*, I., 157.

But the academy was to be completed. The men who had undertaken it were not the men to give up ; and so year after year adding something, the building at last was ready for use, although it was not entirely finished until the academy became a college. It was a strong frame structure, three stories high, eighty-eight feet long and forty-two feet wide. It was designed to contain twenty rooms, sixteen feet square, and also a school-room forty-two feet by twenty-two—and an apparatus and library room. It was situated about a mile and a half from Clinton village. Across the hills on which it stood Lord Amherst had marched his army for the final demolition of French power in Canada. It was just over the Indian side of the "Property Line ;" to the east of it were the clearings of the Connecticut and Massachusetts settlers ; to the west, the home of the Iroquois. It was placed here within territory up to this time sacred to the Indian, with the design of making the Indian students feel at home, that the academy was for them as well as the white man.

School was opened in this building late in 1798, and in 1799, at a meeting of the regents, the following report was made :

"The trustees have represented to the regents that they have completed so much of the building as is sufficient for the accommodation of a large school. They have procured an instructor, Mr. John Niles, who has had experience in the instruction of youth at Greenfield Academy in Connecticut, and whose recommendation from Rev. Dr. Dwight is an ample testimonial of his virtue and qualification as an instructor. The school was opened on the 29th of December last. Nearly twenty scholars were admitted, and the number was increasing, and there was reason to believe would in a short time be respectable." *

During Mr. Niles' stay, Mr. Kirkland brought some Oneida Indians to the school, and with the assistance of Mr. Eli Bristoll took care of them ; but they soon grew tired of books and study, and after an unsuccessful attempt to convert them to civilized life they were permitted to return home. Since then no Indians have attended the institution, either as an academy or since it has become a college.

After four years' service, during which time the school had rapidly increased, Mr. Niles resigned his position, and his place was filled by Rev. Robert Porter. There were now in the school, as shown by the report to the regents, fifty scholars, twelve of whom were instructed in the Latin and Greek languages. The report of the following year gives about the same number. Up to this time the reports of the academies had no set form, but in 1803 blanks were prepared and systematic reports required. The first formal annual report of Hamilton Oneida Academy, for the year

* *Regents' Minutes*, I., 190.

ending October 10, 1804, shows in detail the condition of the academy at that time, as follows:

PROPERTY.		INCOME.	
Academy lot and house.....	\$3,500	From funds.....	\$48
Other real estate.....	900	From tuition.....	494
Personal estate.....	240		
Library and apparatus....	460		

Number of volumes in library, 189.

APPARATUS.		NUMBER OF STUDENTS.	
Terrestrial Globe.		English Grammar and Ciphering.....	26
Surveyor's Compass and Chain.		Mathematics and Bookkeeping.....	6
A Thermometer.		Dead Languages.....	30
An Electrical Machine.		Logic, Rhetoric, and Composition.....	2

Robert Porter, Principal. Salary, \$400.

David R. Dixon, Assistant. Salary \$17 per month.

Plainly that was a day of small things, compared with the endowments, appliances, and work of the present. But for the period, in a region only settled by white men within a score of years, Hamilton Oneida Academy was doing well. It ranked as sixth among the nineteen academies of the State, and had established a reputation which attracted students from all parts of New York and even from New England.

In 1805 Mr. Porter resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Seth Norton, who remained but a year, when Mr. James Robbins took his place. One year later he in turn was superseded by Mr. Norton, who held his position until the academy merged into the college. The academy, which at one time seemed likely to fail, was now growing more prosperous every year. The report for 1806 shows that there were eighty-five students. This was the year in which Mr. Robbins had charge of the school. In 1807 the report shows that there were one hundred and twenty-one students in the academy—it being the third academy in the State.

In 1810, which was the most prosperous year of the school, we find reported one hundred and seventy students; the library increased to two hundred volumes; the property increased to \$15,805, and that Mr. Norton was aided at times by four assistants. This report fully shows us for the first time the inside work of the academy. We find there was "a class in Homer and Euclid, one in De Officiis, two in Virgil, one in Quintus Curtius, one in the elements of the Latin language, and one in English grammar, the members of which had occasionally exercises in arithmetic and geography."

There was manifested even at that early period a spirit of jealousy be-

tween the public schools and academies which has continued to the present time. This was true in the case of the Hamilton Oneida Academy ; and there are in the reports of the trustees earnest denials of any rivalry with the common schools ; that the candidate for admission was required to be able to " read fluently and write a fair, legible hand " was advanced as evidence that the academy was not encroaching on the public school.

The report of 1811, the last report of Hamilton Oneida Academy, as such, shows that the property had increased to \$15,919, but the number of students for some cause had decreased to one hundred and fifty. The salary of Mr. Norton was \$650, and that of his assistant, Mr. Eddy, \$240.

It is evident that the friends of the academy, as soon as its prosperity seemed assured, had hopes of its becoming a college. At the meeting of the regents in 1805, they presented a plea for a college charter, which received no response. In 1810 they renewed their petition, but met only refusal. They now raised \$50,000, which would insure a like amount from the state, as a basis for enlargement, and again applied for a college charter. The friends of Union College and Fairfield seminary were strongly opposed to this attempt, but at last, in 1812, the regents granted the petition. On the 24th of October, 1812, Hamilton College received its first students ; and in January, 1813, the regents authorized the chancellor to receive the surrender of the charter of Hamilton Oneida Academy, on proof that all its property had been transferred to Hamilton College. Hamilton Oneida Academy thus became a thing of the past.

Although the academy had ceased to exist legally, yet the same spirit was in the college. Mr. Norton, principal of the academy, became professor of languages in the college ; the early college students were from the academy, and those who had befriended the academy aided the college. The work and influence of Hamilton Oneida Academy are only widened and deepened in the college whose true beginning was in the forest clearing where Kirkland, after toil and sacrifice, founded the academy.

It was fitting that in June of last year, the graduating class of the college should place its memorial stone on the spot where nearly a century ago Steuben, standing by the side of the missionary and the Indian, laid the corner-stone of the academy.

It is fitting also that on the opening page of its later catalogues, Hamilton College claims kinship with Hamilton Oneida Academy, and presents, as the spirit of the college, the last wish of Mr. Kirkland for the academy.

Mulstein's Root.

AARON BURR: A STUDY

I

The name of Aaron Burr has long been infamous. He stands not only as the peer in treason of Benedict Arnold, but as the prince of political intriguers, and the perpetrator of political murder. Even Danton holds a scarcely more conspicuous place in the gallery of the detested. When Hamilton fell at Weehawken, in 1806, Jeffersonism was in the ascendant, and faction joined with federalism in the extremest denunciation of Burr. And when, at length, the motives and the tongues of factional diatribe died away, the steady growth of the federal doctrine, incarnate in Hamilton, continued to fan the flame until Burr's name could not be mentioned on any hand except with contumely. This has become a fixed and general habit; he is no longer named but as a political wizard, a traitor, and an assassin.

It is current in criticism that the fundamental distinction between the English and the French literatures arises from the fact that the English usually write with view to a moral effect, while, with the French, all that is natural or actual is useful to knowledge and fit for art. Whatever doubt may be raised as to the propriety of the French theory as applied to other departments of literature, it furnishes the true rule of historical criticism, which presumes no man to be wholly good or totally bad, seeks natural explanations instead of forced constructions, and subordinates moralizing to the presentation of facts—in short, as Matthew Arnold puts it, aims to see things as they are. Of the converse method, the treatment of Burr's career is a forcible illustration. Indeed, the theme, by reason of some markedly vulnerable features, is one peculiarly susceptible of moralizing misrepresentation; and under the sermonizing process, even Burr's misfortunes have become iniquities, and his mistakes monstrosities. In speaking of him in this place, however, it is not proposed to apologize or palliate, but simply to present with fairness the outlines of a life scarcely more misguided than misunderstood.

Although the subject is not an alluring one to the biographer, it has been treated twice, aside from a small and valueless volume by one Knapp, printed in 1835. Davis' *Memoirs*, accompanied by Burr's *Private Journal*, appeared in 1837, the year succeeding Burr's death. The work had been prepared at Burr's request, and with the advantage of his personal informa-

tion. But a more inane specimen of biographical writing of any pretension has never appeared, even in this country. It is as dull as a documentary history, and without the value ; being, indeed, but little more than a compilation of letters to and from various persons, with varying connection with the subject. Nor is dullness its gravest fault. Burr doubtless supposed that, in confiding the task to an intimate acquaintance of forty years' standing, the little justice that was due him would be shown. But his worst enemy could hardly have written anything more inadequate or unfair. Those phases upon which light might have been thrown are left in their original gloom, while much is misstated or overdrawn, and so palpably as to seem through an intentional effort to coincide with the popular prejudice. The effect naturally was to confirm, if not to intensify, the severest opinions that prevailed concerning Burr's public and private character. Twenty years later, Parton's *Life of Burr* was published. It was the first, and thus far has been the only, effort to treat the subject in a more true historical spirit. But the attempt at fairness rendered the work, in some important respects, at variance with the prevailing sentiment, and it was at once pronounced a mere panegyric, although it is difficult to see how any version of Burr's life could merit that appellation. The work is marked by the usual characteristics of Parton's writings—industry, accumulation of facts, occasional error, considerable insight, and some exaggeration, all combined in a style somewhat loose and hurried, but often graphic. It affords the basis of a more accurate understanding of Burr's career, and an interior view of his times. And, it may be added, it is in securing these interior views that the study of the minor and the more unadmirable public characters finds its chief utility. We thus discern the seamy side of great reputations, and the mechanism of historical events. History, when correctly known, is altogether human, and the period in which Aaron Burr figures is very far from forming an exception.

Burr was born on the 6th of February, 1756. Few children of his day entered the world under finer auspices. His mother was cultured and beautiful, and the daughter of Jonathan Edwards, the foremost divine of the colonies, and the first American whose writings achieved a reputation in Europe. The paternal stock was equally good. His father, the Reverend Aaron Burr, was the descendant of a substantial Connecticut family, and in his time a distinguished personage. He enjoyed a wide repute for classical scholarship no less than for efficient eloquence, and became the first president of Princeton College, the founding of which was mainly due to his efforts. It was during his labors at the College of New Jersey, the parent of Princeton, that he had married Esther Edwards, after a brief

and practical courtship. The fruit of the union was only two children, Aaron and a sister, two years his senior. But a singular series of deaths following close upon each other soon left them even worse than orphans; within the space of thirteen months they lost both their parents and their grandparents. To these misfortunes, however, was not added that of poverty, for they came into possession of a fine estate; nor were they left wholly without friends, being shortly taken in charge by Timothy Edwards, their mother's brother, and brought up by him at his home in Elizabethtown.

Even at this point we begin to perceive the assiduity with which the smallest circumstances that tend in any degree to illustrate Burr's accepted character have been collected and preserved. No boyish pranks, no sayings or doings that can be construed to point in that direction have been lost. And so numerous are the anecdotes of this description, that the casual eye easily sees him as perverted from infancy. The following passage from his own mother's diary, written when he was but thirteen months old, does service at the head of the catalogue:

"January 31, 1758.—Aaron is a little, dirty, noisy boy, very different from Sally almost in everything. He begins to talk a little; is very sly and mischievous. He has more sprightliness than Sally, and most say he is handsomer, but not so good tempered. He is very resolute, and requires a good governor to bring him to terms."

Uncle Timothy was a strict Puritan, and as such had more or less difficulty, it would seem, in conforming the deportment of his vivacious ward to his rather prim notions of propriety, although not sparing the rod. Among other escapades, it is related that, at the age of ten, young Aaron ran away to go to sea. He went to New York, and was actually employed as a cabin-boy upon a vessel about to sail, when he observed his irate uncle coming in quest of him. The boy took to the rigging, and refused to be beguiled from his perch until assured that his exploit would entail no unhappy consequences.

But instead of finding in his youthful conduct the germs of perversion, we may rather perceive a buoyant and restless energy quite as likely to develop into very superior qualities. In fact, his fine talents are shown by his being proficient enough in study at the age of eleven to apply for admission to Princeton College. His application was denied on account of his youth, and he continued his studies for two years under private instruction before it was renewed. This time he not only demanded admission, but admission into the junior class, since he possessed the requisite preparation. This advancement, of course, was likewise denied him,

although he was permitted to enter as a sophomore. He graduated at sixteen, and with considerable distinction. Nevertheless, the events of his college days are supposed to discover increasingly patent evidence of his native moral obliquity. Thus it is recounted how, against the traditions of his descent, and to the dismay of his puritanical friends, he resisted the contagion of a religious revival; how he acquired the habit of writing letters in cipher; and how he had already become an admirer and disciple of Chesterfield.

After his graduation he passed three years of leisure and amusement, during which time his fortune, his promise and his good looks are said to have made due impression upon the female heart. He then began the study of law with his brother-in-law, at Litchfield, Connecticut. But he had little more than begun before the news of Lexington electrified the Colonies. He was filled at once with enthusiasm for the Revolutionary cause, and a few days after Washington assumed command he joined the army near Boston. At this time his chief ambition was military. Not only familiar with all that could be learned in books of the science of war, Burr was a natural soldier. His slight figure was more than compensated by his remarkable courage and dignified bearing. His brilliant, piercing eye was the index of energy and command. His soldierly qualities were soon put to test. Upon its organization, he joined Arnold's expedition against Canada, and encountered a series of hardships and adventures that destroyed half the force before they saw the heights of Quebec. For thirty-two days the little army struggled through the wilderness, and were as many times compelled to carry their boats, stores, and sick around rapids and through swamps and morasses. Once Burr's boat was carried over the falls in Dead River, and he barely escaped with his life. For days starvation stared the army in the face. They were reduced to feed upon the flesh of their dogs and the leather of their shoes and cartridge-boxes.

Arrived at Quebec, it was necessary for Arnold to communicate with Montgomery, whose forces lay before Montreal. Burr's skill and conduct recommended him for that service, and he was commissioned to perform it alone. The distance was one hundred and ninety miles, through a hostile country; but by means of the aid he received from the Jesuit clergy, who were inimical to the English government, he successfully accomplished the mission; and so charmed was Montgomery with young Burr's bravery and address that he forthwith appointed him his aide, with the rank of captain.

Montgomery joined Arnold at Quebec, and in the operations that followed Burr took an active and prominent part. In the ill-starred night

assault, during which Montgomery was slain, the young captain bore himself with great courage and discretion. His exploits gained him much applause throughout the army; and, reaching the ear of Washington, a place was made for him in the general's immediate service. Thus in May, 1776, Burr reported at Washington's headquarters at New York City. Six weeks of service, however, were sufficient to dissatisfy him with his situation. His duties were solely clerical, and unsuited to the bent of his ambition; and, besides this, he had for some reason imbibed a dislike for Washington that deepened in after years. The antipathy is said to have been mutual, although it may doubted whether Washington at this time had enough to do with Burr to form an active dislike for him. At any rate, his position was exchanged for that of aide-de-camp to General Putnam, who commanded on Long Island. The circumstance has been the occasion of disparaging inferences. But that the tame function of amanuensis should be irksome after the exciting experience he had seen was only to be expected. Hamilton's conduct in the same situation was certainly the more reprehensible. And the propriety, moreover, of the change was soon evidenced. He served under Putnam for ten months with great credit to himself and advantage to the cause. In several engagements he proved himself a brilliant and valuable officer, although it is asserted that he also found opportunity for gallantries of quite a different description.

In July, 1777, in recognition of his services, he was promoted, and by Washington, to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. His immediate superior was a New York merchant who, like many of the Continental officers, owed his commission to other considerations than his military talents. Being rarely with his regiment, the command of it devolved upon Burr, under whose rigorous and exacting discipline it soon became one of the best in the service. In the battle of Monmouth he commanded a brigade, and again narrowly escaped death, his horse being shot under him. After this Washington selected him to perform a variety of delicate missions, which he did with complete success. Yet it is insinuated that at this time, while Washington valued Burr's services, he distrusted his integrity. Of this, however, there is no proof, nor is there a reason to justify the charge. The treatment he received at the hands of the commander-in-chief, bestowed upon any other man, would lead to an entirely opposite conclusion. At most, Washington may have been informed of Burr's passive concurrence in the efforts then making to supersede him, as well as of the low estimate that Burr placed upon his generalship; but Washington's indifference to the acts of the principals in that intrigue excludes the idea of

his harboring a prejudice against a subordinate officer simply on the score of his military opinions.

In January, 1779, Burr was placed in command of the Westchester lines, a position of extreme difficulty and importance, lying between the opposing armies. But, after two months of skillful and efficient service, he was compelled by the loss of his health to resign his commission. This ended his connection with the army, but he left it with a justly high reputation.

His health was so seriously broken that he spent eighteen months in recuperation, after which he resumed his legal studies; for extravagant habits acquired in the army had depleted his patrimony, and a profession had become a necessity as well as a choice. He was admitted to the bar in April, 1782, soon after which he married Mrs. Prevost, a widow without beauty or wealth, and ten years older than himself, besides being the mother of two children. But the lady was possessed of an unusual degree of cultivation, and of such elegant and engaging manners that Burr, in after life, was wont to attribute his own finish of manner to the influence of her example.

He began practice at Albany, but soon afterward removed to New York, where, until 1791, he gave the law his undivided attention. The disbarment of the Tory lawyers and the confiscation of Tory estates furnished a lucrative field for legal operations; and Burr made the most of the opportunity. His military reputation, combined with his legal skill, made his services in great demand. Save by Hamilton, he was practically unopposed; and, until the unhappy climax, they were the giants of the New York bar. Burr's definition of law—"whatever is boldly asserted and plausibly maintained"—doubtless supplies to some extent the key to his method of practice. He was in law very much as he was in war—untiring, vigilant, persistent, decisive. In the technique of practice he had no peer. He was sagacious and subtle, and unlimited in resources and ingenuity. Every contingency was previously provided for. Always alert for legal pitfalls, he was consummate in constructing them. In the ordinary sense he was never eloquent; but it is related that he would often break down hours of Hamilton's oratory with twenty minutes of concise and potent argument. So terse and clear was his habitual style of expression that his longest speeches rarely exceeded half an hour. It is insinuated rather than asserted that in the exigencies of litigation he did not scruple to resort to questionable practices, seeking success regardless of the means. Such charges are easily broached, and frequently are, against counsel who move with astuteness and celerity. Nevertheless, counsel whose clientage

is among the most respectable and substantial class of a community do not employ means that are not approved by those for whom they act. The imputation of trickery is not seldom the consequence of legal but honorable shrewdness.

At all events, Burr's practice became straightway large, lucrative and conspicuously successful. He was soon enabled to purchase the beautiful estate known as "Richmond Hill." It had been Washington's headquarters in 1776, and under Burr's proprietorship became a social center. He there entertained Talleyrand, Volney, Louis Philippe, and many other foreigners of note who visited the city, although, curiously enough, in after years the place became a groggery. His library was one of the largest and most valuable in the country, he being one of the few who kept accounts with London book-sellers and were regularly supplied with the current literature of Europe.

Not until 1791 can his political career be said to have commenced. He had, it is true, been twice a member of the state assembly, and was then attorney-general; but those positions were due to his high standing as a citizen, and his ability as a lawyer, rather than to his political aspirations or efforts. He had been regarded in no sense as a politician. Even to the greatest political event of the age, the formation and establishment of the Constitution, he seems to have been indifferent. While Hamilton was writing the *Federalist*, Burr was trying law-suits. He regarded the new government with contempt, and the most that is known of his views concerning it is his prediction that it would not endure fifty years. But his casual political experience had doubtless suggested to him his possibilities, and he now devoted to politics those peculiar qualities which made his dexterity unequalled at the bar. For some time previous, the charm of his manners and style of living had drawn around him a personal following, by Hamilton termed "Burr's myrmidons," and by his friends, "The Tenth Legion." They were fast becoming an independent force, and, from the peculiar situation of state politics, promised to develop a balance of power. But to national politics Burr was wholly unknown. Whatever influence he possessed was confined to New York City. Party lines, soon to be so sharply drawn, were as yet only in process of formation, but so far as they were defined, he was known to be anti-federal. And thus it is that when, with the legislature almost unanimously federal, and General Schuyler a candidate, Burr was elected to the Senate of the United States, his success has been regarded as the result of political necromancy. No event of his life has been given a greater hue of mystery, or has given rise to more vague speculation.

In these days of millions and magnitudes, the events of our early history would seem trivial but for the vast consequences by which they have been followed. Without these consequences, the deeds of Washington would suffer beside those of Marlborough or Maurice. Without the failure of the Rebellion, the founders of the Constitution would, in future ages, be individually little better known than the founders of the Hanseatic League. More lives were lost in the campaign of the Wilderness, in 1864, than in all the battles of the Revolution. Lee surrendered four times as many men at Appomattox as Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown. All the readers of the *Federalist* up to the time the Constitution was adopted were doubtless less in number than one day's readers of a modern metropolitan journal. The population of the entire United States was then considerably less than the present population of New York State; and for a number of years afterward, a gubernatorial contest in that state would poll a smaller number of votes than now are cast at a municipal election in one of its interior cities. In 1800, New York State had fewer inhabitants than are now in the city of Buffalo; and New York City was only two-thirds the size of the present city of Syracuse. Such was the circumscribed arena in which the great men of that generation performed the acts now recounted in every tongue. But to judge the politics of that day by the politics of this would be as futile as to compare the generalship of Hannibal with that of Von Moltke, or the ancient battering-ram with the modern Krupp gun. There was more of personality, perhaps more of genius, but less of system and machinery. Political management was not as yet an exact science, nor party loyalty a more practical virtue than patriotism. The whole system of politics and government was only in embryo, and far less complicated and difficult than those of a state to-day.

Divested, therefore, of the notions concerning Burr's methods and character engendered by subsequent events, there is little or nothing remarkable about his election to the Senate, so long pointed out as the extraordinary first step of a more extraordinary political career. At that period, a seat in the Senate was a post of no very exalted prominence. The governorship of a state was deemed more preferable, both as to power and position. Nor was it until those foreign complications finally resulting in the war of 1812 that Congress as a body assumed the importance that it has since possessed. General Schuyler was not of the popular sort. He was pompous and haughty, and, aside from his family distinction, his greatest power lay in having Hamilton for a son-in-law. Burr was deemed by many as fully the mental peer of Hamilton, although of a diametrically different genius. His manner was fascinating beyond that of any other

man of his time. No one stood higher in public esteem. No whisper was breathed against him. Hence, with Schuyler distasteful, and himself able and popular, it was no phenomenon that he should be elected to a place that had no especial political importance. Not even the newspapers thought more of the matter than simply to state the fact of his election and record the vote. It may, of course, be plausibly conjectured that if Burr desired the seat, as undoubtedly he did, his refined adroitness might well have succeeded, under the circumstances, without leaving any traces of his means. But there was no occasion for duplicity or manipulation; and no unbiased and practical eye can see in the affair any evidence of political jugglery.

His senatorial service added little to his reputation; but his power in politics was rapidly increasing. In personal popularity among the anti-federal party, he stood a close second to Jefferson. In 1796, upon Washington's retirement, he received thirty votes for the presidency; and at one time his success was a fair possibility. Before the expiration of his senatorial term, he had been proposed as a candidate for governor and had declined a judicial appointment. During this period, only a single circumstance can be brought to bear against him. In 1794 he was unanimously nominated by the republican senators and representatives for the appointment of minister to France, in the place of Gouverneur Morris; but Washington refused to consider him, on the ground that he was not assured of his integrity. The caucus adhered to the nomination, but the President also adhered to his resolution, which, it may be presumed, was prompted by Hamilton, the helm of Washington's administration. And it is a suggestive fact that the charges against Burr of this nature during this period of his career are based almost exclusively upon vague and general assertions contained in Hamilton's correspondence. For, from the time of Burr's election to the Senate, Hamilton, whether from rivalry or the fears he professed to entertain of Burr's designs, spared no efforts to break down his reputation with various political leaders. "I fear," he had already written, "that he is unprincipled, both as a private and a public man . . . bold, enterprising and intriguing." Again: "Secretly turning liberty into ridicule, he knows as well as most men how to make use of the name. In a word, if we have an embryo Cæsar in the United States, it is Burr."

Burr's senatorial term expired the 4th of March, 1797. But the prominence he had attained in the republican party made his re-election impossible, as the federalists were still in control. Public life had straitened his circumstances, and he returned to the law with so much industry and absorption that his friends complained of his indifference to politics, al-

though he was immediately elected to the Assembly, and was returned for three successive terms. But that service was not exacting, and, until the last session, little is known of his doings, except his cultivation of the country members with view to the ensuing presidential election. In the mean time, it is curious to note that Washington repeated his former treatment of Burr. The measures of the French Directory had aroused the martial spirit of the country, and preparations were begun for the war that seemed imminent. Washington was made commander-in-chief, and Hamilton was given the second place. At this juncture, Adams requested that Burr be appointed a brigadier-general. Washington's answer was, "By all that I have known and heard, Colonel Burr is a brave and able officer; but the question is, whether he has not equal talents at intrigue." Washington, however, proposed the nomination; but through Hamilton's influence it was not made.

During Burr's last year in the Assembly, in 1799, he did what has been always pointed to as conclusive proof of his craft and lack of scruple. It is also the only act on which to base the charge, although possibly characteristic of legal and political methods whose operation skill and finesse had concealed.

New York City was poorly supplied with water; and for the ostensible purpose of remedying this defect, Burr introduced into the legislature a bill to incorporate the "Manhattan Company." The amount of capital needful to construct the proposed water-works was professed to be uncertain, and a provision was therefore inserted by which the surplus capital in excess of the two millions fixed by the charter "might be employed in any way not inconsistent with the laws and the Constitution." Some question was raised as to the possibilities that dwelt in so vague and broad a clause; but Burr smoothly allayed suspicion, and the bill became a law.

At that period there were but two banks in the city of New York, and one of them was a branch of the United States Bank. Both were controlled by the federalists, and republicans found it difficult to procure accommodation. For the latter to establish a bank of their own was equally difficult, as banks were regarded in that day as peculiarly political engines, and the federalists, being supreme, were naturally opposed to furnishing arms to their opponents. The subsequent contest over the re-charter of the United States Bank, which formed for the time the issue between the national parties, illustrates the sentiment that prevailed. Moreover, there existed a popular prejudice against all corporations hard to conceive at the present day, when few enterprises of magnitude are conducted except by corporations. The Manhattan Company made no effort

to furnish water, but, by virtue of the eight or ten general words which had been dexterously inserted in the prolix water charter, it proceeded forthwith to establish the Manhattan *Bank*. The leading republicans were jubilant over the success of Burr's ruse; but the people were so indignant for the time being that he was defeated in the attempt to secure a re-election.

The means employed to obtain this charter may be reprehensible to strict political principle; but, considering the circumstances, the motives of opposition, and the propriety of the bank in itself, the vociferous outcry that has been raised over it seems absurd. Not a leading republican in the land, from Jefferson down, but laughed in his sleeve; and, as may be so often repeated concerning most of Burr's actions, were it not for his unfortunate course a few years later, this circumstance would now excite scarcely a passing comment.

The presidential contest was approaching, and every indication pointed to a federal victory, until Burr's efforts turned the tables, and made republican success a certainty. His house had become the rendezvous of the youth, talent and energy of his party in New York. His plans were deep, his activity ceaseless, and his following admiring and devoted. He now bent himself to the election of a republican legislature, in order to secure the electoral vote of the state. Although difficult to achieve, such a result would be decisive. His plans were favored in two ways—by the increasing democratic sentiment and a feud in the federal party.

Until the French Revolution, the class distinctions had been nearly as marked as they are in England. The rustic population stood in awe of the upper circle. Coaches-and-four were common. Gentlemen wore their hair powdered and pig-tailed, and dressed in velvet and satin. Knee-breeches, silk stockings, and silver buckles were the order of the day. But the social ideas of the French Revolution dealt these ancient and elegant fashions a deadly blow. Jefferson, returning from France, became the prophet of republicanism in America, and accompanied his republican doctrines with republican pantaloons. The effect was quick and contagious. The common classes were easily drawn to the principles of which plain garb was the recognized badge. Among the industrial classes, the tailors and the barbers were about the only ones that remained federal to a man; they denounced without measure the simple customs that were so fatal to dress and dignity. The republican party was steadily gaining in strength among the people.

Faction was the other source of federal weakness. Adams was intractable, and refused to acknowledge Hamilton's dictatorship. In consequence,

the latter resolved to undermine him, and at once set out to defeat his reelection by means that eclipsed any that Burr employed against Jefferson. He was indefatigable and relentless. He journeyed and corresponded. He did all that could be done to advance Pinckney, and relegate Adams to the vice-presidency. Common fairness must admit that, as compared with Hamilton, Burr possessed but the rudiments of political intrigue. Neither Jefferson nor Adams had any doubt on that point. One deemed Hamilton "the evil genius of the country;" while the other wrote that he "was the most restless, impatient, artful, indefatigable and unprincipled intriguer in the United States, if not in the world."

Through his assurance that the federal party would at all events secure a majority of the presidential electors, Hamilton devoted more attention to his factional designs than to the operations of the republicans. When the time for electing members of the state legislature drew near, he prepared what in modern political parlance is called a "slate," composed of men who would be governed by his instructions. But unfortunately for his plans, those individuals were citizens of little political consequence, and, in some cases, of not over-wholesome reputation. This circumstance Burr immediately turned to advantage by a most admirably efficient piece of strategy. By personal and persistent entreaty, he induced several of the best-known and most honored republicans to go upon the counter ticket. Men like George Clinton, General Gates, and Brockholst Livingston disliked a candidacy that to them was political condescension; but their scruples were one after another deftly allayed by Burr's appeals to party patriotism. And finally, when the ticket thus composed was completed, it was unexpectedly and dramatically announced. Hamilton and the federal leaders were struck with consternation; but they soon rallied to a most strenuous and exciting contest. No means were neglected on either side. Both Burr and Hamilton addressed great crowds from the same platform, after the manner of Lincoln and Douglas in later days. But Hamilton's scheme had overreached. The republican ticket was triumphant, and that meant that the next president would doubtless be a republican.

In his unworthy effort to beat Adams, Hamilton had beaten his party. He was filled with mortification and chagrin. Burr's dexterous management had wrested the administration of the government from the federalists, unless a desperate expedient that occurred to Hamilton could be carried into effect. His proposition puts to blush any act of Burr's political career, not excepting the means he employed to establish the Manhattan Bank. The old legislature was federalist, and its term of service had still

two months to run. The day succeeding the election, Hamilton wrote to Governor Jay, himself a distinguished federalist, his method of procedure. The anti-federal party, he said, was a composition of very incongruous materials, but all of them tending to mischief; some to the emasculation of the government, others to revolutionizing it in the style of Bonaparte. Moreover, since Jefferson was doubtless the choice of his party, unusual measures, if they were strictly legal and constitutional, would justify the prevention of an atheist in religion and a fanatic in politics from gaining possession of the helm of state. He, therefore, proposed to the governor that he call an extra session of the old legislature for the purpose of changing the manner of choosing presidential electors. But Jay could not approve the scheme. Long afterward this letter was found among his papers bearing this indorsement: "Proposing a measure for party purposes, which, I think, would not become me to adopt."

Hamilton for a time still clung to the vain hope of federal success, and renewed his efforts to concentrate the vote of his party upon Pinckney. He wrote a circular letter "Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams," in which he reviled him personally, and urged a variety of objections to his re-election. It was printed in pamphlet form for private and secret distribution; but in some manner a copy found its way into Burr's hands as soon as it was ready. Through his instructions it was reprinted in the republican papers in various parts of the country a few days before the presidential electors were chosen. The effect of its publication was instant and fatal. It irretrievably divided the federal party, and destroyed its final hope.

Hamilton, again outwitted, turned his attention to Burr, whose purposes were now becoming forcibly evident. His candidacy gathered rapidly in strength, and soon grew formidable. Without difficulty he secured the vote of New York, and made contagious progress in the other Northern states. His success was great and surprising; on the final vote he tied with Jefferson. The election was, therefore, thrown into the House of Representatives, and in suspense and excitement the struggle that followed surpassed the electoral contest of 1877.

For sixty days the issue was undetermined. During that time Hamilton was in arms against Burr. He rested neither day nor night, exerting the same means he had used against Adams. His course was vigorous and virulent. He wrote a volume of letters. His friends in every direction were counseled at all hazards and to all lengths to oppose Burr. "Burr," he wrote to one, "will certainly attempt to reform the government *à la Bonaparte*. He is as unprincipled and dangerous a man as any

country can boast ; as true a Catiline as ever met in midnight conclave." The following extracts from various other letters will further illustrate the character of this correspondence : " He is a bankrupt beyond redemption, except by the plunder of his country." " Every step in his career proves that he has formed himself upon the model of Catiline, and that he is too cold-blooded and too determined a conspirator ever to change his plan." " No engagement that can be made with him can be relied upon. . . . Disgrace abroad, ruin at home, are the probable fruits of his elevation." " They may as well think to bind a giant by a cobweb as his ambition by promises." " He is a voluptuary by system." " These things are admitted, indeed they cannot be controverted, that he is a man of extreme and irregular ambition ; that he is selfish to a degree which excludes all social affections, and that he is decidedly profligate." And it is somewhat amusing to read in the same letter from which this last extract is taken his opinion of Jefferson, for whom he advises his correspondent to vote in preference to Burr. " I admit," he writes, " that his [Jefferson's] politics are tinctured with fanaticism ; . . . that he is crafty and persevering in his objects ; that he is not scrupulous about the means of success nor very mindful of truth ; and that he is a contemptible hypocrite."

By the time the House convened to decide the question, Hamilton's efforts had been effectual, although most of the federalists were strongly disposed to vote for Burr, many attributing Hamilton's course to personal enmity or rivalry. Than Jefferson no republican was more offensive to them, since to his acts and doctrines the new party mainly owed its existence. With Burr the case was somewhat different. While he had always acted with the republicans, and had made the election of a republican President possible, he was neither the father of nor the sponsor for the republican creed. He was a new man, in whose elevation the federalists saw the possible prospect of at least a *quasi* alliance. It is therefore not surprising that, as against their arch-enemy, they should incline to him. But Hamilton's influence stayed this inclination among a sufficient number to prevent Burr's election, which would otherwise have been accomplished on the first ballot ; and, could the result have been attained by a simple majority of the House, he would have succeeded even then. But he was deprived of the effect of his numerical strength by reason of the vote being taken by states, which, for seven days and until the last ballot, stood eight for Jefferson, six for Burr, and two evenly divided between them. Jefferson was personally on the scene to take advantage of whatever virtue there might be in his presence. Burr, however, remained at Albany, where he was then a member of the legislature ; and there is no

evidence that, during the struggle, he especially exerted himself, much less to practice the duplicity and dissimulation attributed to him. On the contrary, one of his own supporters wrote on the first day of the balloting that "a little good management would have secured our object on the first vote;" and, two days later, "had Burr done anything for himself he would long ere this have been President." And this is confirmed by Bayard, through whose instrumentality, guided by Hamilton, the federalists finally came to Jefferson's rescue and terminated the contest. "The means existed," he immediately wrote to Hamilton, "of electing Burr; but this required his co-operation. By deceiving one man, a great blockhead, and tempting two, not incorruptible, he might have secured a majority of the states." There remains little doubt, from the evident facts, that, had Burr been as ambitious and unprincipled as he was charged to be, or, aside from the means that Bayard suggests, had he accepted the direct bids he received to co-operate with the federal party, he could easily have won. Nevertheless, as it was, by the system then pursued, he was elected Vice-President.

But he had reached the summit of his career. A future of misfortune and mistakes awaited him.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Christ H. Beck," with a long, sweeping flourish extending from the end of the name.

AN INTERESTING DIALOGUE, IN 1676

BETWEEN BACON, "THE REBEL," AND JOHN GOODE OF "WHITBY"

In reading the article on "The First American Rebel," in the January number of the *Magazine of American History*, I was reminded of a document in my own possession which has not to my knowledge ever been printed, and which, indeed, I have not seen alluded to in any publication, save *Doyle's English Colonies in America*, vol. 1., p. 250.

This is a letter written to Sir William Berkeley by John Goode, a Virginia planter, which gives in dialogue form "the full substance of a discourse" between himself and Nathaniel Bacon, early in September, 1676, and which seems to indicate that Bacon was from the beginning of his career in Virginia a seditious personage, and that his rebellion was not the result of Berkeley's failure to support the colonists in their efforts to repel the incursions of the Indians, as Bacon's admirers have sometimes argued, but was premeditated.

John Goode and Bacon were near neighbors, "Whitby," Goode's plantation, being on the southern bank of the James about a mile below the Falls, which was then called its head, and in plain view from Bacon's plantation, which was in the midst of the present site of the city of Richmond.* Bacon was a young man, "not yet arrived to thirty years," and was from all accounts impetuous, turbulent, and dissipated. He had been only a few months in the colony and "some did lay to his charge he having run out his patrimony in England, except what he brought to Virginia, and for that the most part to be exhausted, which together made him suspecting of casting an eye to search for retrieval in the troubled waters of popular discontent, wanting patience to wait the death of his opulent cousin, old Colonel Bacon, whose estate he expected to inherit."

Goode, on the other hand, was a man of nearly sixty, a veteran Royalist, who had left England during the rule of Cromwell, and who in all probability was one of the little army that, in 1652, under Lord Willoughby, resisted the invasion of Barbadoes by a Cromwellian army, and were the last of the adherents of King Charles to capitulate. From Barbadoes he came to Virginia before 1660, and had now for fifteen years been living upon this frontier plantation. He was, according to tradition, "an old, fox-hunting

*Bacon had another plantation at "Curles," a few miles further down the James.

T. M. (Thomas Matthews.)

English squire," who brought to the new world the traditions and conservatism of his Cornish forefathers. Doyle characterizes him as "a leading colonist, apparently a man of moderate views, and a personal friend of Bacon." If Lawrence, "thoughtful Mr. Lawrence," and "the sober Scotch gentleman," Mr. Drummond, who were also advanced in years and in Bacon's confidence, had been equally prudent and sagacious in discriminating between a rebellion against Berkeley and a rebellion against the Crown, the impetuous young leader might have been spared his untimely death.

Goode was without doubt one of the little band of planters at the head of the James who rose to resist the invasion of the Indians in May, 1676, and placing Bacon at their head, marched into the wilderness. Unterrified by Berkeley's proclamations, he remained with Bacon until he began to talk of rebellion against the king's authority instead of simple Indian warfare. Goode was also one of the band of fifty-seven horsemen who fought the battle of Bloody Run; and probably one of the six hundred who marched with Bacon to Jamestown and obtained from the governor and council a commission for him as general and commander in chief against the Indians. He was with Bacon at Middle Plantation, and it was here that the conversation took place which is recorded in the *Colonial Entry Book*, vol. lxxi., pp. 232-240. My attention was first called to this by Dr. Edward Eggleston, who has been pursuing an exhaustive study of Bacon, the results of which it is hoped will soon be made public. Commenting upon Goode's letter, Dr. Eggleston writes:

"The paper is far from being a cringing one—it is indeed dignified, if one considers the reign of terror under which it was written."

It reads as follows—the "B" and "G" before each paragraph designating Bacon and Goode in the narrative of the dialogue, as presented by Goode to Governor Berkeley:

HON^d S^a.

In obedient submission to yo^r honors comand directed to me by Capt. Wm. Bird I haue written the full substance of a discourse Nath: Bacon deceased propos^d to me on or about the 2d day of Sept^r: last, both in ord^r. and words as followeth.

B: There is a report S. W^m Berkeley hath sent to the King for 2000 Red Coates, and I doe beleive it may bee true, tell me your opinion, may not 500 Virginians beat them, wee having the same advantages against them, the Indians have agst us.

G: I rather conceive 500 Red Coates may either subject or ruine Virginia.

B: You talk strangely, are not wee acquainted with the Country, can lay Ambussadoes, and take Trees and putt them by, the use of their discipline, and are doubtlesse as good or better shott then they.

G: But they can accomplish what I have sayd without hazard or coming into such disadvantages, by taking opportunities of Landing where there shall bee noe opposition, firing our houses and Fences, destroying our Stocks, and preventing all Trade and supplyes to the Country.

B: There may bee such prevention that they shall not bee able to make any great Progresse in such mischeifes, and the Country or clime not agreeing wth. their Constitutions, great mortality will happen amongst them, in their Seasoning w^{ch}. will weare and weary them out.

G: You see S^r. that in a manner all the principall Men in the Countrey, dislike yor. manner of proceedings, they, you may bee sure will joine with the Red Coates.

B: But there shall none of them bee.

G: S^r. you speake as though you design'd a totall defection from Majestie, and our native country.

B: Why (smiling) haue not many Princes lost their Dominions soe.

G: They haue been such people as haue been able to subsist without their Prince. The poverty of Virginia is such, that the Major part of the Inhabitants can scarce supply their wants from hand to mouth, and many there are besides can hardly shift, without Supply one yeare, and you may bee sure that this people which soe fondly follow you, when they come to feele the miscrable wants of food and rayment, will bee in greater heate to leave you, then they were to come after you, besides here are many people in Virginia that receive considerable benefitts, comforts, and advantages by Parents, Friends and Correspondents in England, and many which expect Patrimonyes and Inheritances which they will by no meanes decline.

B: For supply I know nothing: the Country will be able to provide it selfe with all, in a little time, saue Ammunition and Iron, and I believe the King of France or States of Holland would either of them entertaine a Trade with us.

G: S^r. our King is a great Prince and his Amity is infinitely more valuable to them, then any advantage they can reape by Virginia, they will not therefore pvoke his displeasure by supporting his Rebells here; besides I conceive that y^{or}. followers do not think themselves ingaged against the Kings Authority, but agst. the Indians.

B: But I think otherwise, and am confident of it, that it is the mind of this countrey, and of Mary Land, and Carolina also, to cast off their

Governor and the Governrs. of Carolina haue taken no notice of the People, nor the People of them, a long time: and the People are resolv'd to own their Governour noe further; And if wee cannot p'vaile by Armes to make our Conditions for Peace, or obtaine the Priviledge to elect our own Governour, we may retire to Roanoke, and here hee fell into a discourse of seating a Plantation in a great Island in the River, as a fitt place to retire to, for a Refuge.

G: S^r. The prosecuting what you haue discoursed will unavoidably produce utter ruine and destruction to the People and Countrey, & I dread the thoughts of putting my hand to the promoting a designe of such miserable consequence, therefore hope you will not expect from me.

B: I am glad I know your mind, but this proceeds from meere cowardlynesse.

G: And I desire you should know my mind, for I desire to harbour noe such thoughts, which I should feare to impart to any man.

B: Then what should a Gentleman engaged as I am, doe, yow doe as good as tell me, I must fly or hang for it.

G: I conceive a seasonable submission to the Authority yow haue your Comission from, acknowledging such Errors and Excesse, as are yett past, there may bee hope of remission. I perceived his cogitations were much on this discourse, hee nominated, Carolina, for the watch word.

Three dayes after I asked his leaue to goe home, hee sullenly Answered, you may goe, and since that time, I thank God, I never saw or heard from him. Here I most humbly begg yor Honours pardon for my breaches and neglects of duty, and that your Honour will favourably considr. in this particular, I neither knew any man amongst us, that had any meanes by which I might give intelligence to yo honor hereof, and the necessity thereof, I say by yor. honors, prudence, foresight, and Industry may bee pvented. So praying God to blesse and prosper all your councells and actions I conclude

Yor. Honr's: dutifull servt.

JOHN GOODE.

Jan^{ry}. y^e 30th: 1676.

[This paper is followed by "Bacon's Letter."]

Before the second month had elapsed Bacon was dead, and a number of his followers had been hanged by the governor, Berkeley.

A century later, in 1776, Colonel Robert Goode, of "Whitby," great-

grandson of Bacon's adviser, was an active participant in a revolt which proved successful, as were also a dozen or more of his kinsmen, at least one of whom died in the struggle.

Two centuries later, in 1876, a visitor to "Whitby" would have found it disfigured by long rows of earthworks, a part of the great system surrounding the Confederate capital, which had grown up at the site of Bacon's plantation at the Falls. Inquiry would have revealed to him the fact that at least one hundred of the descendants of its first owner were resting in the graves of Confederate soldiers—the victims of a third revolt far more extensive than either of the others.

Ly. B. Brown Goodie

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

HORACE GREELEY'S PRACTICAL ADVICE

AN INCIDENT OF RECONSTRUCTION IN MISSISSIPPI

EDITOR MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY:

The time for an impartial history of the reconstruction of the states forming the late Southern confederacy has not yet arrived. The elements to be considered were, for the time, as pronounced and extreme as fire and water; as antagonistic as it is possible to array the citizens of a common country or of a single commonwealth. Yet, there was much of good, as well as evil, in these constituents.

The Southerners possess many of the best traits of the human family. Having just emerged from a sanguinary contest, defeated, impoverished, their pride humbled—forced, at the cannon's mouth and the point of the bayonet, by their enemies, back into a Union they detested, their slaves (chattels, property) made their equals before the law—we may spread the mantle of charity and of oblivion over their errors, as they now extend to every one within their borders the same rights and impartiality they assert for themselves.

The freedmen as certainly possess marked and meritorious characteristics which, properly developed and directed, will render them valuable citizens. They must not be judged by the crowds that flock to the towns and cities, where they occupy the police courts and fill the jails, nor by the poor unfortunates who barely exist, too ignorant and indolent to acquire land or secure the commonest comforts, but by the many who have achieved eminence as scholars, teachers, preachers, lawyers, orators, farmers, and mechanics. Not Douglass alone, but scores and scores can be named, showing the great possibilities of the colored people. Of all others they are the most universally musical. While they have not attained to the modern artificial extravaganza in musical execution, yet at their religious gatherings every one, male and female, old and young, educated and unlettered, clean and unclean, well clothed and ragged, join in a melodious music which is unequaled. The colored boys in tattered garments who occupy the "upper tier" at the theatre and opera, and smoke cast-away cigar-stubs, catch the most difficult and intricate pieces of music, which they whistle or sing, carrying every part, on their way home to some abode of poverty in the suburbs. Remotely, they were

barbarians. After centuries of bondage, they were suddenly and violently emancipated. They were what slavery had made them. Without education or experience, they suddenly took seats in the constitutional convention, wherein they had a voice in framing the organic law. They became legislators, state officers, magistrates, school directors, sheriffs, and members of the boards governing, assessing, and taxing the counties. That friction followed can surprise no one who recognizes poor human nature as our common inheritance.

The "carpet-baggers," so called, like other parties, contained their quota of good and bad, some of them being from the best society in the North and West, and representatives of the highest business character of those sections. The constitution framed under their lead was second to no other of the states of the Union. So far there was much to praise and to be proud of, and little to condemn. Of the succeeding legislatures, the criticism is, in a measure, reversed.

In his own mind, the writer of these lines was one of the most radical of radicals. He, however, with others, opposed questionable legislation schemes, and urged the most expanded and munificent measures for securing immigration.* Hence he was classed as a "conservative carpet-bagger." With this class a liberal influx from the North and West was esteemed a *sine qua non* to the permanence of a Republican government in that state. Intelligence and experience were essential to supersede ignorance and inexperience, upon which latter no government can be long maintained. Subsequent events confirmed these views by the collapse of the Republican party of Mississippi, in the hour of trial, through its own inherent weakness. The "conservative carpet-baggers," being in a minority, found their advice and opposition equally of little avail. They, therefore, sought the interposition of distinguished friends outside the state. Among others, the writer addressed a letter to Horace Greeley, the life-long champion of justice and right. The reply of that eminent man was as follows:

My dear Sir

New York Tribune March 23, 1870

I have little faith, in commissioners or Boards of Immigration. In fact I take no stock in them. My way of attracting immigration is by ;

1 Good laws, thoroughly enforced.

* "Judge Tarbell was esteemed in Mississippi as an upright judge," says Secretary Lamar, and the reports of his decisions attest his extraordinary ability and industry. His reputation for integrity was unquestioned ; he commanded the confidence of both political parties during all his varied experiences on the bench.—EDITOR.

- 2 Cheap and simple government, low salaries, light taxes.
- 3 Impartial justice to every one regardless of caste, or color, secured by an upright judiciary.
- 4 Making the state too hot for blacklegs, duelists, harlots, rum-sellers, etc.
- 5 Avoid public debt.

Such is my very short programme for attracting immigration. It has the advantage at least of not costing a cent. You are welcome to communicate it to any who are interested in the subject

Yours

Horace Greeley

Addressed to

J. Tarbell Esq. Jackson,
Mississippi.

With a long period in the history of this country the name of Horace Greeley is indissolubly associated. Whatever bears his signature will command universal attention. Rarely, if ever, were more or better sentiments expressed in the same space than in his letter herein introduced. Cardinal Gibbons, at the recent centennial of the United States Constitution, said of that immortal document, that "it was worthy of being written in letters of gold." The same may be said of Mr. Greeley's letter. This being impracticable, the next best thing, if not a better thing, is to print it in the *Magazine of American History*. His advice will remain for all time a standard for new and old states alike.

The writer has been a delighted subscriber to the *Magazine of American History* since its first issue in January, 1877.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "J. Tarbell". The signature is written in a cursive style with long, sweeping strokes, particularly in the first and last letters.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October, 1887.

VOL. XVIII.—No. 5.—29

THE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT OF 1800

The camp-meeting, a characteristic of Methodism that has continued in a more or less modified form down to our own days, had its origin in the necessities of the time. Along the border, wherever the remote cabins of the settlers might be placed, there stately appeared the self-sacrificing, restless, laborious circuit-rider, armed with his Bible, hymn-book and his "license" to preach. He was not a man of worldly polish or of scholarly attainments. He was rude, uncouth, and unkempt, in fitting harmony with his surroundings. If he could read his Bible and write his name he was held to have all the literary qualifications desirable in his place, and even more than were deemed essential. He had, however, what he regarded as greater qualifications for the sacred office. He had "experienced" religion, and he had a gift of speech. Not for him was it to

" Spread his little jeweled hand,
And smile round all the parish beauties,
And pat his curls, and smooth his band,
Meet prelude to his saintly duties."

Not for him, indeed; but with an earnestness, an unction, and a vehemence not to be misunderstood, he declared his mission and called on men everywhere to repent of their sins, and turn unto God.

Churches on the frontier were few and widely separated from each other. Religious services were generally held in private houses, and the families from the scattered cabins came long distances to hear the Word. The beginning of the present century was a period of great religious interest. Preachers and revivalists, with and without commissions, roamed at large over the country and particularly among the newer settlements, fanning vigorously the flames of religious zeal and enthusiasm. Among these roving evangelists were two brothers, John and William Magee. The first was a Methodist local preacher, the second was a Presbyterian minister. In the latter part of the year 1799 they started from their settlement in Tennessee to make a preaching tour into Kentucky. Their first labors were with a Presbyterian church on Red River, where remarkable effects attended their labors, and excited such general interest that, at their next meeting on Muddy River, many distant families came with

wagons and camped in the woods. This was, in fact, the beginning of religious "camp-meetings" in the United States.*

The camp-meeting, thus composite in its origin, was for some time an institution favored alike by Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists. One of the most famous of the early camp-meetings, that one known as the Cane Ridge camp-meeting, was held by the Presbyterians in August, 1801. Cane Ridge is in Bourbon county, Kentucky, and was within the congregational limits of the Rev. Robert W. Finley, a Presbyterian minister. The camp-meetings already held at Cabin Creek, Point Pleasant, Indian Creek, and other places, and the wonderful manifestations of the "divine presence" on those occasions, had been much talked about among the people. As the labors of the field were now about finished for the season, the scattered settlers came together at Cane Ridge. "Multitudes that might not be numbered," says Nevin, "began to assemble. From the remotest corners of the border, thirty, forty, fifty miles away, they gathered in. All day long, and through the night, crowds were to be seen pressing eagerly, earnestly on, their faces set Zionward, in wagons, on sleds, afoot, 'upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts.' Roads, lanes, trails, all passable ways of approach, swarmed with train following train of pilgrims; the tramp of their progress uprooting the sod, which hoof and wheel, till then, of customary travel had scarcely scarred, and grinding the clodded surface of the soil to powder. Whole communities, including not merely the men, women, and children, but slaves and dogs even, gathered in companies and joined the general procession, leaving only an obliging neighbor, here and there, to keep watch in the depopulated settlements during their absence. When all were congregated it is estimated that there were from twenty to twenty-five thousand people on the ground."† This camp-meeting was famous not only for its immense size, but for the strange and powerful manifestations that appeared among the people. We may add that the Rev. Mr. Finley, under whose auspices this meeting was conducted, afterwards connected himself with the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the year 1812 he entered the ministry of that denomination. He was the father of the Rev. James B. Finley, a distinguished preacher in the Methodist Church in the West, and known to the present generation as the author of an *Autobiography*, *Wyandot Mission*, *Memories of Prison Life*, and other works.

* *A Compendious History of American Methodism*. By Abel Stevens, LL.D. Page 403.

† *Black Robes; or, Sketches of Missions and Ministers in the Wilderness and on the Border*. By Robert P. Nevin. Page 250.

The history of the church in the West eighty years ago is studded with the names of those who did valiant service for their Master—Asbury, Finley, Cartwright, Dow, and others. Lorenzo Dow was a genius so eccentric, and attracted so much notice for many years, that he deserves more than a mere passing mention. He was born in Connecticut in 1777. From his earliest years he had been burdened with a sense of his sinfulness and the fear of perdition. The history of his early struggles to escape from his thralldom reminds one of Bunyan. When about fifteen or sixteen years of age he was converted, under the preaching of the celebrated Hope Hull. It was a happy deliverance. "The burden of sin and guilt," he says, "and the fear of hell, vanished from my mind as perceptibly as a hundred pounds weight falling from a man's shoulder: my soul flowed out in love to God, to his ways and to his people; yea, and to *all* mankind." *

Dow began preaching in the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1798, when but eighteen years of age. The next year, however, he gave up his regular work for a roving mission. His irregularities resulted in his being dropped from the roll of the conference, and he was never again regularly connected with the itinerancy. He traveled extensively through England, Ireland, and the United States, preaching everywhere as he went. He often rode forty or fifty miles a day, and preached four or five times. His manner and appearance excited great curiosity, and his startling and eccentric statements were widely circulated.† He died in Washington, D. C., in 1834.

The camp-meeting was soon abandoned by the other sects, but was retained and cherished as a means of grace by the Methodists. There was something in it peculiarly suited to the genius of that denomination. Methodism has thriven and grown strong very largely through its instrumentality. The tented grove was the delight of such spiritual warriors as Lorenzo Dow and Peter Cartwright. It was there that they dared the devil to his teeth, and it was there that their great victories over the adversary were won. It was there that thousands and tens of thousands of benighted and oppressed souls struggled forth into regions of light and liberty. The camp-meeting has been refined away until it has become little more than a pleasant summer resort with a quasi-religious attachment; but there are old Methodists who look back to the rude seats under the 'rees, the preachers' stand of rough boards, the simple tabernacles of cotton

* *The Dealings of God, Man, and the Devil, as Exemplified in the Life, Experience, and Travels of Lorenzo Dow, etc.*, page 12.

† *Cyclopedia of Methodism*. Edited by Matthew Simpson, D.D., etc. Page 309.

cloth—who recall the earnest exhortations, the zealous pleadings, the spirited hymns and melodies, with all the longings and regrets with which the dispersed Israelites remembered Zion.

The religious services in the early border settlements were sometimes the scene of a good deal of turbulence and disorder. The devil did not allow himself to be defied with impunity. His friends were frequently very active in his behalf. Fire-crackers were often thrown upon Brother Nolley when in the pulpit, and while he was on his knees praying; but he would shut his eyes that he might not be disturbed by menaces, and preach and pray on with overwhelming power.* At a camp-meeting in Powhatan county, Virginia, “the Lord,” says Dow, “was precious; but the wicked strove to trouble us. . . . Twenty-five combined together to give me a flogging. They ransacked the camp to find me, whilst I was taking some repose. This was the first discovery of their project; as I went out of the tent, one was seen to cock a pistol towards me, whilst a voice was heard, ‘There he is! there he is!’ My friends forced me into the tent. Next day I had one of the young men arrested, and two others fled before they could be taken. The young man acknowledged his error, and promised never to do the like again; so we let him go.” †

This was not Peter Cartwright’s method, who was a strong, courageous, two-fisted man, a part of whose creed it was, as he says, “to love everybody, but to fear no one.” He did not condemn the arm of flesh. At a camp-meeting at which he was present, a great rabble once collected for the express purpose of breaking up the meeting. Sunday morning, when Cartwright was about half through his sermon, two well-dressed young men, with loaded whips, came into the congregation with their hats on, and stood up not far from the preachers’ stand, and began talking to the ladies, and laughing. Cartwright requested them to sit down and behave, but they swore at him, and told him to mind his own business. Cartwright then stopped preaching and called on the magistrates to enforce order; but though there were two of those officers at hand they seemed to be afraid to attempt to arrest the disturbers of the meeting. Cartwright then told the magistrates to order him to take the rowdies. “I advanced toward them,” says he. “They ordered me to stand off, but I advanced. One of them made a pass at my head with his whip, but I closed in with him, and jerked him off the seat. A regular scuffle ensued. The congregation by this time were all in commotion. I heard the magistrates give general orders, commanding all friends of order to aid in suppressing the riot. In the scuffle

* Stevens’s *American Methodism*, p. 431.

† Dow’s *Dealings of God*, etc., p. 94.

I threw my prisoner down, and held him fast ; he tried his best to get loose ; I told him to be quiet or I would pound his chest well. The mob rose, and rushed to the rescue of the two prisoners, for they had taken the other young man also. An old drunken magistrate came up to me and ordered me to let my prisoner go. I told him I should not. He swore if I did not he would knock me down. I told him to crack away. Then one of my friends, at my request took hold of my prisoner, and the drunken justice made a pass at me ; but I parried the stroke and seized him by the collar and hair of the head, and fetching him a sudden jerk forward brought him to the ground and jumped on him. I told him to be quiet or I would pound him well. The mob then rushed to the scene ; they knocked down seven magistrates, and several preachers and others. I gave up my drunken prisoner to another, and threw myself in front of the friends of order. Just at this moment the ringleader of the mob and I met ; he made three passes at me, intending to knock me down. The last time he struck at me, by the force of his own effort he threw the side of his face toward me. It seemed at that moment I had not power to resist temptation, and I struck a sudden blow in the burr of the ear and dropped him to the earth. Just at that moment the friends of order rushed by hundreds on the mob knocking them down in every direction. In a few minutes the place became too strait for the mob, and they wheeled and fled.* The upshot of the matter was that about thirty of the mob were taken prisoners and afterwards heavily fined. This was but one of the many instances in which Cartwright appealed to his own prowess to settle the disorderly elements of the frontier.

After this battle, a gloom rested on the encampment for the rest of the day. Cartwright, however, was undaunted. He asked the presiding elder for permission to preach that evening. "Do," said the elder, "for there is no other man on the ground can do it." Accordingly, the encampment was lighted up, the trumpet was blown, and the people assembled. Cartwright took for his text the words : "The gates of hell shall not prevail." His voice was strong and clear ; his preaching was more of an exhortation and encouragement than anything else. "In about thirty minutes," he says, "the power of God fell on the congregation in such a manner as is seldom seen ; the people fell in every direction, right and left, front and rear. It was supposed that not less than three hundred fell like dead men in mighty battle ; and there was no need of calling mourners, for they were strewed all over the camp-ground ; loud wailings went up to

* *Autobiography of Peter Cartwright, the Backwoods Preacher.* Edited by W. P. Strickland. Page 91.

heaven from sinners for mercy, and a general shout from Christians, so that the noise was heard afar off."

Besides the thousands of conversions at these camp-meetings, there were also strange physical manifestations, such as falling, jerking, barking, etc. We have just seen how multitudes fell under the preaching of Peter Cartwright. Strong men fell suddenly, and lay for hours helpless. No man was proof against this attack. Cartwright says that one Sunday night a gang of rowdies that had come to disturb him fell by dozens, right and left, while one whom he calls his "special persecutor" suddenly dropped down as if a rifle-ball had passed through his heart. "He lay powerless, and seemed cramped all over, till next morning; and about sunrise he began to come to. With a smile on his countenance, he then sprang up, and bounded all over the camp-ground, with swelling shouts of glory and victory, that almost seemed to shake the encampment." The religious history of those times is full of such cases. When some parties had fallen, and certain physicians who were present declared their belief that they were only simulating, Dow answered: "The weather is warm, and we are in a perspiration, whilst they are as cold as corpses, which cannot be done by human art." When it was suggested that it was the work of the devil, Dow replied: "If it be the devil's work, they will use the dialect of hell, when they come to"—which of course they did not do. When they recovered, they invariably shouted, and praised God, and declared their joy and happiness.

Another phenomenon, even more strange and afflicting than the *falling* attacks, was that which was popularly called the *jerks*. This was a violent and involuntary twitching and jerking of the limbs. From the jerks nobody was safe, nor were they confined as to time and place. Suddenly, and however engaged, the victim was seized with a powerful muscular spasm, so that he was obliged to lay hold of some object for partial relief, while the convulsions were sometimes so violent that, in the case of ladies, "their long, loose hair," says Cartwright, "would crack almost as loud as a waggoner's whip." But while people were liable to the jerks anywhere, as might be expected, they were most common and violent at the religious meetings. Lorenzo Dow relates, with a touch of humor, that at first the Quakers said that the Methodists and Presbyterians had the jerks because they sang and prayed so much; but they themselves, being a quiet and peaceful people, were not troubled in this way; at one of Dow's meetings, however, at which a number of them were present, "about a dozen of them," says he, "had the jerks as keen and as powerful as any I had seen, so as to have occasioned a kind of grunt or groan when they would jerk." He relates that,

passing by a place where a camp-meeting had been held, he noticed that from fifty to a hundred saplings had been cut off and left standing about breast high. Upon inquiring why this had been done, he was informed that the saplings had been left thus for the people to jerk by. "This so excited my attention," says he, "that I went over the ground to view it; and found where the people had laid hold of them and jerked so powerfully that they had kicked up the earth as a horse stamping flies." Dow, to whom this exercise of jerking was familiar, remarks: "It is involuntary, yet requires the consent of the will, *i. e.*, the people are taken *jerking* irresistibly, and if they strive to resist it worries them much, yet is attended with no bodily pain; and those who are exercised to dance (which in the pious seems an antidote to the jerks) if they resist, it brings deadness and barrenness over the mind; but when they yield to it they feel happy, although it is a great cross; there is a heavenly smile and solemnity on the countenance, which carries a great conviction to the minds of beholders; their eyes when dancing seem to be fixed upwards as if upon an invisible object, and they are lost to all below." *

Peter Cartwright also had his experience with the jerks and the jerkers. "At one of my appointments in 1804," he says, "there was a very large congregation turned out to hear the Kentucky boy, as they called me. Among the rest there were two very finely dressed, fashionable young ladies, attended by two brothers with loaded horsewhips. Although the house was large, it was crowded. The two young ladies, coming in late, took their seats near where I stood, and their two brothers stood in the door. I was a little unwell, and I had a phial of peppermint in my pocket. Before I commenced preaching I took out my phial and swallowed a little of the peppermint. While I was preaching, the congregation was melted into tears. The two young gentlemen moved off to the yard fence, and both the young ladies took the jerks, and they were greatly mortified about it. There was a great stir in the congregation. Some wept, some shouted, and before our meeting closed several were converted. As I dismissed the assembly a man stepped up to me and warned me to be on my guard, for he had heard the two brothers swear they would horsewhip me when meeting was out for giving their sisters the jerks. 'Well,' said I, 'I'll see to that.'

"I went out and said to the young men that I understood they intended to horsewhip me for giving their sisters the jerks. One replied that he did. I undertook to expostulate with him on the absurdity of the charge against me; but he swore I need not deny it, for he had seen me take out

* *Dow's Devotion of God, etc.* p. 90

a phial in which I carried some truck that gave his sisters the jerks. As quick as thought it came into my mind how I would get clear of my whipping, and, jerking out the peppermint phial, said I: 'Yes; if I gave your sisters the jerks I'll give them to you.' In a moment I saw he was scared. I moved toward him, he backed; I advanced, and he wheeled and ran, warning me not to come near him or he would kill me. It raised the laugh on him, and I escaped my whipping. I had the pleasure before the year was out of seeing all four soundly converted to God, and I took them into the church."

How to account for these phenomena we do not know, and shall not attempt to explain. Cartwright accounted for the jerks very simply, as he would no doubt have accounted for the other manifestations. "I always looked upon the jerks," says he, "as a judgment sent from God; first, to bring sinners to repentance, and secondly, to show professors that God could work with or without means, and that he could work over and above means, and do whatsoever seemeth him good, to the glory of his grace and the salvation of the world. There is no doubt in my mind that with weak-minded, ignorant, and superstitious persons there was a great deal of sympathetic feeling with many that claimed to be under the influence of this jerking exercise; and yet, with many, it was perfectly involuntary. It was, on all occasions, my practice to recommend fervent prayer as a remedy, and it almost universally proved an effectual antidote."

The moral and religious world, like the physical world, is subject to periods of internal agitation and upheaval, and one of these periods seems to have been at and about the beginning of the present century. The indications of that upheaval still exist in the long ridges that lie across the face of our early church history.

J. I. Chapman.

MINOR TOPICS

BEECHER HUMOR

Dr. Joseph Parker, in his recent eulogy on Mr. Beecher, said :

"God himself made Henry Ward Beecher a humorist, gave him a taste for comedy, and enriched him with the grace of playfulness. He prayed the better that he laughed so well. His tears were the tenderer because his humor was so spontaneous and abundant. He never laughed at truth, at virtue, at piety, at poverty, at helplessness. He laughed at the fools who undertook to roll back the ocean, to grasp the infinite and to be themselves the God whose existence they denied.

It is not much to say that to many preachers Mr. Beecher's method gave a new conception of the possibility of preaching. The whole idea of the sermon was enlarged. A sermon was no longer an analysis of words, a dreary creation and a distribution of particulars, a pedantic display of learned ignorance, an onslaught (tremendous in feebleness) upon absent doubters and dead infidels; nor was it a pious whine, an inoffensive platitude, an infantile homily, or a condiment for delicate souls. It was an amazing combination of philosophy, poetry, emotion, and human enthusiasm—all centered in Christ, and all intended to bring men into right relations with the Father. The sermon was not an object to be gazed at, but a gospel to be received, a divine gospel addressed to the sinful, the broken-hearted, the lost, the hopeless. It was a message from Heaven; a message for all lands, all times, all souls; a message whose moral majesty lost nothing on account of its human sympathy, but gained the more by reason of its tender tears and its eager importunity.

In Mr. Beecher's hands the sermon never affrighted men; never froze men; never repelled men. It was the loveliness of love, the very heart of sympathy, the very condescension of God. Nor, though so rich in sentiment, was it ever weak. Behind all the tears there was a reason that had adopted its conclusions in the daylight; a philosophy that weighed evidence in scales of righteousness; an intellectual audacity that tried the spirits, whether they were of God."

The following extracts are from Eleanor Kirk's *Beecher as a Humorist*, noticed in another part of the magazine. Here we have Mr. Beecher's own words;

You cannot make a man laugh because he ought to laugh. You may analyze a jest or a flash of wit, and present it to the man, saying: "Here are the elements of mirth, and these being presented to you as I now present them, if you are a rational being you will accept the statement of them and laugh." But nobody laughs so. People laugh first and afterward think why they laughed. The feeling of mirth is first excited, and afterward the intellect analyzes that which produced

the laughter. It connects into an idea that which was first an emotion or an experience.—Sermon : *Heart Conviction*.

"Why, what did you go to Boston for?"

"Well, that's a pretty question! That's the only place to go to! Why, if a man wants anything he allus goes to Boston. Everything goes there just as natural as if that city was the moon, and everything else was water, and had to go like the tides. Don't you know all the railroads go to Boston? And sailors say—you ask Tommy Taft—if you start anywhere clear down in Floridy, and keep up along the coast, you will fetch up in Boston. They have to keep things tied up around there. They fasten their trees down, and have their fences hitched or they would all of 'em whirl to Boston. They have watchers set every night, or so many things would come to admire Boston that the city would be covered down like Hercula-neum. Of course the doctor went to Boston. Every single one of the first class folks was married off the week afore he got there, but one; there was just one left. But she was the very last of the lot. The doctor saw her in Old South Church. She was a-singin', 'Come, ye disconsolate.' The minute she set her eyes on the doctor——!"—Norwood : *Hiram Beers*.

I never saw a man who was large enough to report the whole truth in respect to anything which he looked at. It has not been considered safe, I think, in Heaven where the manufactory of men is, to put everything in everybody. The result is that one man carries so much, and another so much. Why, it takes about twenty men make one sound man.—Sermon : *Christian Sympathy*.

On one occasion a well-intentioned but feeble-minded, feeble-voiced woman arose in Plymouth prayer-meeting and meandered on for a long time in mystical meaningless talk. When she finally sat down, Mr. Beecher (who had sat motionless, with downcast eyes, all the while) looked up with the play of a humorous twinkle on his face, but said, with a perfectly serious voice, "*Nevertheless*—I am in favor of women's speaking. Sing eight thirty-eight"—or whatever the number of the hymn was.—Editor of *Beecher as a Humorist*.

Natural genius is but the soil, which let alone runs to weeds. If it is to bear fruit and harvests worth the reaping, no matter how good the soil is, it must be plowed and tilled with incessant care.—*Lectures on Preaching*.

A compliment is praise crystallized. It bears about the same relation to praise that proverbs do to formal philosophy, or that form does to poetry.—*Eyes and Ears*.

Did you ever know a person who could pray down an arithmetic ? Did you ever know a person who, going to school and finding himself puzzled by a tough problem, could get it solved by asking God to solve it for him ? Did you ever know anybody to accomplish anything intelligently except by legitimate head-work ?—*Lecture-room Talks.*

The Bible is like a telescope. If a man looks *through* his telescope, then he sees worlds beyond ; but if he looks *at* his telescope, then he does not see anything but that.—Sermon : *The Way of Coming to Christ.*

Good men, you know, pay all the taxes of bad men. Virtuous men pay the state bills of dissipated men. Patriotic men pay all the war bills of unpatriotic men. Citizens that stay at home pay the expenses of politicians that go racketing about the country and do nothing but mischief.—Sermon: *The Strong to Bear with the Weak.*

A LAMENT

O woe is me, and woe is me ! to tell the tale I'm telling now !
And to relate the bitter grief that's come to me in spelling, now !

I'm neither idle, nor a dunce. I take to study readily ;
I see through Algebra at once ; Geometry goes steadily ;
Geography, and History, and Botany are dear to me ;
But Spelling is a mystery that never will be clear to me !

I know the rules all off by heart—a work beyond conception, sir—
But what's the use, when from the start each thing is an exception, sir !
Word after word exactly glides, until I have them pat, you know,
And then some dreadful letter slides, and there I am *in statu quo* !

I find a score that terminate precisely in t-i-o-n,
When suddenly, as sure as fate, one changes to c-i-o-n ;
Or something sounding just the same as something else not strange to you—
Indeed it's an outrageous shame—will floor you with a change or two.

I'd think o-u-g-h, of course, would be the same wherever found,
But though I tried till I was hoarse I think the same 'tis *never* found ;
'Twas "plough," and "through," and "cough," and "dough"—there's something
strange and dense in it !
Can any mortal learn to know this sound that has no sense in it ?

Some consonants must doubled be ; some consonants stay single, ma'am ;
 The rules that twist the " final e " would make your senses tingle, ma'am !
 And as for " l," and " f," and " s," and " y,"—which one to choose—
 A cat might lose nine lives for less, and boys have only one to lose.

The words that end in " ing " and " ness " ; the compounds, and the primitives ;
 The diphthongs all in such a mess ; the mixtures called " derivatives " ;
 The horrid twists from " ce " to " ge " ; the y's which aren't wise at all—
 Conspire to tease and addle me, as if I had no eyes at all !

If there were any single thing that followed where it ought be
 Without some hidden catch or spring *not* in the place you thought 'twould be !
 If there were any single rule that wouldn't break from under you—
 But here the wise man and the fool must both fall in and blunder through !

O could I but the rascal reach, I'd surely find him killable !
 The man who first invented speech and blundered on each syllable !
 I'm not a dunce, I said before, in Logic or Geography,
 But, oh ! my heart is sick and sore, with studying Orthography !

M. E. B., in *Chautauqua Young Folks' Journal*.

A SIGNIFICANT ADVERTISEMENT OF 1773

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S LANDS

[The following advertisement is taken from the *Baltimore Advertiser and Journal* of August 23, 1773, a copy of which is in possession of Dr. L. J. Allred, of Ocala, Fla., by whom it is furnished.]

"*Mount Vernon in Virginia, July 15, 1773.* The Subscriber having obtained Patents for upwards of TWENTY THOUSAND Acres of LAND on the *Ohio* and *Great Kanhawa* (Ten Thousand of which are situated on the banks of the first-mentioned river, between the mouths of the two *Kanhawas*, and the remainder on the *Great Kanhawa*, or *New River*, from the mouth, or near it, upwards, in one continued survey) proposes to divide the same into any sized tenements that may be desired, and lease them upon moderate terms, allowing a reasonable number of years rent free, provided, within the space of two years from next October, three acres for every fifty contained in each lot, and porportionably for a lesser quantity, shall be cleared, fenced, and tilled ; and that, by or before the time limited for the commencement of the first rent, five acres for every hundred, and proportionably, as above, shall be enclosed and laid down in good grass for meadow ;

and moreover, that at least fifty good fruit trees for every like quantity of land shall be planted on the Premises.

Any persons inclinable to settle on these lands may be more fully informed of the terms by applying to the subscriber, near *Alexandria*, or in his absence, to Mr. LUND WASHINGTON ; and would do well in communicating their intentions before the 1st of October next, in order that a sufficient number of lots may be laid off to answer the demand.

As these lands are among the first which have been surveyed in the part of the country they lie in, it is almost needless to premise that none can exceed them in luxuriance of soil, or convenience of situation, all of them lying upon the banks either of the *Ohio* or *Kanhawa*, and abounding with fine fish and wild fowl of various kinds, so also in most excellent meadows, many of which (by the bountiful hand of nature) are, in their present state, almost fit for the scythe. From every part of these lands water carriage is now had to *Fort Pitt*, by an easy communication ; and from *Fort Pitt*, up the *Monongahela*, to *Redstone*, vessels of convenient burthen, may and do pass continually ; from whence, by means of *Cheat River*, and other navigable branches of the *Monongahela*, it is thought the portage to *Potomack* may, and will, be reduced within the compass of a few miles, to the great ease and convenience of the settlers transporting the produce of their lands to market. To which may be added, that as patents have now actually passed the seals for the several tracts here offered to be leased, settlers on them may cultivate and enjoy the lands in peace and safety, notwithstanding the unsettled counsels respecting a new colony on the *Ohio* ; and as no sight money is to be paid for these lands, and quitrent of two shillings sterling a hundred, demandable some years hence only, it is highly presumable that they will always be held upon a more desirable footing than where both these are laid on with a very heavy hand. And it may not be amiss further to observe, that if the scheme for establishing a new government on the *Ohio*, in the manner talked of, should ever be affected, these must be among the most valuable lands in it, not only on account of the goodness of soil, and the other advantages above enumerated, but from their contiguity to the seat of government, which more than probable will be fixed at the mouth of the *Great Kanhawa*.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

W. S. P.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

TWO INTERESTING LETTERS

Fac-simile of Autograph Letter of Governor George Clinton in 1753.

Addressed to Governor Hamilton, with some Intelligence.

[From the collection of Ferguson Haines.]

yr

I have had the Favour of yours of the 10th of May, with a Copy of Capt: Trent's to your Honour inclosed, which I communicated to His Majesty's Council, it came in good time for me to lay it before the Assembly which mett the 30th of May, as I did also the inclosed Letters from Lieut: Holland and Cap^t: Stoddert, by which the French seem determined to fix their own Bounds. I can not find that the Assembly have done any thing yet in the Affair, tho' the preservation of the Indians is of such Importance, but I shall do my self the Honour immediately to acquaint you, as soon as I can tell what They will determine on. I am of the same Opinion with you, That unless the neighbouring Provinces will unite,

and act jointly with spirit, we shall never
 curb the Insolence and Artifice of the French
 from withdrawing all our Judgments to their favour &
 entirely. I am with very great Truth

Flushing
 on Long Island
 2d June 1753

Your Honours

most Obedient

very humble Servant



[The above Letter was read in council on the 7th of August, 1753.]

(SECOND LETTER)

General Peter Muhlenberg to Colonel Richard C. Anderson, in 1794.

Contributed by Richard G. Lewis, Chillicothe, Ohio.

Address.

P. Muhlenberg—*free*.

FREE.

Col^o Richard C. Anderson

Jefferson County

Kentucky.

(The circle and the word "FREE" were evidently stamped on the letter by the Post Master. It was folded, and sealed with wax, and addressed on the back of the sheet as common before the days of envelopes, to Colonel Richard C. Anderson, Jefferson County, Kentucky.)

Philadelphia June 7th 1794.

Dear Sir,

I am Honored with your favor of the 13th of March and am much oblig'd to you for the information it contains—I wrote you on the 11th of Febr^y and enclosed a reported Bill to enable the Officers and Soldiers of the Virg^a Line on Continental establishment, to obtain Patents for Lands on the West side of the Ohio—with great difficulty this Bill pass'd the House, and was then sent to the Senate, where it lay dormant until this Morning, and as the Session continues but one day longer there is scarcely time to give it due consideration—The Senate have returned the Bill with amendments, in a very questionable shape, which will probably be decided on this day; and I mean to keep my letter open until I can give you full information—I should not have delayd so long my writing to you, had I not been in daily expectation the Bill would pass, and I should have it in my power to transmit it.

Since Col Greenup left us, our political situation has not varied much; only in this—That it now appears beyond a doubt, that Great Britain at the time when they were successful ag^t the French, meant to break with us—this appears from the conduct of their Officers in Canada and elsewhere, who are now acting agreeably to the principles adopted at that time, because the British Government have not had time to countermand their former Orders—The Authentic News from Europe is—That the King of Prussia has seceded from the combined powers—That Spain is wavering—The French Navy rapidly increasing—The people of Great Britain murmuring—Denmark, Sweeden, and America Growling, all this combined renders it more than probable that the French Republic will obtain that Freedom and Independance for which they have so nobly fought. Col Greenup has been good enough to promise me, that what money is wanting for Col Croghan He will supply until I reimburse Him the next session—as to yourself I hope to see you in the fall, and tho' I do not live in the city, I can always find time enough to accompany you—Be pleased to present my best Respects to your Lady and to Col Croghan and Family—On State Affairs of Kentucky I dare not trust my thoughts to paper.

The Bill I alluded to has just pass'd with the amendments proposed by the Senate—as it now stands tis neither Fish or Flesh—I can not get a copy but M^r. Orr will bring it with Him.

I am Dear Sir

Your most Obed^t. Serv^t.

P. Muhlenberg.

NOTES

HARVARD CATALOGUE—It is not generally known probably that as late as 1810 the Catalogue of Harvard University was printed on a broadside. The Catalogue of that year is before me, on a sheet of coarse paper, 16 x 20 inches. It gives simply the names of the Faculty and the students, the residences and rooms of the latter. It seems almost like the record of a past age to read the names of Rev. John Thornton Kirkland, D.D., as president, and of Rev. Henry Ware, D.D., as professor of theology. The names of Edward Everett, Nath. L. Frothingham and Harrison E. Otis appear among the "Senior Sophisters;" those of Franklin Dexter, Charles G. Loring and Peleg Sprague among the "Junior Sophisters;" that of Elbridge Gerry among the Sophomores; and those of Martin Brimmer, Francis W. P. Greenwood, and Pliny Merrick among the Freshmen. The whole number of students was two hundred and eighteen. Most of these came from Boston and eastern Massachusetts; sixteen were from Salem; a very few from New Hampshire and Connecticut (Maine was then a part of Massachusetts); two from Vermont, one each from New York, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Virginia, Mississippi, Georgia, Canada, St. Croix and Jamaica, West Indies, and the extraordinary number of twelve from Charleston, South Carolina.* The buildings in which students roomed were Stoughton Hall,

* Is this one of the proofs of commercial and social alliance between Massachusetts and South Carolina, which made Boston, especially in later years, so obtuse to the wrong of slavery?

Hollis Hall, Massachusetts Hall and College House. D. F. L.

MANCHESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.

HONORABLE MARK SKINNER OF CHICAGO—In the death of this eminent jurist we are stricken with a sense of personal bereavement. He was one of the warm friends of *THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, and for many years familiar with its every page.

He was the son of Richard Skinner, of honored memory, who was chief justice of the Supreme Court of Vermont, a member of Congress and governor of that state. The son, following in the father's footsteps, became also a jurist, and embodied in his life and personality abilities, aims and sentiments which made him a power for good in the city of his adoption. No citizen of Chicago maintained a more secure hold on the respect of her people, while those who came into close relations with Judge Skinner were bound to him by ties of peculiar strength. Receiving his education at the East, he settled in Chicago in 1836, so that he shared in all her municipal history, exercising a large influence in public affairs, and doing much to perpetuate therein his own high ideals. He served with credit on the Circuit Court bench, and after the expiration of his judicial term he became the financial agent for the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company, and other large Eastern organizations, in the placing of loans on local real estate. He was without a superior as a real estate lawyer, and his judgment has been confidently relied upon for a

long series of years. The success of the Connecticut Mutual company in that field is sufficient evidence of his ability as a financier. During the civil war, Judge Skinner was most ardent in supporting the Union cause, laboring indefatigably at the head of the Sanitary Commission of the Northwest. In the religious and social life of Chicago he was always prominent, being a leader in the Presbyterian church and active in every good cause. He had the gift of hospitality, and was a most charming companion, accomplished, responsive and genial. His literary tastes were fine, and he had the means and opportunity to gratify them both in reading and travel. His library was well and wisely chosen, and one of the largest and most valuable in the West. The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by Middlebury College. But while so thoroughly identified with Chicago, Judge Skinner's interest in Vermont and his peculiar attachment for Manchester kept him closely allied with the old home and her people. He adorned the cemetery at Manchester, which is the pride of the place, gave money to Middlebury College, and in other ways manifested an active regard for the region where his summers were often spent. Judge Skinner was seventy-four years of age when he passed away.

THE CONSTITUTION

Fortress of a nation's life,
 Built in the battle smoke
 When our freemen hearts awoke
 Ready for the strife ;

Temple reared by labor vast,
 Sealed with blood by heroes shed,
 To the skies of freedom wed,
 Towering over caste ;

Mightier than a tyrant's sway
 Through the land from shore to shore,
 We acclaim thee more and more
 On thy natal day.

Magna Charta of the West,
 Grandeur than the bulwark old,
 We, Columbia's true sons, hold
 Thy protection best.

In the one God still we trust,
 Fearless of the shifts of fate ;
 This is the watchword at our gate :
 "Cling to what is just."

Raise on high our million-voice !
 Let it ring from sea to sea !
 In the name of Liberty,
 Freemen, come rejoice.

J. J. J. ROONEY

PHILADELPHIA, September 17, 1887.

DANIEL WEBSTER—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: It has been said that Daniel Webster died of a broken heart, caused by his losing the Whig nomination, and I send the following little incident, which is to the point. The night after Webster lost the nomination, the Marine Band serenaded him. On arriving at his house no light or other sign of life was visible, but the band played and the crowd cheered until a window in the second story was raised, and Webster appeared in his night costume. When the deafening cheers with which he was received had subsided, he rested his hands on the window-sill, and leaning forward, spoke in a clear yet sad tone. His concluding remarks were these—"Boys, I am glad to see you, but this is the last time you will hear my voice. I am going to my home, and I feel that I am going to my home to die." A few months later, October 24, 1852, he died at his home in Marshfield.

J. A. STETSON, JR.

THE PRINGLE FAMILY—The following item appeared in the *New York World* of September 1, 1887: "Among the arrivals by the steamship *Aurania* Sunday last was Mr. Robert Pringle, W. S., of Edinburgh, Scotland. He is of the same kith as the Charleston family of that name, whose founder was also Robert Pringle, one of the early colonial judges, memorialized by Judge O'Nealin his 'Bench and Bar of South Carolina.'

Two members of the Charleston branch were present at the Windsor Hotel to meet their kinsman, and he will visit Charleston before going back to his native city;" an example, that perhaps in this country stands by itself, of original family identity and recognition, preserved for near two centuries, in spite of wars and other changes, and of what Horace calls the "Oceano dissociabili" besides.
O. P. Q.

QUERIES

A PORTRAIT OF COLUMBUS—In the *New Jersey Gazette* of April 26, 1784, is the following paragraph, dated New York, March^o 17:

"We are informed that Mrs. Farmer, of this city, has presented an excellent original picture of the celebrated Christopher Columbus, discoverer of the American Continent, to the House of Assembly of this State, which has been received by that honorable branch of the legislature with expression of their thanks for so valuable a present. The House have ordered it to be placed in their convention room."

Can any of the readers of the *Magazine of American History* inform me of the fate of this portrait? CH. C.

CENTURY CLUB, 26th September, 1887.

NELSON'S RIVER—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Will some of your readers kindly inform me when and by whom Nelson's River, which flows into Hudson's Bay, was discovered, after whom was it named, and where is to be found the first account of its discovery? In Douglass's *Summary*, 1755, it is stated that Sir Thomas Button, fitted

out in 1612, "wintered miserably at Port Nelson, in 57 deg. N. lat.," and that a settlement was made there in 1673.

W. N.

AUTHOR OF LINES—Who wrote these lines? when? where published?

"Night, with her sandals dipped in dew,
Hath passed the evening's pearly gates,
And a single star in the cloudless blue
For the rising moon in silence waits."

D. N. R.

DAVENPORT, IOWA.

THE SCHOOL LAW—*Editor Magazine of American History*: When was the act or law passed setting apart the 16th section for school purposes in the North West Territory? When was this survey made in the N. W. T.? What was (in brief) the act of 1785? Who was the author of this act?

E. A. CANTLEY

LOGANSPOUT, INDIANA.

THE PHELPS FAMILY—The author of the "Memorials of William E. Dodge," alluding to the ancestors of Anson G. Phelps, of New York, says, "They came

of an ancient and honorable family in Staffordshire, England, which embarked at Plymouth in the *Mary and John*, 1630, and settled first at Dorchester, Massachusetts, and subsequently in Windsor, Connecticut, the original pioneer being George Phelps."

The writer has a genealogy of one branch of the Phelps family going back to William Phelps, born at Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, England, Aug. 19, 1599. He also came to America in the *Mary and John*, 1630, landed at Dorchester, Massachusetts, and from thence to Windsor, Connecticut. Palfrey says William

Phelps was a magistrate from 1639 to 1642. He was also one of the commissioners to settle the boundary between Massachusetts and Connecticut. The will of John Porter, who died at Windsor, Connecticut, 1648, twelve years after the founding of the town, and which is preserved in its records, has among other signatures that of William Phelps as one of the appraisers of the estate.

Were George and William representatives of two distinct branches of the Phelps family? If not, How were they related? Did they come from the same place in England? E.

REPLIES

"BOODLE" [xviii. 82, 171, 353]—The word is of purely Dutch origin, and has come down in this anciently Dutch city. "Boedel," pronounced "boodle" in Dutch as in English, means "household stuff," and also "an estate left behind by a deceased person." Thus an administrator gets the boodle—in its primary sense.

GEO. W. VAN SICLEN,
Secretary of the Holland Society.

THE STAMP ACT [xviii. 82] was brought into Parliament March 10 (Bancroft says February 13), 1765, and having passed both houses (in the Commons by a vote of about 250 to 50, and in the Lords with practical unanimity), received the royal assent March 22, 1765, being known as the Act of 5 Geo. III., c. 32. It was to go into operation November 1, 1765. By Act 6 Geo. III., c. 11, approved March 19, 1766, it was enacted that the Stamp Act should stand

repealed after May 1, 1766. The repealer received (February 22—significant date) in the Commons 275 votes to 167 against, and in the Lords it passed by 105 to 71.—*Dodsley's Annual Register*, for 1765, pp. 33-38; and for 1766, p. 194; *Marshall's Washington, Ed.* 1804, II., 84-94; *Gordon's Am. Rev., Ed.* 1789, I., 126, 150; *Graham's Hist. U. S., Ed.* 1845, IV., 201, 210, *Note*, 242-3; *Bancroft's Hist. U. S., Ed.* 1852, V., 243-8; *Centenary Ed.*, III., 456, 585; *Griffith's Hist. Notes*, 21, *Note*. The Stamp Act is given in full in *Pitkin's Hist. U. S.*, I., 433-442, and in *Ruffhead's Statutes at Large X.*, 18.

WM. NELSON

PATERSON, NEW JERSEY.

"WHO LED THE TROOPS IN THE FINAL UNSUCCESSFUL CHARGE AFTER ARNOLD WAS WOUNDED AT QUEBEC IN 1776." [xviii. 350]—The writer of query in the *October Magazine of American History*,

says: "Schuyler and Montgomery advanced by way of Lake Champlain and Montreal, while Arnold went by way of Albany." Two mistakes are involved in this statement. Schuyler did not proceed with the Champlain expedition farther than St. Johns. He turned back there by reason of sickness, and the command devolved upon Montgomery, and was retained by him until his unfortunate death under the rugged rocks of the city of Quebec. Neither did Arnold march by way of Albany. His expedition to Canada started from Cambridge, near Boston, where the American army was then encamped, about the middle of September, 1775, marched to Newburyport, where it was embarked on board of ten transports and sailed for the mouth of the Kennebec river. From there the expedition was conducted in bateaux up the Kennebec and Dead rivers, and down the Chaudiere, and finally reached Point Levi opposite Quebec.

The writer further says, that a regiment of troops raised in Massachusetts late in 1775, of which Elisha Porter was colonel and Abner Morgan was major, marched to Albany and joined Arnold and shared his terrible march through the wilderness. This statement is erroneous so far as the march from Albany with Arnold is concerned, and my researches have failed to connect the name of Elisha Porter or Abner Morgan with Arnold's expedition in any way.

Daniel Morgan, then captain of a company of Virginia riflemen, marched with his company with Arnold from Cambridge, and shared the hardships and privations of the expedition to Canada. He was present at the disastrous assault upon

the city of Quebec, and led the final unsuccessful charge, and was taken prisoner with all the forces he had under him at that time. This fact, and the identification of Captain Daniel Morgan as the hero, are so fully established as to be now removed from doubt. The following is an extract from an account of the attack upon Quebec printed in the *New York Gazette* at the time: "However, the advanced party soon reached the barrier and began the attack, in which they were joined by Colonel Arnold himself, and supported by Captain Daniel Morgan with his company of riflemen, who were in front of the main body. In this onset, unfortunately — unfortunately, indeed — Colonel Arnold received his wound and was carried off, but notwithstanding Captain Morgan and the first party obtained possession of the battery of four guns, took great part of the guard and a number of inhabitants who surrendered prisoners. In this situation they were obliged to remain (not being supported by the main body, who had not recovered from their confusion so as to come up) till joined by Lieutenant Steel with Captain Smith's company, Captain Lamb with his artillery company (who were obliged to quit the field-piece, it being impossible to bring it forward), Captain Hendricks with part of his company, and several of the musketeers from the different companies (after regaining the proper road), in all about two hundred. When they again formed, and were again led on by Captain Morgan (upon whom the body then called as their commanding officer), to force the second barrier. . . . *Force's American Archives*,

Fourth Series, Vol. 4, p. 707. Substantially the same account is given by Marshall in his "Life of Washington," and he derived his facts from the journal of Colonel William Heth, an American officer, who participated in the charge and became a prisoner with the other officers and soldiers who surrendered to the enemy at that time.

In a letter from Harlem Heights, dated September 28, 1776, General Washington wrote to the President of the Continental Congress, recommending the appointment of Captain Morgan as colonel of a rifle regiment, and the following is an extract from the letter: "As Colonel Hugh Stephenson of the rifle regiment ordered lately to be raised, is dead, according to the information I have received, I would beg leave to recommend to the particular notice of Congress Captain Daniel Morgan, just returned among the prisoners from Canada. . . . His conduct as an officer on the expedition with General Arnold last fall, his intrepid behavior in the assault upon Quebec, where the brave Montgomery fell, . . . all in my opinion entitle him to the favor of Congress. . . ." *Force's American Archives, Fifth Series*, Vol. 2, p. 589.

In a letter dated at Ticonderoga, November 6, 1776, General Arnold wrote to General Washington as follows: "Dear General: I beg leave to recommend to your particular notice the following gentlemen, who were taken at Quebec, and lately returned on their parole, viz: Major Lamb and Captain Lockwood of the artillery, Lieutenant Colonel Oswald and Captain Morgan. The two last went with me from Cam-

bridge." *Force's Archives, Fifth Series*, Vol. 3, p. 550.

The foregoing facts seem sufficient for the vindication of the truth of history, and to show that Captain Daniel Morgan led the troops on the final unsuccessful charge after Arnold was wounded at Quebec, but it was the last day of the year 1775, and not in 1776.

J. O. DYKMAN

WHITE PLAINS, Oct. 1, 1887.

ROBERT DRUMMOND [xviii. 272]—This noted New Jersey loyalist, born in Aquackanoch, now Passaic, New Jersey, as also his father before him, was a merchant in that place, and both father and son married into Dutch families there. He was a grandson of Robert Drummond of New York, who was driven by persecution from Scotland in the reign of James II., and in 1713 was chosen high-sheriff; but who about that time removed to Elizabethtown, New Jersey. He married Anne, widow of Richard Hall of New York, whose mother's second husband was the famous mayor Thomas Noel. Robert, the grandson, was an active patriot at the beginning of the revolution, and a member of the Provincial Congress at Trenton. After his defection his large property was confiscated, but was partially restored to his family at the end of the war, through the influence of one of his kinsmen. He died in England. For the above facts we are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. William Nelson, Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society.

W. H.

NEW YORK, September 30.

SOCIETIES

THE WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY (MASSACHUSETTS) held its first meeting after the summer vacation on Wednesday evening, August 31, at the Tufts Library, President Loud in the chair. After the regular business of the society, of which was the presentation by the committee on nominations, of several names for membership, a paper was read by the secretary entitled: "An eventful chapter in the history of the Old North Church, Weymouth (Massachusetts)," giving an extended sketch of the pastorate of the Rev. Thomas Paine, and the troubles attending it. This paper was prepared with much care, and is of great interest to the Weymouth people, covering as it does quite fully one of the most critical periods in the history of that venerable church. The secretary also read the farewell address of Rev. Mr. Paine to his people in Weymouth, from a copy of the original document furnished by Robert Treat Paine, a descendant of the Weymouth minister. It is exceedingly spicy reading, and its plain-spoken and cutting words must have been something of a surprise coming from so gentle and courteous a tongue.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting on the evening of October 4, President Gammell in the chair. Following the secretary's report, Mr. William D. Ely, chairman of the committee appointed to examine and report upon the accuracy of the date upon the seal of the society, presented a valuable paper, which indi-

cated thorough and exhaustive research and study, and was listened to with close attention.

President Gammell, in commenting upon the paper, said that it settled the question, not only by general testimony, but the analogies in regard to the cession acquired in the three settlements. He also incidentally referred to the controversy between the state and society as to the date which had stimulated the inquiry. On motion of Dr. C. W. Parsons, the thanks of the society were voted to Mr. Ely, and the paper was referred to the publication committee to be incorporated in the annual proceedings of the society.

On motion of Secretary Perry, Mr. Henry T. Drowne of New York, a native of this state, and a corresponding member of the society, was appointed as a delegate to the celebration of the centennial of Marietta, Ohio, in April, 1888. Mr. Drowne is a grandson of Dr. Solomon Drowne, one of the early settlers of that place.

THE FAIRFIELD COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY has issued its sixth annual report in pamphlet form. The officers are Rowland B. Lacey, president; George C. Waldo, Rev. Samuel Orcutt, General William H. Noble, vice-presidents; Nathaniel E. Morden, M. D., recording secretary; Louis N. Middlebrook, corresponding secretary; Richard C. Ambler, treasurer and curator; George C. Waldo, historian. During the last year it has held thirteen meetings, and its membership has increased to sixty.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

WHEN Bayard Taylor in 1847 determined to make an effort to support himself in New York by literary work, he wrote to Horace Greeley for advice on the subject, and received the following characteristic reply: "I know nothing at present wherewith to tempt you toward this city. We are in a vortex of literary and miscellaneous adventure. All the aspiring talent and conceit of our own country and of Europe confront and crowd on our pavements, and every newspaper or other periodical establishment is crowded with assistants and weighed down with promises. It seems to me that two or three years' experience in a country village will better qualify you for a department in a city paper; that, as to study, time is everything, and that is very scarce with anybody's hirelings in this city. Should you evince high qualities in your present position they will be noted, and your services requested elsewhere. Life is very hurried and fretful in a great city."

THE Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati has appointed three hereditary members of its body to represent it at the Ohio Centennial at Marietta on the 7th of April next. The five ancestors of these gentlemen were pioneers in Ohio, and three of them died at Marietta. The three delegates are Colonel James M. Varnum, New York City; Frederick T. Sibley, Detroit, Michigan; and Charles C. Emott, New York City.

IT is a significant sign of the times, that in the recent celebration at Philadelphia of the framing of the Constitution, the interest of the occasion was not confined to any section of our vast country, or even within its boundaries. All Christendom seemed to look on with admiration. Not less than half a million of people from the North and the South, from ocean to ocean, of all ages and creeds, Catholics and Protestants, black and white, and strangers from beyond the sea, flocked into the old historic capital, filling its homes, hotels and streets to overflowing. Three fine, sunshiny days, with orderly crowds surging in every direction, and no accidents to mar the general rejoicing in the preservation of the Constitution, is an eloquent sermon in itself. The great industrial parade on the 15th of September was the largest and the most impressive demonstration of the kind ever witnessed on this continent. The military pageant on the 16th was also unparalleled in its distinctive features—thousands of well-drilled, well-equipped and well-disciplined citizen soldiers from the different states of the Union bore witness to the power of liberal government in a land where professional military life and great standing armies are not required. The strength of the nation, and its reverence for the Constitution, were displayed as never before within the hundred years of our national life. Ever since its adoption, our Constitution has been the study of the best minds throughout the world, and the longer it stands, fitting the needs of sixty millions as well as it did the three millions in its infancy, the more respect it commands. The commemorative exercises on the 17th in Independence Square, in which the President of the United States participated, surrounded by the most distinguished men of the country in religion, statesmanship, jurisprudence, law, science and letters, will go into history not only as a just tribute to the genius of the framers of the Constitution, but as a stirring prophecy for coming generations. Should our population of sixty millions treble in the next century, the action of the whole would rest upon the same basis as now—the Constitution.

THE celebration terminated with a notable banquet on the evening of the 17th, given to the President of the United States by eight learned societies of Philadelphia, representing progress in arts, science and education since the birth of our nation. The Academy of Music was turned into an enormous conservatory for the occasion. The auditorium was arranged with scenic effects to represent a tropical garden with stone terraces and statues; and on every side giant ferns and evergreens were jeweled with bright-colored flowers. At each angle of this magnificent dining-hall were huge pyramids of flowers, one representing the four seasons, the other science, art, agriculture, and merchandise; and overhead was a great floral bell. The President's table, raised seven inches above the others, was so placed that he sat just under the proscenium in the center of the house, and facing Mrs. Cleveland's box, which was lined with mirrors, and transformed into a perfect bower of floral loveliness. The artistic menu cards, composed of six leaves of heavy Japan paper, lightly tied with red, blue or buff ribbon, were illuminated with delicate etchings. The frontispiece was an allegorical representation of History, enumerating the deeds of 1887. The second leaf contained the proem. The third leaf was devoted to the menu proper, the top-piece of which was a medallion encircled by a snake, while at the bottom as a tail-piece an owl sat demurely on a telescope pointed at a star. The fourth leaf contained the toast list, which we give in fac-simile, with the coat of arms of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania as a head-piece, and Franklin flying his famous kite as a tail-piece. The fifth leaf contained the names of the committee on invitations, etched with a Vestal virgin feeding an eternal flame; an olive branch for a border, and a spider's web in the lower corner. The design on the sixth leaf we present to our readers in fac-simile. The medals of the eight learned societies represented at the banquet, entwined in olive leaves, surround the clasped book over which the eagle presides with spread wings. Some five hundred distinguished guests were seated at the tables; there was the President of the nation, an ex-President, an ex-Vice-President, the chief-justice and justices of the Supreme Court, cabinet-ministers, the lieutenant-general of the army, and numerous prominent army officers, a rear-admiral of the navy and his staff, the governors of many of the states, ex-governors, presidents of colleges, and other institutions of learning, authors, editors, the clergy, and foreign ministers. About eight o'clock Mrs. Cleveland entered her box, and the diners rose from their seats and cheered and shouted, waving their napkins for several minutes. Meanwhile the balcony was quickly filled with ladies in full evening dress, and the scene, take it all in all, was one of the most brilliant ever witnessed in America.

RESPONDING to the toast "The President of the United States," the President said in a clear ringing voice: "On such a day as this and in the atmosphere that now surrounds us, it seems as if the President of the United States should be thoughtful and modest, mindful of the high office he holds. To-day, in the presence of the memories of the Constitution and its framers, it is especially fitting that the servant of the people, the creature of the Constitution, in this centennial time should, by rigid self-examination, inquire into the law of his existence. He will find the rules laid down for his guidance require not that intellect, not that attainment that raises him above the common people: but rather a knowledge of their wants and needs, and a sympathy with their condition. If appalled by the solemnity of his position, he will find comfort in what the fathers of this country wrought by an unswerving devotion to the people. I have the hope that if reverently invoked, the spirit of the Constitution will be sufficient for all our government.



Toasts.

1. THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.
GROVER CLEVELAND,
President of the United States.
2. THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY.
STANLEY MATTHEWS,
Associate Justice Supreme Court, U. S.
3. CONGRESS.
JOHN JAMES INGALLS,
President of the Senate.
4. THE UNITED STATES OF 1787.
FREDERICK LEE,
Governor of Virginia.
5. THE UNITED STATES OF 1887.
CHARLES FRANKLIN ADAMS,
of Massachusetts.
6. THE ARMY. PHILIP H. SMITHSON,
Lieutenant-General U. S. Army.
7. THE NAVY. BENJAMIN F. LOCKE,
Rear Admiral U. S. Navy.
8. ENGLAND—OUR MOTHER COUNTRY. BEN LYON PLAYFAIR,
of Great Britain.
9. FRANCE—OUR OLD ALLY. MARQUIS DE CHAMBRON,
of France.
10. AMERICAN EDUCATION. ANDREW D. WHITE, of New York.
11. THE CENTENNIAL COMMISSION. JOHN A. KAMM, President
12. HONOR AND IMMORTALITY TO THE MEMBERS
OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1787.
HENRY M. HOLT, of Pennsylvania.



THE FOURTH LEAF OF THE MENU CARD, CONTAINING THE TOAST LIST.

Because the people of Philadelphia are more nearly related to the scenes of our early history, more should they be imbued with a broad patriotism. The Continental Congress and the Constitutional Assembly met here. Philadelphia has her Carpenters' Hall, Independence Hall and bell, and the grave of Franklin. As I look about me and see so many societies of culture, all of Philadelphia, showing a love for science, a devotion to art, a



THE SIXTH LEAF OF THE MERIC CARD.

care for broad education, a regard for historical research, I feel I am in notable company. I have been given the duty of protecting and preserving for all the inhabitants of your city, your country and all mankind the incidents that marked the birth of the freest and best government ever vouchsafed to man. It is a sacred trust, and as we as a nation get farther and farther from the footsteps of the past, the nation expects that the incidents should never be tarnished, but brightly burnished should be held aloft, attracting the gaze of this people, and inspiring all to love "Our Constitution."

BOOK NOTICES

A SHORT HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE. By ARTHUR LYMAN TUCKERMAN. 12mo, pp. 168. New York, 1887. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Few things are more noticeable in the material progress of our American cities than the marked development of taste, in connection with utility, in the erection of public and private buildings. It must be admitted that until a comparatively recent date, the capitalist who ordered plans from his architect did not as a rule allow the latter that scope for ornamental construction which he, as a lover and student of art in architecture, desires to express in the building he is to design. This backwardness on the part of the owner to exceed the boundary lines of absolute necessity has proceeded partly from economical motives and partly from an unappreciative sense of the beauty of art, the cultivation of which does not always go hand in hand with the accumulation of personal riches. The beautiful and appropriate in architecture must be learned, if not from books and designs, from a study of and familiarity with those erections abroad and at home whose construction bears evidence of the genius or talent of cultivated masters of the art.

The enormous increase of American tourists in Europe has been productive among other advantages of a desire to transplant to this country a taste for harmonious combinations and magnificent effects such as can only be satisfactorily appreciated by personal observation of what ancient and modern art in architecture has produced during the progress of ages. The increasing beauty of the buildings along our streets and squares testifies to this fact. But the *principles* of architecture can be mastered only by a careful perusal of the books which treat upon this subject, especially a history of the art from its beginnings to its more recent manifestations.

The volume under notice presents these facts of history in a concise and attractive form, which, for the majority of readers, is what is wanted; for the majority of readers have neither the time nor inclination to search libraries and pore over intricate and scientific details to obtain such information. Mr. Tuckerman writes from observation and experience, and understands how to present and illustrate his subject in such a manner as to convey an immense amount of practical information without disturbing the course of a simple historical narrative. When he ventures to intrude a personal observation, it is to awaken in the mind of the reader a desire to cultivate a love of the art for art's sake, and not for mere material advantages. "In pursuing the study of so vast and splendid an art," he says, "we should do so with some feeling of reverence for its dignity, not looking upon it as a mere money-making

trade, for the greatest architects the world has known have been satisfied in being only worshippers at a great shrine. . . . All of our work must reflect something of our inner thoughts, and if we do not place them upon a high plane it is not possible for their reflection to contain what is noble and true."

The illustrations in this little work, of less than two hundred pages, are by the hand of the author, and are admirably executed, as might be expected from one of the architectural firm who are now erecting in our Central Park the new wings to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

THE PERSONAL MEMOIRS AND MILITARY HISTORY OF U. S. GRANT *versus* THE RECORD OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC. By CARSWELL MCCLELLAN. 12mo, pp. 278. Boston, 1887. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The author of this volume, which is creating a marked sensation among students of our great civil war as well as among the critics and reviewers, needs, perhaps, an introduction to the reading public, since this is his first considerable venture in the world of letters. As a military man he is well known to the Army of the Potomac, having served on the staff of General Andrew A. Humphreys as an aide and in other capacities in connection with the topographical and the adjutant-general's department. His preface is so terse and significant that it deserves quoting at length, or rather in brief, since it occupies barely six lines of type: "This volume has grown from what was, at first, intended to be a brief memorandum of service for private use. It is offered to the public not as an attempt to write or correct history, but earnestly to ask that history already written shall be remembered." We notice that he takes exception to some of General Grant's expressed opinions: "There are voices calling from other graves; there are memories shrouding other names precious to comrades and countrymen; and it were craven to stand in acquiescent silence while bias strives anew to mar the record of manly effort with detraction. . . . The object aimed at now is, to incite investigation which shall decide the historic value of this widely published work. . . . While General Grant has noticeably intensified some reflections contained in General Badeau's books, he has offered no protest to anything therein except in the single instance of General Butler's operations at Bermuda Hundred. Moreover he makes several references to them as 'reliable authority,' and this as is pointed out in the face of refutations contained in General Humphreys' 'Virginia

Campaign of 1864 and 1865." These citations sufficiently indicate the author's intention and may serve fairly as the text on which the subsequent critical suggestions are based. The volume then aims firstly to point out where the books prepared either by General Grant in person, or which have received his indorsement, are open to criticism, and secondly to refer to other books and authorities which sustain his (the author's) view.

The volume is far, very far from being a bibliography of war literature, though it may be said to make a beginning in that direction, and it is perhaps to be regretted that since Colonel McClellan went so far and is presumably so well equipped for the task, that he did not complete the task to which his researches obviously incited him, instead of preparing as it were a brief for the guidance of some other writer. That any mere mortal who has occupied a commanding position of authority and responsibility as did General Grant can write his own autobiography and not meet with adverse criticism is not to be expected. No man has ever done it; none ever will do it. Every book that has been written by a leader on either side of our great civil struggle has made errors of fact and of omission which have laid him open to severe criticism. Colonel McClellan's chief grounds of complaint appear to be the treatment of Generals Meade and Humphreys in General Grant's book; but in view, doubtless, of his plan of merely pointing out discrepancies, he does not satisfactorily decide what is really the truth in any general sense. That many of his strictures rest upon a foundation of truth there is reason to believe; but how many of them are to be accepted unreservedly in the light of all contemporaneous events, must remain undetermined until that historian appears for whom the author according to his own showing has now prepared the way.

TRANS-ALLEGHENY PIONEERS. Historical Sketches of the First White Settlements West of the Alleghenies, 1748 and after. By JOHN P. HALE. 12mo, pp 330. Cincinnati, Ohio: Samuel C. Cox & Co. 1887.

The opulence of historic interest which centers about the pioneers who penetrated the inhospitable wilderness of the trans-Allegheny country is admirably illustrated in the volume before us. As its author aptly remarks, "The discovery, exploration, conquest, settlement and civilization of a continent once accomplished in this age, is done for all time; there are no more continents to discover, no more worlds to conquer." Americans cannot learn too much about the scenes and events that attended the transformation of the savage wilds into hives of busy industry. The author's ancestors—the Ingles

and Draper families (Scotch-Irish) were among the first to scale the Allegheny mountains and pitch their tents in the mysterious unknown beyond. Thus in sketching the frontier explorations and settlements, and the Indian raids and massacres along the entire Virginia border, Mr. Hale has had peculiar advantages, of which he has made excellent use. He thinks that Colonel Abraham Wood, with a party of hunters and traders, anticipated by many years the famous exploits of Governor Spotswood and his Knights of the Golden Horse-shoe in passing the Blue Ridge. He describes at some length the capture of his great-grandmother, Mrs. William Ingles, in 1755, the day before Braddock's memorable defeat, by a party of savages, and of her wonderful escape from them and restoration to her friends. The account reads like a distorted picture of the imagination, and yet there seems not the slightest doubt of its truth. Mr. Hale says: "I do not know in all history the record of a more wonderful and heroic performance than that of this brave little woman, all things considered. Dr. Tanner's forty days' fast, in view of the conditions and circumstances, dwindles into insignificance compared with this. Mrs. Ingles (when she reached the cabin of Adam Harman) had not seen a fire for forty days; she had not tasted food except nuts, corn and berries, for forty days; she had not known shelter, except caves, hollow logs or deserted camps, for forty days; she had not known a bed, except the bare earth or leaves and moss, for forty days. She had been constantly exposed to the danger of recapture and death by the savages; danger from wild beasts, from sickness, accident, exposure and starvation, and danger from her companion—yet within those forty days she had run, walked, crawled, climbed and waded seven or eight hundred miles, including detours up and down side streams, through a howling wilderness, and was saved at last."

Events and incidents are as far as practicable presented in chronological order, and the evidence of care in the matter of dates is a conspicuous feature of the volume. The record is of great value, and not only instructive in all its details, but forms a narrative of adventures, experiences and exploits as readable and interesting as any romance.

THE LIFE OF FATHER ISAAC JAKUES, Missionary Priest of the Society of Jesus, slain by the Mohawk Iroquois in the present State of New York, October 18, 1646. By the Rev. FELIX MARTIN, S. J. With Father Jakues' account of the captivity and death of his companion, René Goupil, slain September 29, 1642. Translated from the French by

JOHN GILMARY SHEA. 12mo, pp. 263. 1885 : Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati and St. Louis.

The name of Father Jaques is known to all readers of the early Jesuit explorations of America, but mainly through casual mention of his adventures, sufferings and saintly heroism. Unless we are mistaken, this is the only considerable volume that has been wholly devoted to a record of his truly remarkable career. The original account is in French, and John Gilmary Shea is the present translator. The volume is prefaced by a portrait which shows some of the mutilation of hands and head which he suffered during his captivity among the North American Indians. The volume is accompanied with maps and explanatory notes, and relates in a most impressive manner the unequalled heroism and intrepidity with which the Jesuits carried the cross into the western wilderness.

THE TWO SPIES NATHAN HALE AND JOHN ANDRÉ. By BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 169. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Mr. Lossing adds to the already long list of his varied contributions to American history this review of two lives whose tragic end must ever be among the most romantic episodes of our struggle for independence. Both young, both brave, and each in his own way patriotic, they have alike commanded sympathy and admiration from impartial readers of history. The dishonor that attaches to the name of "spy" does not necessarily convict the man who bears it of unworthy motives, though while the laws of war remain as they are, the ignoble death of the gallows will no doubt be meted out to those who are taken in disguise within the enemy's lines. Mr. Lossing has made careful search through all the accessible records in regard to the two subjects of his book, and has unearthed some material that has not before been published in book form in this country. Many illustrations, including portraits, accompany the text, and the volume will be valued by all who desire a complete record of revolutionary times.

THREE GOOD GIANTS, whose famous deeds are recorded in the Ancient Chronicles of Francois Rabelais. Compiled from the French by JOHN DIMITRY, A.M. [Illustrated by Gustave Doré and A. Robida.] Square 4to, pp. 246. Boston, 1888. Ticknor and Company.

This new translation of Rabelais appears with the most objectionable features of the original book entirely missing. Rabelais was a great

humorist, and his merry conceits in an age of the world when cardinals and queens were not over particular about the quality of the wit that was supplied for their entertainment, were the delight of both young and old of all classes and conditions. Rabelais fashioned his quaint colossal creations in ridicule of existing fantastic-chivalric deeds. It is said that "he never appreciated his Giants save for the contrasted jollity they lent to his satires." Neither did the more modern reading public appreciate them. Rabelais blunderingly, or through positive ignorance, lumbered his stories with philosophic rubbish that was the means of consigning them to a long sleep through the centuries. Mr. Dimitry, in awakening them, bore in mind the path unconsciously taken in his boyhood—the skipping of whole pages to pick out the real story of the Giants, so rich in irresistible drollery. And this is what he has skillfully done for the laughter-loving children of to-day—cut away all the barnacles and seaweed, leaving the Giants only with their train of mysterious and impossible comrades. In the long evenings of the coming season of snow-banks and warm fires, many a group of little ones under the shady lamp will revel over the funny account of the wooden horses of the giant boy, Gargentua, until the hour for pleasant dreams; or laugh themselves to sleep over the six pilgrims in the garden, who, hiding behind the lettuce leaves, were swallowed by the same giant in a salad. The illustrations add greatly to the value of the book, of which there are one hundred and seventy-five, by Gustave Doré and Anton Robida.

THE MAKING OF THE GREAT WEST, by SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 339. New York : Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1887.

Uniform with "The making of New England" and by the same author, we now have the present volume, similar in motive, and equally well adapted to the wants of the times. It deals for the most part with the region lying west of the Mississippi River, a third volume being contemplated which shall treat of that which was once the West, but which now embraces the central and most prosperous and populous portion of the United States.

LONGFELLOW'S DAYS. THE LONGFELLOW PROSE BIRTHDAY BOOK. Edited by LAURA WINTHROP JOHNSON. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 421. Boston, 1888. Ticknor & Company.

Nothing more appropriate for a gift during the approaching holidays could be devised than this exquisite little birthday book just issued by the enterprising publishers, Ticknor & Company.

It consists of extracts from the journals and letters of Henry W. Longfellow, arranged for each day in the year, the opposite page being left blank for autographs. It contains many gems of thought and words of wisdom. As we open the book at random we read, "Human life is made up mostly of a series of little disappointments and little pleasures;" on another page we strike the passage, "'It is not enough to be a great man,' says the French proverb, 'but you must come at the right time.'" We cordially commend this little treasure to all book-buyers.

LIFE NOTES OR FIFTY YEARS' OUT-LOOK. By WILLIAM HAGUE, D.D. 12mo, pp 362. Boston, 1888. Lee & Shepard.

Dr. Hague was one of the most scholarly divines of his time, and all his accomplishments and acquirements were of the highest order. He died at Boston in July last, just after reading the last proof-sheets of this interesting book of personal reminiscences. He had an extensive acquaintance and has given much important information about the men and events of the last fifty years. What he says about the collisions of opinions on the anti-slavery question in its early stages is of special note. His impressions of Aaron Burr, whom he saw two or three times a week for successive years, forms the subject of a spirited chapter. He was thoroughly captivated by the spell of Burr's genius for winning social sympathy. Dr. Hague's life was marked especially by ministerial, literary, educational, and philanthropic achievement. He was a clergyman of profound religious convictions and of rare persuasive eloquence. He was born in Westchester County, New York, in 1808, and was a graduate of Hamilton College in 1826. The volume is to some extent in the form of an autobiography, and it is written in a terse, engaging style. It is a work of value, and will find a permanent place in historic literature.

UNCLE RUTHERFORD'S ATTIC. A story for girls. By JOANNA H. MATHEWS. With original illustrations. 12mo, pp. 282. New York, 1887. Frederick A. Stokes, successor to White, Stokes & Allen.

The author of this new story for girls holds a high place in the heart of the great American reading public. She has written between forty and fifty story-books, and her admirers are legion. The first of her famous Bessie Books was produced in trying to wile away the tedium of a sick room to which she was confined; it was purely imaginary, based on no special incidents of which she had any knowledge, and was composed without thought of publication. But book

after book followed, until the number seemed almost fabulous. Her rare vivacity and talent for story telling is a natural gift. Her father, Rev. Dr. James M. Mathews, of the old Garden-Street Church, and long chancellor of the University of the city, was a distinguished author; and she is a grand-daughter on her mother's side of Philip Hone, the accomplished and popular mayor of New York. Whether inherited or otherwise there is a charm about Miss Mathews' writings that always insures them a warm welcome in every cultivated household. We can heartily commend "Uncle Rutherford's Attic" as one of the brightest and best books of its kind with which we are acquainted.

BEECHER AS A HUMORIST. Selections from the published works of Henry Ward Beecher. Compiled by ELEANOR KIRK. 12mo, pp. 213. New York, 1887. Fords, Howard & Hurlbert.

This book is delightfully characteristic of Mr. Beecher. "There is nothing that so covers the nerves, there is nothing that so tempers anger and passion, there is nothing that is such a natural cure for discontent, there is nothing that brings men to such a companionable level, and creates such fellowship, as the divine spirit of mirth." These are Mr. Beecher's own words, and their force is illustrated in almost every feature of his career. He never went out of his way to joke, or to avoid one; but when the ludicrous presented itself to his mind, he was likely to flash it at those whom he was addressing. Thus in some of his gravest and grandest efforts in the pulpit the spontaneity of his humor was marvelous. Eleanor Kirk has performed a precious service for the admirers of Mr. Beecher in her collection of bright passages from his published works. She has made a book that every one will feel that they must possess. It would be difficult to say which part of this little volume is best—the shorter or the longer extracts. It is all captivating and instructive. From one of his sermons we find the following quotation: "The church is not obligatory any more than Fulton Ferry is. I can refuse to cross the river on the ferryboat, and say, 'I won't pay the cent or two cents; I am going to swim.' I should have a right to swim if I preferred, but I should be a fool if I did. And if you say, 'I do not want to join the church,' you are under no obligation to join it." And there are few who can read the last thing in the book, "The Old Man's Journey," describing the death of Tommy Taft (from "Norwood"), without a constant struggle between tears and laughter, and a final feeling of tenderness and trust in the Divine Fatherhood that a thousand sermons would fail to produce.



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ASSETS, - - - - - \$114,181,963.24.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force January 1st, 1886.....	120,952	\$368,981,441 36	Policies and Annuities in force, January 1st, 1887.....	129,927	\$393,809,202 88
Risks Assumed.....	18,673	56,832,718 92	Risks Terminated.....	9,698	32,004,957 40
	139,625	\$425,814,160 28		139,625	\$425,814,160 28

Dr. Revenue Account. Cr.

To Balance from last account.....	\$99,865,644 11	By paid to Policyholders:	
Premiums.....	15,634,720 66	Endowments and Purchased Insurance.....	\$4,908,729 61
Interest and Rents.....	5,501,416 01	Dividends and Annuities.....	2,727,454 13
		Deceased Lives.....	5,492,920 00
			\$13,129,103 74
		By Other Disbursements:	
		Commissions and Commutations.....	\$1,732,632 83
		Taxes.....	277,169 85
		Expenses.....	1,091,613 91
			3,101,416 59
		By Premiums on Stocks and Bonds Purchased.....	52,566 14
		Balance to new account.....	104,719,734 31
	\$121,002,820 78		\$121,002,820 78

Dr. Balance Sheet. Cr.

To Reserve for policies in force and for risks terminated.....	\$108,460,120 25	By Bonds secured by Mortgages on Real Estate.....	\$50,118,949 66
Premiums received in advance.....	78,274 84	United States and other Bonds.....	42,071,641 00
Surplus at four per cent.....	5,643,568 15	Loans on Collaterals.....	6,172,917 25
		Real Estate.....	10,591,286 32
		Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest.....	2,306,203 03
		Interest accrued.....	1,166,870 65
		Premiums deferred and in transit.....	1,565,117 28
		Sundries.....	188,978 00
	\$114,181,963 24		\$114,181,963 24

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

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Vol. XVIII.

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1887.

No. 6.

Portrait of Lafayette in 1824.	Frontispiece.
Our Country Fifty Years Ago. Some Incidents in Connection with Lafayette's Visit.	
Mrs. MARTHA J. LAMB.	457
ILLUSTRATIONS.—Albany in 1826, by Milbert—Bridge over the Hudson near Luzerne, by Milbert—North View of Providence in 1826, by Milbert—View of Boston and the South Boston Bridge in 1826, by Milbert—Interior of New York, Provost Street and Chapel in 1826, by Milbert—View in Albany. House of the first Dutch Governors in 1826, by Milbert—View on the Schuylkill in 1826, by Milbert—The Natural Bridge in Virginia in 1826, by Milbert—Military Post, Sackett's Harbor, in 1826, by Milbert—Indian Brook near Yonkers in 1826, by Milbert—Fac-simile of Autograph Letter of Richard Rush.	
Stephen A. Douglas and the Free Soilers.	A. W. CLASON. 478
Aaron Burr. A Study. [Conclusion.]	CHARLES H. PECK. 482
The Apotheosis of the Plutocrat.	W. M. DICKSON. 497
A Winter's Work of a Captain of Dragoons.	
Gen. P. ST. GEORGE COOKE, U.S.A., A.M.	510
Notes from Harvard College. Its Physical Basis and Intellectual Life.	
Rev. HENRY C. BADGER.	517
The Treadmill in America.	Professor OLIVER P. HUBBARD. 523
Minor Topics. The Prototype of Leather-Stocking, by Henry H. Hurlbut—Baby Grace, or the Christmas Summons, by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb—Christmas, a poem, by Gilbert Nash.	530
Original Documents. Letter from Hon. Jeremiah Nelson to Dr. Cutler, in 1807, on the subject of Aaron Burr.	536
Notes. A Yankee Thanksgiving Ninety-five Years Ago—King Aaron, an anecdote—A Paris Christmas—The Way of the World (a poem).	537
Queries. Language—Dynasty—General Grant's Ancestry—An Old Clock—Oliver.	538
Replies. School Lands—Daniel Webster—Citizenship and Suffrage—Erratum—The First Reformed Dutch Church, Brooklyn.	539
Societies. New York Historical Society—The Rhode Island Historical Society.	542
Historic and Social Jottings.	543
Book Notices. The Ancient Cities of the New World, by Désiré Charney—Recollections of a Minister to France, 1869-1877, by Washburne—Memoirs of Ralph Waldo Emerson, by Cabot—A History of Connecticut, by Sanford—Connecticut, by Johnston—History of the Clapboard Trees, by Cooke—James Madison, James Monroe, and John Quincy Adams, by Stoddard—A Short History of the City of Philadelphia, by Susan Coolidge—Sobriquets and Nicknames, by Frey—Edward Jessup and his Descendants, by Jessup—Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, Toronto—Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society—Twelve Times One, Illustrations of Child Life, by Mary A. Lathbury—Interior Decorations, by Brunner and Tryon.	547

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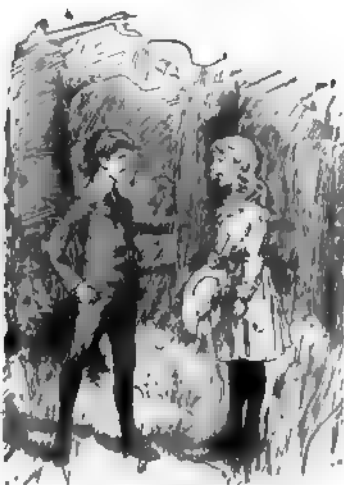
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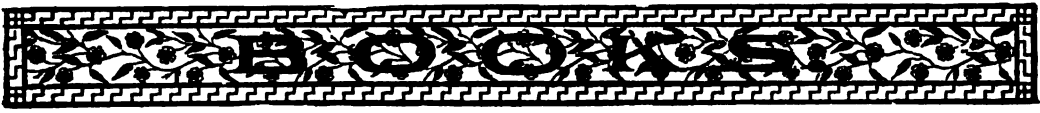
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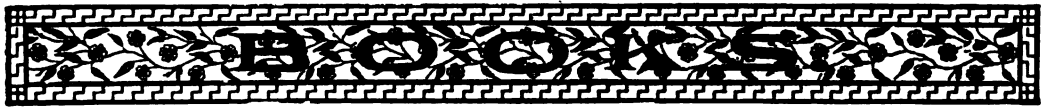
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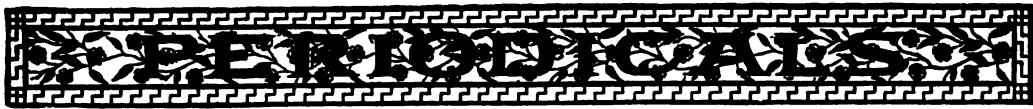
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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XVIII

DECEMBER, 1887

No. 6

OUR COUNTRY FIFTY YEARS AGO

SOME INCIDENTS IN CONNECTION WITH LAFAYETTE'S VISIT

THE travels of Lafayette through the United States in 1824 and 1825, as the honored guest of the nation, if sketched in minute detail, would introduce the reader to all the distinguished men of America at that time, and present an exhibition of art, education, industry, agriculture, manufactures, the picturesque features of the country, and the condition of affairs in general, as found in no other popular record.

It will be remembered that Lafayette made his celebrated tour through the length and breadth of our land six years before the ground was broken, with a silver spade, for the first railroad (at Schenectady, July 29, 1830) in the state of New York. That he came at a period in American history when capital had, simultaneously with the marvelous leap forward in a grand career of national prosperity, distributed itself in channels of the utmost present and future interest and importance; when the development of industries, schemes of benevolence, the education of the laboring classes, and enterprises of internal improvement were overlapping each other in the public mind, and were the all-absorbing topics of conversation in business circles, in the drawing-room, and at the banquet table. Lafayette saw the man of wealth measured according to his intelligent pushing at the wheel of progress, and found intellectual activity and achievement the prevailing fashion. New York, for instance, had within eight years raised and applied to the support of common schools over nine millions of dollars, together with large sums bestowed upon colleges, and for the advancement of science and literature; and her Erie Canal—the greatest work of internal improvement the world had then known—was nearly completed. Lafayette was astonished at the changes time had wrought in forty years. "Albany as I have known it, and Albany as it is now—a comparative standard between royal guardianship and the self-government of the people: may this difference be more and more illustrated at home, and understood abroad," was the toast he offered at the banquet given in his honor by the citizens of the capital of the Empire State. Albany as he had known it



ALBANY. CAPITAL OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

[From J. Miltner's *Pictorial Sketches in America*. Published in Paris in 1866.]

during the Revolution was only "a snug little city perched on a hill." He was last there in 1784, with the commissioners who were about to execute a treaty with the Mohawks and Senecas, at Fort Schuyler. Albany as he found it two score years later is best shown through the picturesque sketches by the celebrated Milbert, published in Paris in 1826—a series of views that are rare, and little known in this country at the present time. And when Lafayette had gone through the eastern, middle, southern and western states, traversing the land from Maine to Louisiana, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and was once more in New York, he remarked with emphasis, in a speech made on the 4th of July, 1825: "At every step of my visit through the twenty-four United States, I have had to admire wonders of creation and improvement!"

Looking backward through the vista of half a century, we find it difficult to realize that when Lafayette made these toilsome journeys railroads were unknown, the telegraph had not been invented, gas as an element of light was a myth, stages were the only means of public conveyance, the population of Boston had scarcely reached fifty thousand, and New York and Philadelphia were in a chronic conjecture as to which would be the largest city in the course of years. One New York paper said: "New York is more easy of access, both from the ocean and the interior; but Philadelphia is thought to possess counterbalancing advantages in the coal mines, and the superior facility of the circumjacent territory. Some centuries hence New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore will probably present such a *tripoli* as the world never saw before." Lafayette visited Boston twice—in August, 1824, and in June, 1825—making the entire journey through New England on both occasions in a private carriage. When he went to Philadelphia, one of the newspapers said: "The public mind is so highly excited by the arrival of Lafayette, that ten thousand persons have visited his *portrait* at the coffee-house." The current accounts of the landing and reception of Lafayette in New York on the 15th and 16th of August, 1824, read like fairy stories. The 15th was Sunday, and Lafayette was conducted from his ship to the residence of the Vice-President, on Staten Island. On Monday all business in the city was suspended, and thousands of people crowded the streets and housetops from the towns in the vicinity, to witness the pageant and catch glimpses of the illustrious French general. The evening journals went to press early, and then closed their offices for the day. On the 17th they chronicled the proceedings in brilliant and effective style. "The most interesting sight," said the *Evening Post*, "was the reception of the general by his old companions in arms—Colonel Marinus Willett, now in his eighty-fifth year;

General (Philip) Van Cortlandt, General Clarkson, Colonel Varick, Colonel Platt, Colonel Trumbull, and several members of the Cincinnati. He embraced them all affectionately, and Colonel Willett again and a gain. He knew and remembered them all. It was a reunion of a long-separated family. After the ceremony of embracing and congratulations was over, he (Lafayette) sat down alongside Colonel Willett, who grew young again and fought his battles all o'er. 'Do you remember,' said he, 'at the battle of Monmouth, I was volunteer aide to General Scott? I saw you in the heat of battle. You were but a boy, but you were a serious, sedate lad. Ay, ay; I remember well. And on the Mohawk, I sent you fifty Indians, and you wrote me that they set up such a yell that they frightened the British horse, and they ran one way and the Indians another!' Innumerable anecdotes of the Revolution and reminiscences were rehearsed during the passage to the city from Staten Island. Occasionally the steamboat would run alongside and give three cheers." The *New York Mirror*, speaking of Lafayette, remarked: "Every paper teems with his praises, every lip seems to delight in uttering his name. Gentlemen are ready to throw by their business to shake him by the hand, and ladies forget their lovers to dream of him. If a man asks, 'Have you seen *him*?' you know *who* he means."

The animated scenes attending his landing at Castle Garden, upon a carpeted stairway, under a magnificent arch, richly decorated with flags and wreaths of laurel, while groups of escorting vessels, alive with ladies and gentlemen, and adorned in the most fanciful manner, circled about; and the prolonged shouts of hosts of people, and the roar of cannon echoed far away over the waters, together with the parade in Broadway, the reception at City Hall, the speeches, the banquet, and the illumination—are all more familiar to the public of to-day than many other features of the historic visit. Lafayette spent Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday in shaking hands and sight-seeing in New York, and on Friday, August 20, left for Providence and Boston. The journey was performed in a carriage drawn by four beautiful white horses, and he was accompanied by several gentlemen in carriages and on horseback. All through Connecticut business was suspended; the farmer left his field and the merchant his counting-room; children in the schools were given a holiday, and old and young, in their best attire, congregated along the roadside, and, in many instances, waited for hours to see him pass. A correspondent of the press attending described the drivers, who "wore silk ribbons fastened to the buttons of their waistcoats by way of distinction; and, while waiting to receive their illustrious passengers, usually became persons of no incon-



NORTH VIEW OF PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND.
[From T. Mather's *Picturesque Sketches in America*. Published in Paris in 1860.]

siderable consequence and attention with the hundreds who stood about. 'Behave pretty, now, Charley,' said the driver of Lafayette's coach, to one of his horses; 'behave pretty, Charley—you are going to carry the greatest man in the world.' " We are further told that "there were no charges for the general and his suite, or the committee in attendance—food, lodging, gates, bridges, etc.—everything along the route was free. At Harlem, the general paused for some minutes under a tree, on the other side of the river, and received the congratulations of the residents of Morrisania, among whom were observed several ladies on horseback, tastefully mounted, who paid their respects with a grace, elegance, and feeling which was highly gratifying. . . . At West Farms, at West Chester, and East Chester, the inhabitants were assembled *en masse*, and the waving of handkerchiefs and scarfs, amidst the animated plaudits and cheering, gave the general a heartfelt assurance of welcome. . . . Arrived at New Rochelle, the scene was brilliant in the extreme. 'Do you remember, general,' asked an old soldier, 'who began the attack at Brandywine?' 'Ah! yes; it was Maxwell, with the Jersey troops!' 'So it was! So it was!' replied the delighted interrogator. 'Well, I was with his brigade.' " At Greenwich, at Norwalk, at Stamford, the enthusiasm was intense. The newspaper correspondent further informs us: "The general arrived at Fairfield about half-past ten at night, where great preparations had been made for his reception. He had been expected in the afternoon, and twelve hundred or more people were collected. The ladies formed on one side of the green, and the gentlemen on the other, the girls in the schools placed in a row immediately in front of the ladies, and the boys in front of the gentlemen. A table was spread at the hotel by the young ladies of Fairfield, the decorations of which were in a style of the greatest elegance. The dishes were enveloped with evergreens and scattering flowers, like some fairy's enchanted garden; and when this verdant veil was removed, the scene was changed as suddenly as at the dissolving of a spell. On inquiry being made by one of the city delegation after the repast, for the bill of expenses, the reply was that there was nothing to pay; that Connecticut had heard much of the cheapness of traveling on the New York canal, and how, 'out there in the West,' a man could ride cheaper than he could walk, and was anxious to give a specimen of traveling on her own turnpikes."

At New Haven, the same writer tells us, Lafayette was received in the morning by Governor Wolcott and the mayor and corporation of the city, with whom, after the presentation ceremonies, he breakfasted. He had been expected the day before, and the city had been brilliantly illuminated that evening. Now the disappointed throng were made happy in greeting



VIEW OF BOSTON, AND THE SOUTH BOSTON BRIDGE.
(From G. Bithell's Pictographic Sketches in America. Published in Paris in 1864.)

him. Immediately after breakfast "he proceeded to the green in a carriage, and he was drawn—will you think it?—by the people. He also visited the college, and was everywhere received with the greatest delight. The old and the young, the beautiful and the brave, arrived to be introduced, and to have the honor of shaking him by the hand. He was to proceed to Saybrook in the afternoon, on his way to Boston. . . . At Providence Lafayette alighted in front of the state-house and was received in a peculiarly interesting manner. The poplar avenue leading to the building was lined on each side with nearly two hundred misses, arrayed in white, protected by a file of soldiers on each side, and holding in their hands bunches of flowers which, as the general passed on, they strewed in his path."

It was a gala day in Boston, on the 24th of August, when Lafayette was received in that renowned city. Among the decorated arches thrown across her streets the *Centinel* describes one over Washington street, by the Boylston Market, on the spot once shaded by the "Liberty tree;" and another across the same street, "above South Boston bridge, near the spot where, when Lafayette left the town in 1784, were the remains of a breastwork erected during the Revolutionary War." Similar honors were showered upon the illustrious traveler as he proceeded to Newburyport, Salem, and through the northern New England states. He returned by way of Hartford, where he was handsomely entertained, and thence to New York by the steamer *Oliver Ellsworth*.

He had hastened his return to be in time for the great dinner on the 6th of September, given in honor of his sixty-seventh birthday, by the Society of the Cincinnati. Washington Hall was decorated for the occasion in the most unique and elegant manner that ingenuity could devise. "Over the head of the general," says one of the newspapers of the day, "was sprung a triumphal arch of laurels and evergreens, in the centre of which appeared a large American eagle, with a scroll in his beak bearing the words, 'September 6th, 1757,'—the day and year in which Lafayette was born." At the close of the feast, "when the guest of the evening rose and proposed a toast, a splendid transparent painting was illuminated and unveiled, displaying to the company in large characters the word WELCOME; and directly over the head of the general was dropped a beautiful wreath of laurels. The scene was most effective."

Meanwhile the genius of New York had been taxed to its utmost capacity in preparing for a grand *fête* to be given to Lafayette at Castle Garden, on the 14th of September. The principal managers were General Mapes, General Morton, General Fleming, General Benedict, Colonel



INTERIOR OF NEW YORK. PROTESTANT STREET AND CHAPEL.
[From J. Milbert's *Picturesque Sketches in America*. Published in Paris in 1846.]

King, Colonel W. H. Maxwell, Mr. Colden, and Mr. Lynch. *The Evening Post*, in chronicling that event the next day, said: "We hazard nothing in saying it was the most magnificent *fête* given under cover in the world. . . . It was a festival that realizes all that we read of in the Persian tales or Arabian Nights, which dazzled the eye and bewildered the imagination, and which produced so many powerful combinations, by magnificent preparations, as to set description almost at defiance. We never saw ladies more brilliantly dressed—everything that fashion and elegance could devise was used on the occasion. Their head-dresses were principally of flowers, with ornamented combs, and some with plumes of ostrich feathers. White and black lace dresses over satin were mostly worn, with a profusion of steel ornaments and neck chains of gold and silver, suspended to which were beautiful gold and silver badge medals, bearing a likeness of Lafayette, manufactured for the occasion. The gentlemen had suspended from the button-holes of their coats a similar likeness, and, with the ladies, had the same stamped on their gloves. A belt or sash, with a likeness of the general, and entwined with a chaplet of roses, also formed part of the dress of the ladies. Foreigners who were present admitted they had never seen anything equal to this *fête* in the several countries from which they came—the blaze of light and beauty, the decorations of the military officers, the combination of rich colors which met the eye at every glance, the brilliant circle of fashion in the galleries, everything in the range of sight being inexpressibly beautiful, and doing great credit and honor to the managers and all engaged in this novel spectacle. The guests numbered several thousand, but there was abundant room for the dancing, which commenced at an early hour, and was kept up until about three o'clock in the morning."

Lafayette then proceeded to Albany, stopping at all the principal points on the Hudson. His movements were without waste of time, for he had reached Philadelphia on the 27th of September. A journalist writes from there: "The reception of General Lafayette in this city was brilliant beyond all description. It has far exceeded public expectation. He arrived about eleven o'clock (September 27), preceded by the committee and corporation; he was in an elegant barouche, with postilions and outriders in rich and appropriate liveries, and drawn by six horses. The streets through which he passed presented one solid mass of population, and the houses were lined with beauty, taste, and fashion. The sashes were taken out of the windows, so as to admit three or four ranges of heads. The number of arches was immense, and they were elegant in the extreme. In the evening the city was splendidly illuminated."



VIEW IN OLDEN HOUSE OF THE FIRST DUTCH GOVERNORS
[From *The Pioneer* *Alaska in America* Published in Paris in 1864.]

He went to Baltimore, to Washington, to the capital of Virginia, and on, as before stated, to every quarter of the Union. With the June roses of 1825 he was again in New England. The following is an extract from the Boston *Centinel*, June 18, 1825: "The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the memorable battle of Bunker Hill, and the ceremony of laying the *foundation-stone* of an obelisk to commemorate the great event, have taken place. As public journalists, it is our duty to record the proceedings of the day; but we feel unable to do anything like justice to the splendor of the scenes which passed, or to the excellent spirit and enthusiastic good-feeling which animated with an unanimous impulse an assemblage which it is believed to be no exaggeration to estimate at one hundred and fifty thousand, collected from every state in the Union.

"One of the old soldiers who took a part in the Bunker Hill battle was present at the celebration, wearing the same coat which he wore in the battle, and which has in it no less than *nine bullet-holes*."

The most novel and humorous entertainment given to Lafayette and his suite was at the State in Schuylkill, on the 25th of July, 1825, a short time before he returned to France. The Club, or Fishing Company, that invited him to their little domain, then within seven years of its one hundredth birthday, was the oldest club in America.* It owned one acre of land on the beautiful river, fenced in and improved, with buildings suited to its purposes, called the State in Schuylkill; and it had an independently organized government, and a code of laws of its own. The 1st of October was its annual election day, when it chose a governor, five members for its miniature legislature, a sheriff, and a coroner. The governor appointed a secretary of state. On these important occasions the club usually feasted on barbecued pig prepared by the members, sirloin steaks, and the products of the rod and gun. The steaks were cooked over wood coals quickly, being constantly turned, and served the instant they were ready, thereby losing none of their flavor and juices. Neither fork nor knife were ever allowed to penetrate the meats of these Schuylkill epicures, but beefsteak tongs, imported from England, were used in turning them. The various fish were boiled or broiled with the greatest skill and ceremony. The highest officers of the State were often seen battling with a twelve-pound salmon, or nailing a shad to a board to be roasted before the fire.

* It was founded under the name of the "Colony in Schuylkill," in 1732, but received its present charter name on the declaration of its independence. "Unique in its character, it is unequalled in its permanency, as it ever has been unsurpassed in the success of its sportive citizens, and their general respectability, as members of the community." "*An Authentic Historical Memoir of the Fishing Company of the State in Schuylkill: from its establishment on that romantic stream, near Philadelphia, in 1732, to the present time. By a member: 1830.*" N. Y. Hist. Soc.

The coroner was an important personage in the club kitchen, and inspected all the work of the citizens who were appointed in turn to market for the banquets. The club had a famous punch-bowl, with a curious wooden dipper, and to this bowl the citizens, tradition says, brought their male infants to be baptized by the governor, as the bowl was large enough to admit of total immersion. The heir so baptized would naturally inherit the father's citizenship. An English writer, in 1759, said of this club: "The first and most distinguished people of the colony are of this society, and it is very advantageous to a stranger to be introduced to it, as he thereby gets acquainted with the best and most respected company in Philadelphia." The club closely resembled the famous Beefsteak Club of London, three years its junior. The original minutes of its meetings, in reference to inviting Lafayette "to eat with the club," and in preparing for his reception, are, through a curious chain of circumstances, at this moment in the hands of the writer. The bill of wants for the banquet, as first drafted, was as follows:

1 Pig.	5 gallons wine.	Butter.
1 Round of beef.	1 Box claret.	Eggs.
1 Ham.	2 cases cigars.	Ice.
2 pair Ducks.	Almonds.	Seasoning.
1 fish.	Raisons.	Oil.
25 pounds beefsteak.	Olives.	Flour.
suet.	Cheese.	Vegetables.
7 lobsters.	Crackers.	Lemons.
$\frac{1}{2}$ gallon Brandy.	Bread.	Oranges.
1 $\frac{1}{4}$ mixture.		

William Milner, esq., secretary of the State in Schuylkill, wrote to Thomas Morris, on the 22d of July:

"DEAR COZ: As I am engaged entirely with the general, I must get you to attend to all the arrangements for his reception at the Castle on Thursday, and rally all the fishermen. I have invited Judge Peters, an old member, and would suggest that we invite the committee of councils. You can put the mayor down on your list. I would propose a meeting for arrangement, elect the general an honorary member, present him with a certificate, and let him sign his name in our minute book. On his arrival let the governor and council, with the members, meet him at the north end of the castle, give him welcome, let the Belles, I mean the *Bell*, be rung, let the standard be supported on his arrival by 3 bearers, and the old one should also be produced. On such an occasion a little extra expense may be incurred by having some fruit, and an Ice Cream, and if Market Street hill produces a Rock fish let us have it. I will try to procure a shad or two.

I shall bring the general at about one o'clock. A small Ham would be well, and in lieu of a table cloth the general should at least have a napkin, and silver spoons would not be amiss. Let there be no servants, but every man have a clean apron to put on at

dinner. These are some of the outlines. The Rule as to invitations of one for each member to be observed, except the governor and council should give a special invitation.

Yours,

W. M.

"Thomas Morris, esq."

On the 24th Morris wrote to Milner :

"I would propose you should get the seal of State to place upon the certificate of our newly elected member. The Hat I have sent by my boy ; you will please tell the general it is the one in which he was initiated."

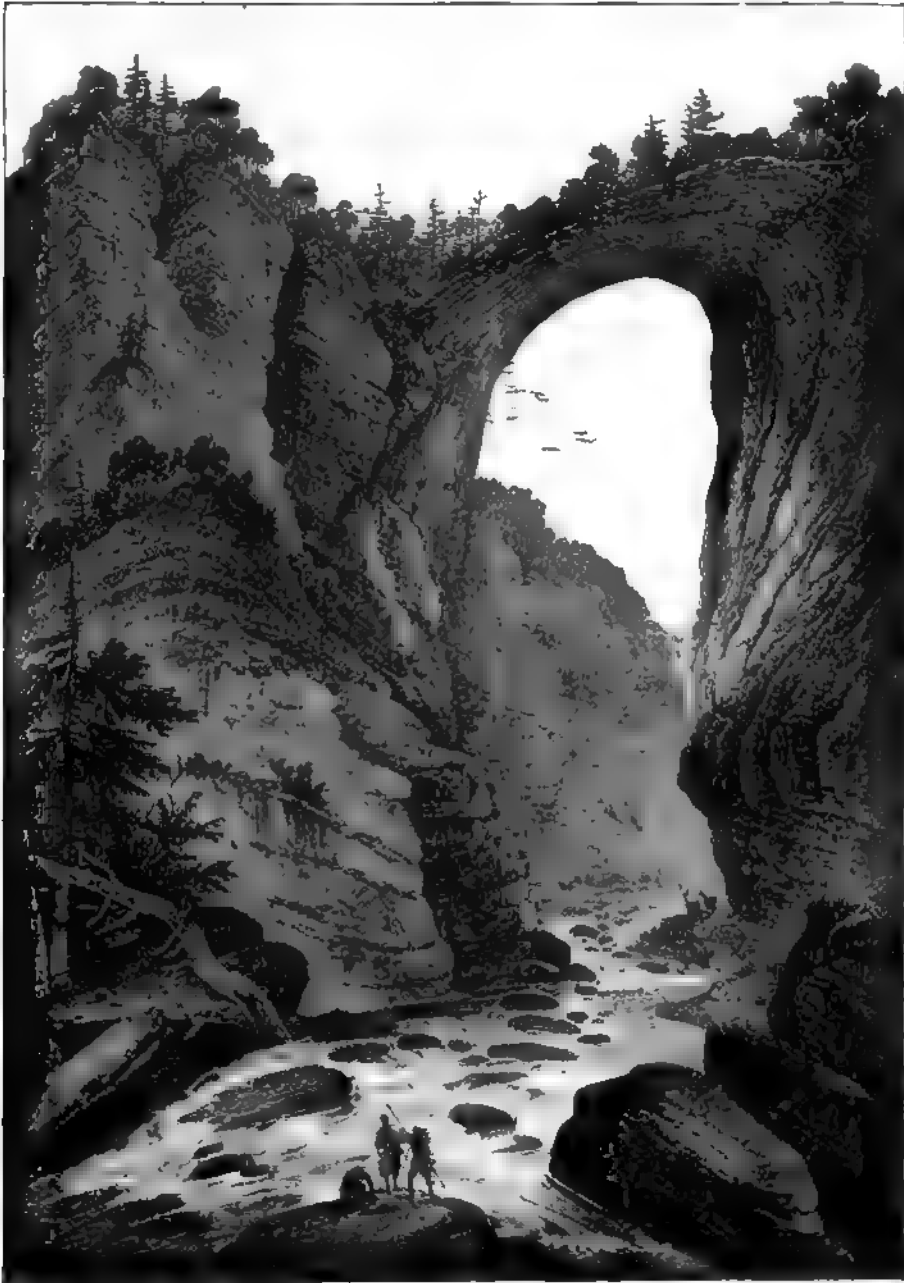
Lafayette was received by the company, habited in fisherman's garb, with white linen aprons and ample straw hats, formed in open file facing inward, near the south front entrance to the Castle, the three banners supported on the right, and was addressed thus :

"The Governor, council, and citizens of Schuylkill greet you, and the gentlemen accompanying you, with a cordial welcome to the State in Schuylkill. Your visit here completes your tour to all the States in the Union. We possess but a limited territory and population, but there are no limits to the joy we feel on this auspicious occasion. It is now nearly a century since some of the worthiest and most eminent men of our parent colony of Pennsylvania associated on the banks of our beautiful river, and founded this institution, with a view to occasional relaxation from the cares and fatigue of business. The waters and woods furnished abundance of game, and the pursuit of it and its preparation for the festive board at once contributed to the delight and the health of the sportsmen. No event (save the war of the Revolution, in which you, sir, bore so distinguished a part) ever interrupted the amusements of the Fishing Company of the colony in Schuylkill. Its independence is coeval with the close of that contest, when its surviving citizen soldiery, exchanging the sword and the musket for the angling-rod and fowling-piece, re-assembled as freemen, declared the independence of the State, and adopted that constitution of government, under which, like her associated sisters of the Union, she has continued to prosper, and her citizens to enjoy those sporting privileges and frugal festivities you will witness and partake of this day."

To which the general promptly replied :

"I feel sincere pleasure in visiting your ancient institution, so pleasantly planted on the banks of your beautiful river. It is the more grateful to me, as it completes my tour to all the states in the Union. About half a century ago I first crossed this stream in time of peril ; far different now are the sensations I realize in meeting my friends on so pleasant an occasion. I feel honored by your polite invitation to your most agreeable state in Schuylkill—may you long continue happy and prosperous."

The whole party then proceeded to inspect the interior arrangements of the Castle, culinary establishment, fleet, and grounds of the company, with which, and its novelty, the visitors expressed themselves highly delighted. Having been presented on his entrance with a certificate of honorary membership as a duly qualified citizen, Lafayette was adorned with a



THE NATURAL BRIDGE IN VIRGINIA

[From J. Milbert's *Picturesque Sketches in America*. Published in Paris in 1856.]

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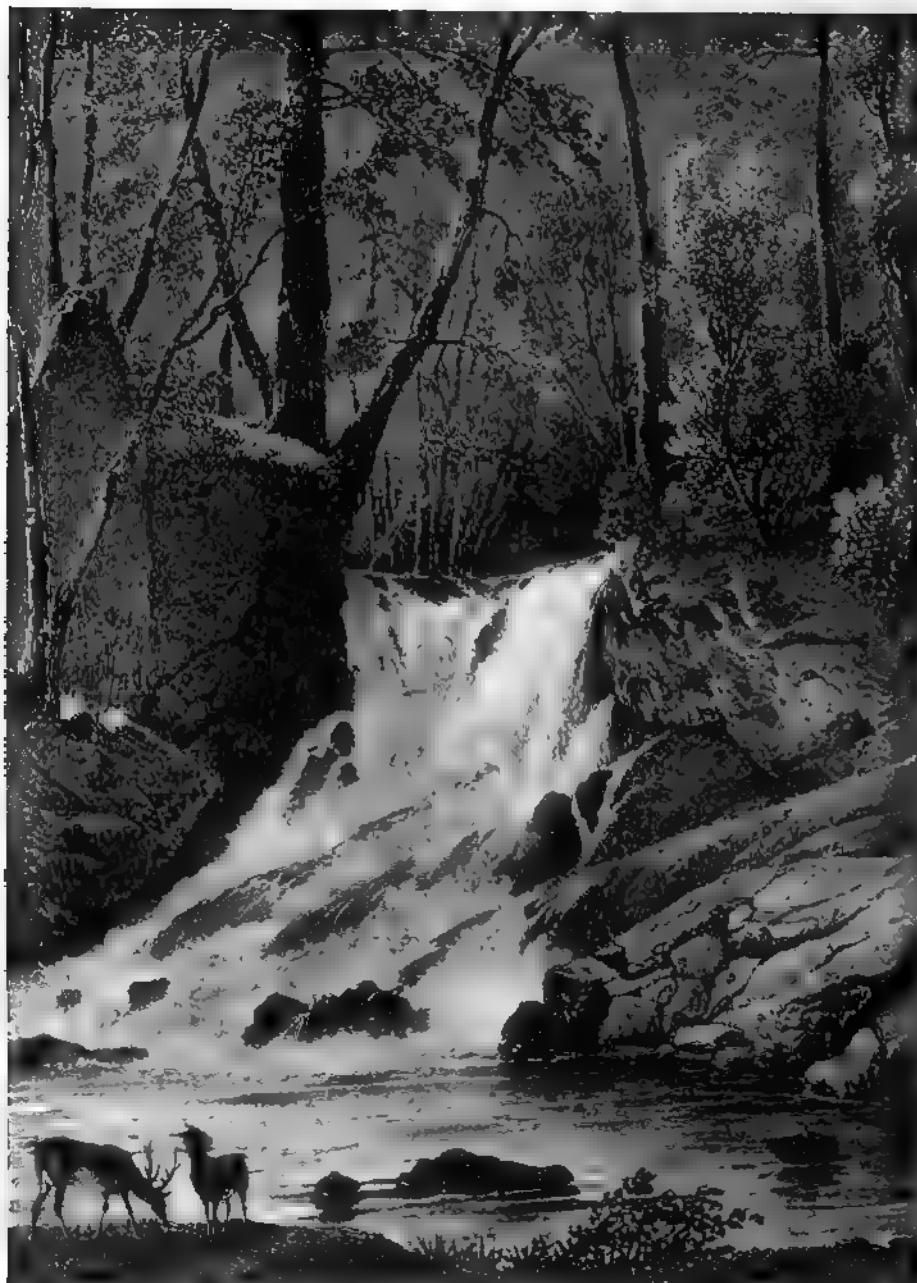
Dear Sir,

I very much regret that
my intention of leaving town tomorrow,
deprives me of the pleasure of accepting
your obliging invitation to dinner
at the Castle, under circumstances
that would otherwise have been
as agreeable to me.

I remain dear Sir
sincerely yours

Wm Milner Esq. Richard Smith.

hat and apron, and as the members and visitors went to work industriously, he expressed a desire to do his duty, and was employed in turning beef-steaks on the gridiron. The cooking of the dinner was exclusively the work of the members and visitors, each one having a particular dish assigned to him to prepare, and was held strictly accountable for its being ready at the exact hour. The inexperts in the way of cooking were employed in spreading the table, and attending to the lighter duties. The banquet was served at four o'clock, and the wit and humor, the mirth and the hilarity, the speeches and the songs, were rarely if ever excelled. Among the thirteen toasts were :



INDIAN BROOK IN VILLA CENTURIONIS PHILLIPS.

[From *J. Milbert's Picturesque Sketches on the Hudson*. Published in Paris in 1866.]

1. National Gratitude: The brightest jewel in a nation's diadem.
2. The Heroes of the Revolution: Living or dead, their glory is imperishable.
6. Our Army: Composed of freemen appreciating their rights and capable of vindicating them.
7. Our Sister States: May they severally remember the sage admonition of Washington, that in union consists the strength and durability of the national edifice.
9. The State in Schuylkill: Its sportive citizens may be proud of their ancestry, and should prove themselves worthy descendants.
10. Our Country: The prized home of the native, the welcome retreat of the oppressed.
11. France: Our magnanimous ally, the country of Lafayette.
13. The Lovely of the Land: It would be *unfair* to forget or neglect them.

Among the volunteer toasts was the following by General Lafayette: "*The whole population* of the State in Schuylkill and the affectionate allegiance of a newly adopted fellow-citizen."

Letters of regret from absent members and distinguished Americans are carefully preserved among the ancient minutes before mentioned. They are slightly yellowed with time, but otherwise in good condition. One from Richard Rush, who had just returned from his eight years' diplomatic mission to England to accept from President Adams the Secretaryship of the Treasury, we present in fac-simile to our readers. It was Richard Rush who, in 1836, was appointed by President Jackson as commissioner to obtain the Smithsonian legacy, then in the English Court of Chancery; and in 1838 returned with the entire amount, \$515,169.

Lafayette visited ex-President Monroe at his residence in Virginia before returning to France, accompanied by President Adams, and together they visited Leesburg, in Virginia. He sailed from Washington in the early part of September.

Martha J Lamb

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS AND THE FREE SOILERS

The Federal Convention, for some reason not apparent in the debates, had distinctly refused to give to the proposed government the power "to institute temporary governments in the territories;" and, if public opinion can be collected from the utterances in the conventions called to ratify or reject the Constitution, the authority of the federal government over the territories was understood to be the same as over a condemned musket, and no more. The common sense of the Union found no difficulty in dealing with the subject, nine states having been admitted between 1792 and 1820—five free, four slave. So long as slavery was regarded as it had been regarded at the adoption of the Constitution, not a federal subject, but of exclusive state cognizance, with which other states had no more to do than with the internal policy of France, the character of a new state was unimportant. But when the opposition to the admission of Missouri disclosed a deep-seated and wide-spread resolve to make slavery a subject of federal politics, the slave states saw that they must seek allies for defense from the source whence others sought allies for attack. The controversy which threatened the peace of the Union was terminated by a compromise. North of 36° 30' slave states could not be formed; south of it they might be. The line was a line of honor, without warrant from the Constitution; indeed, in contravention of its prohibition of compacts between states, and of its method by amendment of procuring future additions to or restrictions of the federal powers. The bargain was kept until 1850, the line having been, as of course, run through Texas. When California applied for admission, in 1850, the line was refused by the free states. That refusal, to the southern mind certainly, to the Democratic party apparently, abrogated the Missouri Compromise. A new compromise was made. California was admitted without the line, and the people of any organized territory might, in the future, determine for itself whether it would form a free or slave state; and, slave or free, the state should be admitted into the Union. The power of a territorial legislature extended to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution. Both parties, the Whig and the Democratic, concurred heartily in the compromise, and nine-tenths of the citizens of the Union recalled and acknowledged the principle of life of American liberty and of the Union, that no

citizen has a right to think for another, except upon agreed subjects of thought.

The condition of things at that time was this—Indian settlements secured by treaties commenced on the northern border of Texas and continued westward to the Nebraska River. To make new treaties and remove the Indians, that land might be opened to migration and settlement, a two-thirds vote in the Senate was necessary. The southern states were willing that the land should be opened to settlement if the late compromise was intended to, and did, supersede the former. Such was their understanding of it, but if such was not the understanding of their sister states, it was better that the land should be closed to settlement than that a new cause of discord should arise. In 1852-'53 a large body of emigrants, from 15,000 to 20,000, resolved to force a settlement of the Indian territory. The federal government prepared to resist the attempt with its troops. The possibility, with the probability, of an armed conflict made agreement easy, and, all obstacles removed, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, with the Missouri Compromise directly repealed, organized those territories. The object of Mr. Douglas for ten years was attained. So far the southern men did not owe him anything, nor he them. The Missouri Compromise, if existent, was valueless without territory to act on, and there could be no territory within its sphere without the consent of the southern senators, who offered that consent for equality. A lack of fair dealing upon that compromise, on the part of either the free or the slave states, must be judged by history. Impartial judgment is not yet possible. The southern claim of legal rights must be stated to explain the alienation between Mr. Douglas and his former friends. That claim asserted territory to be equally the territory of Massachusetts and South Carolina, as of every other state; that in it a man could go from any state, taking with him what was property in any state, and the Constitution protected it as well in the territory as in the state; that a territorial legislature could not divest a title to property which was recognized by the Constitution; that when the Union, by admission into it, recognized a certain area as a state, and its inhabitants as a people, sovereignty accrued; that the intentions expressed in the Constitution submitted became institutions, and that the only power in the United States over slavery, except the amendment power, was that of a state. To this claim Mr. Douglas refused assent, but recognized an arbiter in the judiciary. After the Dred Scott decision, still maintaining the same view, his southern friends said: "You do not keep faith, and your doctrine of non-intervention means really non-intervention of the Constitution between us and attack." They rejected the leadership before justly

due, and accorded to his enormous energy and ability. The mutual exasperation was intensified by his course upon the Kansas muddle. All the troubles in the territory grew (if he be credited) out of an armed emigration, engineered by the emigration aid societies. There would have been none if emigration had been left to its natural course. A counter armed immigration followed. Either from superior numbers or fortunate circumstances it almost in whole elected the first territorial legislature, against which no complaints of fraud or violence could be made, as, in every case where such had been proved, the governor had ordered new elections, of which complaint was not made. That legislature was convened to meet at a town the governor (Reeder) and others had laid out, through the connivance of the commanding officer, upon the military reservation at Fort Riley. For their agency in the land speculation, the soldier was subsequently cashiered and the governor removed. The legislature met there, but finding cholera and no houses, passed an act changing the seat of government to Shawnee Mission, where there were houses and no cholera. The governor vetoed it; the legislature passed it over his veto and adjourned to Shawnee Mission. There it enacted a code, and as the governor refused his signature, passed it again as over a veto. The Free Soil men set up a government of their own. Two governments, each completely organized, with an exclusive constituency, claimed right, and each sent a delegate to Congress to represent the territory. Congress recognized the territorial legislature by admitting its delegate, and Mr. Douglas styled the other governmental organization a nullity, and the action which framed it insurrectionary.

In the winter of 1856-'57 the territorial legislature passed an act for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention. A registry of legal voters was directed in each county, the governor, upon the registry, to apportion the delegates in proportion to the number of legal voters shown. From fifteen counties no registry came. Governor Walker issued an appeal to the public to vote in those counties where a registry had been made, and promised that all should vote upon the acceptance or rejection of the Constitution—a promise which, as Mr. Douglas had already suggested to him, neither he nor any other person had authority to make; the members of a convention, for anything it does or refrains from doing, being only responsible to their constituents. The Free Soilers refusing to vote, the convention was pro-slavery and the constitution also, but the convention submitted to suffrage “the constitution, with or without slavery.” Again the Free Soilers refused to vote, and the constitution in its entirety was ratified by ten to one. The President recommended the admission of Kansas with it. As a citizen and the Executive of the Union, he saw the

advantage of extinguishing a firebrand ; as a party man he was anxious to terminate schism. The admission would relieve the pride of all from tension. The Free Soilers, then largely the majority in Kansas, could mold its institutions; it would become a free state by natural effects. One section of the Union would gain its object, and the other would not feel the insult of injustice. Mr. Douglas opposed the admission, on the ground that the constitution was not the act and deed of the people of Kansas, though one of the simplest elementary rules of politics is, that he who can vote and will not, accepts as his own the vote of the man who will. Knowing the Republican party to be anxious to keep the Kansas sore open, that the body politic might be irritable, and the Democratic party to have it healed, he did what he could to keep the sore running, and served the party he professed to antagonize, more than any of its leaders. Did Mr. Douglas feel remorse or an injustice when, in the dark winter of 1860-'61, he heard, in the Senate, "For this you are responsible." Still, such was the yearning for harmony in the party, that Mr. Douglas would have been nominated at Charleston had not he and his friends insisted upon the acceptance of his revision of the constitution ; his past not merely to be endured, but indorsed. The party leaders who have assumed dictatorship have wrecked their own hopes and shattered their party. Mr. Clay gave the great and triumphant Whig party a death-wound. Mr. Van Buren threw away old friends and an unanimous nomination by his Texas letter. He split off a fragment of his party sufficiently large to elect General Taylor. Mr. Douglas wrought upon it wider havoc.

A. W. Blason

AARON BURR: A STUDY

II

Under the present system, the considerations which induce a nomination for Vice-President are usually without view to a subsequent candidacy for the superior office. Originally it was otherwise. Under the electoral system then in force, the Vice-President had *ipso facto* a claim to promotion. Burr was no exception; he looked forward, and with confidence, to the Presidency. He was admired and esteemed by the mass of his party. Its ascendancy was due to him, and the fact was recognized on every hand. His course through the "tie" contest was hailed as disinterested, and applauded. Wherever he went he was dined with honor, and toasted as a patriot.

But his apparent prospects were deceptive. Politics, Republican and Federal, North and South, were soon conspiring to his overthrow. Jefferson was secretly jealous of his sudden and unexpected rival. Moreover, the plans of the Virginia statesmen were jeopardized. Both Madison and Monroe were in expectant line of promotion. At home, the elements of opposition were even more bodeful and potent, because immediate and direct. The Livingstons and the Clintons were as strong and as interested as any of their southern brethren in their hostility to Burr. They viewed him as an upstart and an interloper. His rapid advancement was humiliating to their hereditary power, and, burying their differences, they now joined hands to do away with him and his "flying squadrons."

The work forthwith began. State and national patronage combined in the enterprise. One Livingston was made mayor of New York city; another, ambassador to France; another, supreme court judge. As for the Clintons, one was governor; another, United States senator; and numerous others absorbed the greater share of the minor state offices. Burr and his adherents were ignored. He and his friends even lost their seats as directors of the Manhattan Bank.

Cheetham soon appeared on the scene, and was put in charge of the *American Citizen*, the organ of De Witt Clinton, where he was neither slow nor uncertain in doing the will of his principal. Pursuant to Clinton's instructions, he directed his talents against Burr. The columns of his paper were laden at every issue with vituperation and slander. Wherever Cheetham unearthed a questionable act, he exaggerated and distorted.

Wherever he saw a ground for suspicion, he raised a fabric of amplified vilification. Wherever there was neither act nor suspicion, he wantonly lied. Abuse and detraction, libel and lampoon, followed each other in perennial succession. The partisan frenzy of the modern press has shown few equals to Cheetham's scurrilous ingenuity. Such, indeed, was the practice of the times. The improvement of the modern journal does not consist merely in daily editions and telegraphic news. "Nothing," wrote Jefferson, "can be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put in that polluted vehicle. The real extent of this state of misinformation is known only to those who are in situations to confront facts within their knowledge with the lies of the day."

Three years of unremitted opposition and obloquy produced their effect. Burr's power and popularity were crippled. His re-election was rendered impossible; the "regular" Republican party had cast him off. Only a single course remained, and that course he took. In February, 1804, he was formally announced as an independent candidate for governor.

At that time the Federalists were in a hopeless minority, yet none the less eager to regain their departed power. "We must change our tactics," wrote Hamilton to Bayard. "We have relied too much upon the mere excellence of our measures. . . . We must be more *politic*, my dear sir. Nothing wrong must be done, of course; but we must meet art with art, and defeat trick with trick." The dominant Republican faction nominated Chief-Justice Lewis. Hamilton first proposed to run a Federal candidate; but finally, considering Burr's defeat more precarious in that event, he counseled his party to vote for Lewis. He issued his "Reasons" for that course. "Colonel Burr has steadily pursued the track of Democratic politics. Though detested by some of the leading Clintonians, he is certainly not personally disagreeable to the great body of them, and it will be no difficult task for a man of his talents, intrigue, and address, possessing the chair of government, to rally the great body of them under his standard. . . . The effect of this elevation will be to reunite, under a more adroit, able, and daring chief, the now scattered fragments of the Democratic party, and re-enforce it by a strong detachment from the Federalists. . . . A further effect of this elevation, by the aid of the Federalists, will be to present to the confidence of New England a man already the man of the Democratic leaders of that country, and toward whom the mass of the people have no weak predilection, as their countryman, as the grandson of President Edwards, and the son of President Burr. . . . If he be truly, as the Federalists have believed, a man of irregular and insatiable ambition, if his plan has been to rise to power on the ladder of Jacobinic prin-

ciples, it is natural to conclude that he will endeavor to fix himself in power by the same instrument ; that he will not lean on a fallen and falling party, generally speaking, not of a character to favor usurpation and the ascendancy of a daring and despotic chief."

It is altogether probable that these "Reasons," for the most part, expressed Hamilton's actual opinions. Yet he here again reveals the chimera that seems to have haunted him from the time of Burr's first appearance in politics—that the latter's ambition was ultimately to obtain despotic power. His correspondence is full of such suggestions, often alluding to a current absurdity that, during the pendency of the "tie," Burr had plotted to "cut off" the leading Federalists and seize the reins of government. Such notions were characteristic features of the politics of that period. Jefferson's correspondence is similarly littered with far-fetched conjectures and refurbished rumors of one sort and another, that now appear ridiculous. On the other hand, Hamilton's statement of the results likely to follow Burr's elevation, as well as being inconsistent with the notion of despotism, is no slight evidence of the regard in which Burr was held among the people, and no slight tribute to his ability. Had Hamilton deemed him a political charlatan, his "Reasons" would have contained disparagement instead of compliment. It is a familiar maxim in law that admissions against interest are the most reliable evidence ; and to ascertain the truth from the record in what Parton aptly terms the "great case of Hamilton *versus* Burr," these public expressions weigh vastly more than vague and unsupported charges prompted by partisan motives, and preferred in secret correspondence.

As might have been expected, Burr was defeated. Hamilton's efforts alone prevented the mass of the Federalists from flocking to his support. Nevertheless, with the odds and combination arrayed against him, he carried New York city, and received a total vote of twenty-eight thousand, only seven thousand less than his opponent. Cheetham said that Burr was elated. He had cause to be ; the strength he had displayed in the teeth of such opposition boded danger to the Republican party. His possibilities seemed never greater. But the fatal crisis was now at hand.

Soon after this election, a letter appeared in print referring to "a still more despicable opinion which General Hamilton has expressed of Mr. Burr." Until this time it is said that Burr had received scarcely an intimation of the manner in which Hamilton had constantly characterized him. More than that, he and Burr to all outward appearances were personally on good terms. Their families had been friendly in their inter-

course. Burr immediately opened the correspondence that resulted in a challenge to fight. "Between gentlemen," wrote Hamilton in answer, "*despicable* and *more despicable* are not worth the pains of distinction. . . . But I stand ready to avow or disavow any *definite* opinion I may be charged with having expressed respecting any gentleman." Burr was, of course, unable to specify any of the "secret depredations," as he called them, "on his fame and character." Hamilton maintained his first position. "He was ready to enter into a free and frank explanation on any and every subject of a specific nature; but not to answer a general and abstract inquiry, embracing a period too long for accurate recollection, and exposing him to unpleasant criticism from or unpleasant discussions with any and every person who may have understood him in an unfavorable sense." Ten days of fruitless efforts to avoid the inevitable followed before the challenge was formally made. It was accepted without hesitation, and on the 11th of July, 1804, Hamilton fell with a mortal wound. On the following day he died.

The public excitement was intense. Hamilton was interred with imposing demonstrations. Upon his memory was heaped unbounded eulogy; upon Burr unbounded denunciation. The Father of Federalism was raised to a pinnacle of fame that has grown more resplendent with time; Burr was plunged to the deepest depth of infamy. In print and in pulpit he was branded as a murderer. Scarcely a voice was raised in his defense. Those upon whom he had counted in the past for his strength turned from him in abhorrence. The public could see no justification, no palliation. It forgot that Hamilton had consented to fight, and recognized the "code of honor;" that once before he had been a second; and that his son had been shot as a principal. It forgot that duels had been but common events; and that almost every public man had fought in one or more. Every miserable invention used against Burr was now revived, and coupled with new-hatched horrors that the clamorous public was eager to believe. Every whispering of malice was broadened into a trumpet tone of accusation. He was hailed as a Mephistopheles, and every dexterous act and unexplained fact was ascribed to satanic craft. It was charged—and to this day the charge is repeated—that simple vengeance prompted the challenge; that he searched the newspapers for a technical excuse, and then prepared himself by pistol practice.

No one will now attempt to apologize for a custom that no circumstance more than this has caused to be abolished; but in arriving at the truth of this affair, it is needful to recognize the facts.

Burr was the centre of chivalry and gallantry. Around him gathered

the high-spirited youth of his city. His manners and address were fascinating; his nature was determined and resolute; his courage constitutional. And now that his honor was questioned, he was called upon to defend it by the very strongest considerations that could move him. Even Cheetham asked: "Is the Vice-President sunk so low as to submit to be *insulted* by General Hamilton?" Hamilton knew what to expect from his provocation, and when it came to light he was compelled to abide the consequence, by the same reasons that prompted the challenge. Had he declined the challenge, he would have been called a coward and a liar. The truth is, to all who will not blind themselves to it, that, while Hamilton was a victim of a vicious and prevalent practice, Burr was equally a victim of an unbridled and profligate partisanship. And candor must admit that, as with Julius Cæsar, William the Silent, Charles XII., as with Lincoln and Garfield, Hamilton's fame is the greater for the sympathetic attention aroused by his untimely end.

Burr was wholly unprepared for the result. Never before had a duel produced such feeling, although it is only just to say that the righteous sentiment thus evoked against the barbarous practice was chiefly due to the persistent and insincere clamors of Burr's political enemies, many of whom had fought or seconded duels themselves. They embraced the opportunity utterly to destroy him. Duels, always conducted with the utmost secrecy, had never admitted of criminal prosecution, nor had public sentiment demanded it. Hence Burr's surprise was turned to consternation when persecution and prosecution both combined against him. By means of the evidence of two clergymen who had administered the rites of religion to Hamilton before his death, Burr was indicted for murder.

Meanwhile, he had gone to the South to avoid the storm. In the southern states he was not only safe, but a hero. There, then as afterwards, courage to fight was a virtue, and to fall was simply a misfortune. Thus Burr's popularity in the South increased instead of suffered. On his journey to Washington, where he went upon the opening of Congress to perform his final duties as president of the Senate, he was enthusiastically entertained by the Republicans of Petersburg. But by the time he reached the Capitol, he was also indicted in New Jersey, where the duel had taken place; and he somewhat sarcastically wrote to his daughter of the singular contention between the two states as to which of them should have the honor of hanging the Vice-President. Danger on that score, however, was soon averted. Many leading politicians, doubtless fearing that prosecution for dueling would be a precedent dangerous to their own safety or reputations, quietly took the matter in hand. As the result,

Burr was privately assured that he need stand in no fear of being molested by the law.

When Congress opened he presided over the Senate as usual. Washington society received him with all its past consideration. Jefferson dined him, and even dispensed some patronage to his friends. The final act of his public life redounded to his credit. As Vice-President, he presided at the impeachment trial of Judge Chase, where his dignity and impartiality won him great respect.

Nevertheless, his day was over. From the North he was virtually banished, and did not return to it except by stealth. He was there a ruined man—disgraced, and a bankrupt. His effects were sold under the hammer, but for not enough to satisfy his debts. His public life was ended. He was to be no longer a factor in history, save transiently to emerge once more, and then only to deepen the shadows about his name.

Perhaps we may form a more accurate estimate of his political career, contrary to the usual method, apart from the subsequent events of his life. The ablest writers are wont to dispatch him in a paragraph beginning with "trickery" and ending with "treason." His political rise is termed phenomenal, and is ascribed to craft and cunning. His fall, it is declared, was inevitable, and the just and natural result of his methods and his character. It is asserted that he was shallow, but designing and skillful; and that he was equally without principle or principles. Instead of giving his acts a natural explanation, they are shrouded with artificial mystery. What he did through simple ability is imputed to the devil. The good and ill in his life are condemned alike, since the good was only a lure and disguise. His career is looked at backward, the beginning from the end. It is assumed that a man who committed murder and treason in his age could have had no scruples from his youth.

It is needless to speculate what the after course of his life would have been had he been elected President over Jefferson. But, had he fallen instead of Hamilton, or, at the close of his term as Vice-President, had he resumed, as at one time he intended, the practice of law in some southern or western city, no event of his life would have drawn to him more than a passing historical notice, nor would anything have been discovered in his career to justify the verdict of villainy pronounced upon it. Instead of his sudden rise in politics being considered a phenomenon of craft or fortune, we may rather marvel that he did not take part before. Of a certain order his abilities were incontestably great. At the bar, in this day, his powers would be transcendent. The conditions of legal practice in which he and Hamilton shared the leadership were more suited to Hamil-

ton's powers than to his. The more important questions that arose were new. The legal principles governing them were more or less undetermined, and precedents were few. Hence, the greatest force lay in original reasoning from natural principles; and in that province Hamilton had no superior; in breadth of intellect and power of logic, as shown in efforts like that in which he established the law of libel, Burr was far beneath him. Yet it is doubtful if in mere scholarship he was equal to Burr, to whom the tendency came by inheritance. And at the present time, when success at the bar, aside from simple advocacy, is so nearly proportionate to legal scholarship and tactical skill, Burr would probably have the advantage. For lawyers know that such a man as Burr, secret, rapid, resolute, and a master of precedents, in the great mass of legal warfare is by far the most dangerous to encounter. To say that he was shallow, therefore, is unfair and untrue. And with his abilities, reputation, and uncommon personal qualities, it was inevitable that he should sooner or later be drawn into politics; and, upon taking part, that he should assume a commanding position.

It is said that one searches in vain for any utterances that prove him to have been possessed of logically matured political principles; but none of his political speeches have been preserved, and it is known to have been his habit to exclude all reference to politics from his ordinary correspondence. From this it is deduced that he was destitute of both national and party patriotism. But his talents and temper of mind were not suited to win him lasting distinction in public life. Lawyers of his stripe are never statesmen. He was not constituted to become an interpreter of political problems, or a founder of political creeds; but, until his contest for the governorship, adequately explained, if not justified, by the factional strife forced upon him, his adherence to the Republican party had not only been faithful, but efficient. It was charged, it is true, that he had attempted to combine with the Federalists to secure the Presidency, but the charge of a somewhat similar coalition between Adams and Clay in after years has not been more effectually exploded. Laudable or otherwise, the fact is that Burr possessed a genius for political management, and sought preferment by the invention of those political methods that were revised and improved by his immediate successors, Van Buren and the Regency, and now employed by all parties under the name of "the machine." He imported into politics the means he had employed in law. He recognized that men are ruled by interest, and that the mass of them are, in politics, like pawns on a chess-board. His knowledge of them was profound, and his influence with them prodigious. Until his

time, circumstances rather than management had made Federalism supreme. And, therefore, when, as if by magic, the growing Republican forces were united and made successful, it was only natural that the one to whom this result was mainly due, and who rode into prominence on the wave he had started, should be hailed as a political wizard.

Organization in politics is now regarded as essential as organization in war. It is not "the machine," but its perverted product, that is the subject of condemnation. Even the reformer who reforms no longer works by hand. But the idea of political system has certain implications not so well recognized. Politics, when founded upon system, soon become an art in which details and complications are as potent as the minutiae of drill in war. Burr possessed that art. He knew the effect of things trifling in themselves, and was dexterous in his use of them. He was quick to perceive the error of his enemy, and equally quick and skillful in turning it to advantage. His chief successes were due to Hamilton's mistakes. He possessed a faculty of combining and opposing private interests that was even more effective at first than afterwards, because his methods were new. Hamilton argued, wrote, and dictated; Burr calculated, consulted, and arranged. Thus, once, in his customary cipher he requested "18 to ask 45 whether, for any reasons, 21 could be induced to vote for 6; and, if he could, whether 14 would withdraw his opposition to 29, and 11 exert his influence in favor 22." His means being secret, his results seemed mysterious, and were soon imputed by his enemies to artifice and trickery, an explanation afterwards embraced to make his whole career a consistent enormity.

There is less evidence of Burr's use of unfair means in politics than can be brought to bear against several of his most formidable rivals, who would fare extremely ill if they were to be judged by what they said of each other. The particular and definite charges are few, and the most of them clearly inventions or exaggerations. If the statements made by Hamilton in his correspondence had tangible foundation, he must have known it. Their acquaintance began before their political rivalry, and their practice and social relations brought them constantly together. Hamilton knew too well the force of facts not to have used them had he been in possession of them; yet his darkest imputations are general, and usually premised by such phrases as "It is said."

It was, of course, Hamilton's privilege to oppose Burr's political plans by all honorable means, but it was likewise Burr's privilege to entertain honorable ambition; and unless Hamilton's charges were justified by ampler knowledge than the evidence now discloses, his course of secret

opposition was far more discreditable than the worst of Burr's political acts. And, more than that, it may justly be doubted whether Burr's exquisite breeding would have permitted him to resort to underhanded misrepresentations of a personal nature, whatever else he may have been led to employ.

Hamilton, however, had one ground of opposition that was decisive, and doubtless to some extent sincere. His abhorrence of the principles of the French Revolution, and the avowed sympathy with them of the Republican leaders, begot the fear that their desire for power might result in a forcible attempt to secure it, in order to propagate what he considered demagogical doctrines. The fear of a revolutionary movement was particularly directed against Burr, whom he deemed capable of not only subverting the existing order of things, but of subverting it for his own personal aggrandizement. This was Hamilton's leading theme, and all his other accusations radiated from it. And, absurd as such a notion was, from the sheer impossibility of the thing, Burr's subsequent exploits in the West coincided so strikingly with it that it received a weight and currency that still endure.

At the close of his vice-presidency, Burr resolved to visit the West. Whatever his purpose may have been at the outset, he took boat at Pittsburgh and floated down the Ohio, stopping at various places along the route, including Blennerhassett's Island, which the sequel was destined to make famous. Leaving his boat at Louisville, he went to Nashville, where he was the guest of Andrew Jackson, already a power in Tennessee. He then returned to his boat, and continued his voyage to the mouth of the Ohio, and thence by the Mississippi to New Orleans. Wherever he touched he was welcomed with public demonstrations. The whole journey was like a triumphal progress. Not even Washington could have met with a more cordial and imposing reception in that region of the country.

He remained for about three weeks in New Orleans, at that time a city of some nine thousand inhabitants, composed mainly of French and Spanish adventurers recruited by a congenial contingent from the states. The governor of the province was General Wilkinson, whose appointment to that position had been largely due to Burr's influence, and he was therefore solicitous to do his benefactor ample honor. In fact, he met Burr at Nassau, near the mouth of the Cumberland, and escorted him to New Orleans. Wilkinson, it would seem, had long indulged the dream of leading an army to the capital of the Montezumas, and had minutely informed himself concerning the routes and roads thither. This knowledge he soon imparted to Burr, whose quick intelligence at once perceived the possibil-

ities of a Mexican expedition. Probably the outline of the scheme afterwards developed was then conceived ; but it is also probable that nothing more was done at that time than to define a plan, and to secure information as to the means by which to carry it out.

Burr then traveled slowly northward, visiting different points, and arrived at Washington in November. From the listless uncertainty of his movements, it may be doubted if, even at this time, he had matured any definite plan of operation. He renewed his intercourse with the President, and it is quite certain that efforts were made in his behalf, and at his instance, to procure for him an official appointment. But nothing came of them, and he soon began to correspond with various persons in relation to his Mexican project. His letters to Wilkinson indicate that the latter was in full possession of his scheme, and fully confederated with him in the enterprise as then defined. With his other correspondents he was not so explicit. Thus, he wrote to Blennerhassett that he had "projected and still meditated a speculation. The business, however, depended on a contingency not within his control, and would not be commenced before December, if ever ; and was not to be satisfactorily explained by letter."

This "contingency" was a possible war with Spain, which was now assuming an attitude of threatening hostility to the United States, having rejected all overtures to adjust the disputed boundaries of Louisiana, and refused to grant certain indemnities. Under the cover, therefore, of a declaration of war against Spain, Burr proposed to invade Mexico. This accomplished, it is presumed, and his correspondence with his closer friends warrants the presumption, that he intended to turn his conquests to the advantage of himself and his followers. But his avowed purpose was to emulate the example of Miranda, who, that same year, had sailed from the United States with an expedition to deliver South America from the yoke of Spanish authority. Mexico was likewise enthralled by a despotism so brutally absolute as to extinguish intelligence to make tyranny sufferable, and to stunt industry to make revolt impossible. Thus Burr's proposal to wrest freedom to Mexico from the iron hand of Spain found favor with both the philanthropic and the adventurous. Before the end of July, 1806, perhaps five hundred persons, many of the highest character and standing in the country, were committed to the enterprise.

During the forepart of that year Burr lived obscurely in Philadelphia, maturing his preparations. He sought the society of those who were dissatisfied with the government, and cautiously dallied with the prejudices their grievances had created. Many of the disaffected entered into his scheme. The Catholic clergy of New Orleans were also in the secret.

He conferred with the English minister for the purpose of securing the aid of the English Government, and even sent an agent to England to further that design. He then purchased 400,000 acres of land on the Wachita, the first payment being contributed by his friends in the East. This land was to be used as a basis for bounties to the rank-and-file recruits, and may possibly have been intended as a refuge in the emergency of disaster. All the preliminaries arranged, he returned to the West to organize his force.

The final preparations were vigorously pushed. The quiet of Blennerhassett's Island was broken by the bustle of a military camp. Army stores, flour, pork, and meal, were purchased in quantities, and boats were built to transport men to New Orleans. Burr was zealous and ubiquitous. He bent all his faculties to the work. He went hither and thither, through Kentucky and Tennessee, in quest of men and means. He was received, as before, with every distinction, and met everywhere with success. Even Andrew Jackson was numbered among his enthusiastic adherents. Yet his ultimate design was studiously concealed, as were the details of its execution. It was sufficient for all that the expedition was directed against Mexico, and presumably had the concurrence of the government.

For a time all went well; there was neither opposition nor suspicion. But finally came the alarm. A Federalist newspaper charged Burr with conspiring treason, and the Federalist district-attorney began criminal prosecution. Burr haughtily repelled the charge, and voluntarily appeared in court with Henry Clay as counsel. After a spirited legal skirmish, the grand jury threw out the indictment. Nine-tenths of the people loudly applauded the outcome. The prosecution was covered with odium, and the editor who first preferred the charge was mobbed at a ball given in honor of Burr's acquittal.

Early in November the flotilla started down the river. Every obstacle, as Burr supposed, had been removed; but what was most unexpected now occurred. Months before, messengers had been sent to Wilkinson with full and final instructions. "The gods invite to fortune," he was assured; "it remains to be seen whether we deserve the boon." Whether he was frightened at the actual prospect of what before he had only dreamed, or saw a greater advantage in revealing the scheme to the government, is difficult to say. But he at once dispatched messengers to Washington with detailed information, and as soon as Burr was under way with his force, threw off the cover, proclaimed martial law, and called for volunteers to defend New Orleans. The President took up the alarm, and issued

a proclamation. Great excitement prevailed; military companies were raised in many places.

The fleet was intercepted at Natchez. Burr was arrested, though the grand jury refused to indict him. But, perceiving the impossibility of success, he left all behind him and disappeared. After a flight of several days he was again arrested. He was then conveyed to Richmond by a horse-back journey of a thousand miles, one-half of which lay through the wilderness. Reaching Richmond, he was arraigned before Chief-Justice Marshall, where were taken the preliminary steps of the most noted and remarkable trial in our history.

The querulous Jefferson assumed direction of the proceedings as a matter of state. His instructions to the district-attorney were frequent and minute. By his orders the attorney-general joined the prosecution, associated with lawyers who had no superiors in the land, unless among those retained for the defense. He lost sight of his dignity, and almost of his decency. He denounced the Federalists as co-conspirators for siding with Burr as against the administration, and even presumed to criticise the rulings of the chief-justice on questions of law. He was engrossed with the business. The longer he dwelt upon it, the larger it was magnified. "Burr's enterprise," he wrote, "is the most extraordinary since the days of Don Quixote. It is so extravagant that those who know his understanding would not believe it if the proofs admitted doubt. He has meant to place himself on the throne of the Montezumas, and extend his empire to the Alleghanies, seizing New Orleans as the instrument of compulsion of our western states."

After an animated session of nearly two months, the grand jury indicted Burr, Blennerhassett, and five others for treason and misdemeanor. This done, the trial of Burr for treason commenced. Two weeks were consumed in obtaining a jury, and three days in hearing evidence. Then came the final debate—nine days of legal and oratorical display. The result was that, under the ruling of the court, no "overt act" had been shown, and the jury rendered the Scotch verdict of "not proven," equivalent to an acquittal. He was then tried on the minor charge, and again acquitted. This ended the prosecution, and he was discharged.

Public opinion, however, surmounting technicality, pronounced him morally guilty. And the popular view of the transaction has been generally accepted. Yet just how far it is correct is hard to determine. It may well be that Burr's primal purpose was the conquest of Mexico; and if so, there is little doubt that, had he reached its borders with any respectable force, he would have conquered like Cortez, and reigned like

Charles III. But that he proposed to revolutionize Louisiana, and ultimately dismember the Union, seems improbable. Such a plan would have been futile and chimerical ; and his practical insight doubtless recognized the fact, whatever inducements he may have offered to tempt those who were dissatisfied or at odds with the government. When his force was intercepted, it numbered less than three hundred men, and while it would presumably have received some additional strength, it would have been absurdly insufficient to hold New Orleans against the United States at the same time he invaded Mexico. When asked on his death-bed if his design had been against the Union, he replied : " No ; I would as soon have thought of taking possession of the moon, and informing my friends that I intended to divide it among them."

However just may be the condemnation of this transaction, those inclined to be lenient may find some considerations to temper its severity. Such would remember that Burr's hope of further preferment was wholly extinguished, and under circumstances as unfortunate as blamable ; that, while he might have settled in the South or West and begun anew, it would have seemed a humiliation, since the attention there shown him was more the result of sympathy than of political support. His prestige was gone beyond recall. His ambition was still strong ; his genius, military. Therefore, ostracized by his former friends, and banished from the scene of his successes, it was not strange that he should seek the opportunity for power and glory that lay in the conquest of Mexico. And, if the stimulus of example were needed, that of Napoleon Bonaparte was even then displaying itself before his eyes. But failure was fatal ; to the mark of Cain it added the brand of Judas.

His singular vicissitudes were not yet at an end. Until June, 1808, he lived in seclusion, and part of the time in concealment in the city of New York. Then, under an assumed name, he sailed for Europe with the intention of laying before Napoleon a plan professedly for the independence of Mexico ; but, by the time he reached England, Napoleon had placed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne, and was, therefore, the ruler by proxy of Spain and her dominions. The hope of French aid thus defeated, he remained in England, and proposed the subject in turn to Canning, Castlereagh, and Mulgrave. Not only, however, was his proposition rejected, but, in the following year, he was informed that his presence had become " embarrassing to the government," and he was directed to leave the kingdom.

He took the passage offered him by the authorities, and went to Sweden, where he remained until the newspapers began to discuss him. Then,

traveling leisurely by way of Denmark and Germany, he went to Paris. There, hearing that Napoleon had consented to the independence of the Spanish provinces, his original hope revived. But, after spending five months in fruitless efforts to gain audience with the emperor, he resolved to return to America. Even to this a most unlooked-for obstacle arose. Passports were refused him, and he was forbidden to leave the empire. He then passed ten months under police surveillance before he escaped the country. He finally succeeded in boarding a vessel bound for the United States; but his ill-fortune still attended him. The ship was captured by a British cruiser on the day it sailed, and he was taken to England, where, after a vexatious delay, he resumed his passage by another ship.

The details of this tour were still more disagreeable than the main events. Before he left England, at his first visit, his means became so straitened that he was forced to change his name several times to evade arrest for debt; and, before he reached England again, he suffered from abject poverty. He borrowed from the friends he made, and pawned what he could of his effects. He counted his scanty means by pence and *sous*. His detention in France aggravated his dilemma. At times he lived from meal to meal, without knowing whence the next would come. He often dined on rice or potatoes that he boiled himself, and often kept his bed in cold weather to save the expense of a fire.

His journal, kept while abroad, is one of the curiosities of literature. He wrote with minute fidelity, and with such entire frankness as to present a strange contrast to the profound reserve he maintained concerning other periods of his life. His daily narrative is comprised alone of the barest statement of what he did, what he ate and drank, how much he spent, whom he met. The style in which it is written is as sententious as that of a sailor's log-book, and inferior to that of his letters. The usual qualities of an entertaining diary are wanting. For, of the various men of note with whom he came in contact, he relates no incidents, expresses no opinions; upon the various events he mentions, he offers no observations, indulges no reflections. And, except for the glimpse of his personality which it alone affords, the journal would possess but little interest, unless from the curious tale of a necessitous experience.

No less a critic than Edward Everett saw in it characteristic evidence of the constitutional secretiveness and love of mystery by which Burr is commonly believed to have been dominated; but the fact that he could strip as he did the veil from his galling and miserable poverty, as well as recount the wanton insults he received, as impassively as though he wrote of another person, suggests the existence of some motive other than that

of secrecy. One explanation that might be quite sufficient in itself, is that what he wrote was intended merely as the guide to an oral narrative to his daughter, a woman of rare endowments, for whom he bore an affection so tender and intelligent as to negative his imputed want of heart, and almost induce the critic to relent the rigor of his judgment. But there was a deeper reason. Burr did not possess what may be termed the literary temperament. The wonder is that he wrote a journal at all. In that day of voluminous correspondence, his letters were short and pointed. The brevity that marked his public speeches was even more characteristic of his conversation. He not only was not fluent, but he was without the peculiar quality of loving language for itself that transfigures commonplace, and builds verbal beauties upon trifles. His temper was not effervescent. He was not governed by moods or impulses. He was cowed by no calamity, and dispirited by no misfortune. Under the most distressing provocations, his amenity never suffered, no complaint ever escaped him, no word of discouragement or discontent. Not of the reflective order, he did not dwell upon circumstances or traits of character simply to amuse his curiosity; he was not a mere virtuoso of human nature. Those with whom he had relations possessed for him no other than a practical interest, and that only while those relations continued; such he estimated at a glance, instinctively and without reasoning. In a word, he was intensely, even profoundly, objective. He was a pronounced type of a not uncommon class of minds that rank next to genius—not fine enough to be transcendent nor broad enough to be great, yet supreme in the mass of material affairs. They possess sagacity and energy, under the dominion of material and practical purpose. Their talents are those of tact and management, which often develop a casuistry more conveniently logical than deeply ethical, though not always and necessarily insincere.

Burr's remaining years yield little further interest. He returned to New York and again took up the practice of his profession. He never regained his former standing at the bar, nor was he again received in society. The huge debts that the failure of his expedition had saddled upon him harassed him to the end. Yet material difficulties and social affronts he met like a Stoic, and lived to the age of full fourscore—long enough to see himself pointed out as an ancient traitor by a new generation.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Christy Beck". The signature is written in dark ink and features a long, sweeping flourish that extends from the end of the name towards the bottom right of the page.

THE APOTHEOSIS OF THE PLUTOCRAT

The world has long since accredited the fathers of the republic with a marvelous insight and grasp of the fundamental principles of a free society, and great wisdom in their application.

First among the nations they denounced African slavery ; and prohibiting its introduction from abroad and its spread within, they believed they had placed it "in the course of ultimate extinction." But the invention of the cotton-gin, making slave labor profitable, awakened the greed of the masters, stifled the better sentiments, and pressed religion and philosophy into the service of slavery, until the great catastrophe purified the religious and economic atmosphere.

In like manner, the fathers taught that republican institutions were adapted alone to a people with general equality of condition, and sought to secure this in the prohibition of entails and primogeniture. But here again the *facilis descensus* is becoming flagrant. In the presence of new conditions, making enormous individual aggrandizement easy, there arises a demand for a philosophy that will stifle conscience and satisfy the intellect while teaching the rightfulness of this aggrandizement. The demand brings the supply. First to enter the lists is the learned professor of Yale, who with confident mien and defiant step presents himself as the champion of the plutocrat.* The fact that of the vast fixed capital created by labor in the last twenty-five years twenty-five men, it may be, own one thousand millions ; the startling greed and gettings of the Standard Oil Company, move him not.

Happily, religion is not yet invoked to consecrate these things ; and the professor contents himself with sneering at "the old ecclesiastical prejudice in favor of the poor and against the rich."

"A rich man shall hardly enter the kingdom of heaven," "Sell all thou hast and distribute unto the poor," "Blessed be ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God," are, indeed, quite ancient ; but is he not a bold man who assails the Sermon on the Mount ? Yet what recourse is left ? There was some plausibility in the attempt to make Christianity subservient to slavery, but it seems quite impossible to make it the apologist of the plutocrat.

The professor is circumspect. But is it not possible that there may be beneath this old ecclesiastical prejudice a wisdom not dreamt of in his philosophy ?

* *What the Social Classes Owe to Each Other.* Prof. Sumner of Yale. (Harper Brothers.)

It is curious to note that while the professor was coining his phrases some French *savants* were also thinking on these great themes. M. de Vogüé thus expresses himself, in a late number of the *Revue des deux Mondes*: "History forces us to recognize that the Christian religion undergoes at long intervals external renovations, adapting it to the existing needs of society. For eighteen hundred years the gospel has been adequate to these exigencies, unceasingly arising. In digging deeper into this marvelous book, man may find the food desired for his new hunger. M. Reville has well said, 'the spirit of Christianity is the restless search of the better.' To-day some souls believe that the crisis of modern conscience must resolve itself through one of these revolutions. Much greater still is the number of minds bent upon the search of the better social state. It is in this direction that the gospel mine is the richest, the least worked; here is concealed, perhaps, the religious and social formula which so many hearts seek."

At the Renaissance: "The liberal interpretation of the gospel prepared the civil and political transformation gradually accomplished to-day in the Christian world. Wherefore may we not hope that, at the next stage, the social sense of the Book will be revealed to us, and that the new religious evolution will bring forth, yet with its slowness and accustomed wisdom, a social mold appropriate to the needs of men, as superior to the ancient as our civil life is superior to that of the Middle Ages."

Speaking in the same strain, in the same review, M. Laveleye says: "Christianity is right. *Richesse oblige*. Those who dispose of the net product of the country should not employ their superfluity in refining their material enjoyments, or in arousing the unholy gratifications of vanity and pride; but in works of general utility, as have already done more than one American citizen and more than one European sovereign. The gospel has brought salvation even in this world. The ancient democracies perished in corruption and in the civil wars, because, founded upon slavery, they have not organized justice. Modern democracy will escape these perils, if it succeeds in realizing the ideal proposed by Christ, and of which the Last Supper is the image—that is to say, true human brotherhood."

So the stone which the Yale professor rejects, French rationalism makes the corner-stone of the new social edifice.

The professor, indeed, manifests no proper apprehension of the great theme over which he so gayly and airily skips. *Speaking alone from his style*, one would be tempted to say that by nature, in the absence of broad sympathies, as well as by education, in the narrowness of the study to

which his life is given, he is unfitted for the discussion of this subject in its larger bearings. He is professor of the science of human selfishness, a part, an important part, of human nature, but not the whole. He mistakes it for the whole. He forgets that the great Founder of his science treated it as a part, a subordinate part, of the science of moral philosophy—as duty is higher than mere expediency. The professor talks as if his theme were only a question of alms-giving and alms-taking, and is very solicitous lest some one may rob the rich. He seems not to understand that one may justly denounce a social state which results in the few becoming very rich and the many very poor, and yet without attaching personal blame to either the poor or the rich.

He displays numerous foolish utterances of real or imaginary people about labor and capital, and discourses of them in true *ad captandum* style. He boldly advocates the aggregation of capital in the individual as a thing good for the public as well as the individual, and predicts much larger individual gettings than those which now startle the world. He has much to say about the importance of joint-stock companies and the necessity for large aggregations of capital in this form; thinks they will be better managed if under the control of one man than a board, and seems to imply that this will be better accomplished if the one man owns the entire capital.

He expatiates on the difficulties of superintendence and the value in this of one master-mind. He fails to see the frailty and brevity of a system that depends upon a single life. What will become of the public when this master-mind dies and his vast capital falls into the hands of incompetent heirs?

To the professor, the master-mind who sees all and sustains all without help, a *l'exemple des dieux*, in the language of Boileau, has a singular fascination. But, unlike the gods, these master-minds die, and then comes chaos.

Upon maturer reflection, the professor will see that the capital of the great corporations had better be the swollen stream of many thousand rivulets, so that their earnings will gladden the many and not the few alone. He will also see that their management had better be in a board of directors, who will select the superintendent, so that while the individual will die the office will be perennial.

It is true, such management has not always been honest or wise, the officers serving themselves at the expense of the corporation; indeed, that wondrous skill in the superintendence which enriches itself is often only dexterity in robbing the stockholder. There is, in fact, much exaggera-

tion as to this work of superintendence; we measure others by ourselves, and are apt to admire an excellence we cannot reach.

To the cloistered professor the dashing man of affairs seems a prodigy, when perhaps he is only a reckless but lucky gambler.

Here Mr. Ashley* steps to the side of Professor Sumner, as an apologist of the plutocrat. He also sneers at the faith of the fathers as the theory of "forty acres and a mule," a theory cast off by robust men and relegated to "the clergy and the women" and "Mill's *Political Economy*." He seems to think it a good thing for the many to lose and the few to gain; good, not only for the few, but also for the many. "Accumulations," says he, "of large quantities of wealth in single hands is indispensable in the developing our country, and an indispensable reward of enterprise; but, even leaving this out of the account, is for the greatest good of the greatest number, because it best preserves capital and employs labor most productively." He thus, under a similar necessity, reproduces the argument of the slave-holder, that it is for the good of the slave to be a slave, for capital to own labor. For this recreancy to the principles of the republic, he finds his apology in the recent great growth of railways and telegraphs, and in the assumed benefits to the public resulting from the ownership of great lines by Vanderbilt and Gould. The only proof he gives of these benefits is the fact that rates are less now than in 1863.

He ignores the fact that the growth of the country, with its vast increase of business, produced this reduction, and attributes it all to the high organizing capacity of these wonderful men. Yet, does he really think that "Black Fridays," the scandalous briberies of the New York judiciary in the "Erie imbroglio," the vast "watering of Western Union" and of "New York Central," the "corner," the "puts and calls" of Wall Street, the manipulation of great lines by the Standard Oil Company, the "Credit Mobiliers," the alternations of pools and rate-cutting, thus artificially raising and depressing stocks, that "the lambs may be fleeced," are in the interest of the public and especially of cheap transportation? These things are not the excrescences and abuses of a system otherwise useful; they are of its very essence, the creator of the plutocrat, without which he would not exist. It is these things which have made American railway management the by-word and reproach of the world; made it so intolerable, not merely to the suffering public, but to the railroads themselves, that they are beginning now to cry out for legislative relief. But were this high organizing capacity in the interest of the public not a myth, is it necessary to give the road to it to secure its services?

* *Popular Science Monthly*, Oct. 8, 1868.

Railroad management is not more difficult than was our great war; yet salaries of from five to ten thousand dollars procured competent service, and "the rebels" for far less obtained, it will be admitted, respectable service. Would higher salaries have secured for either better service? Is money the only motive for good work? We buy a President for \$50,000 a year, might we not a railroad president for that sum? And would he not be all the more efficient for the public, if he were forbidden stock speculations?

It is very true, as the professor says, that, like the laws of gravitation, the laws of political economy are inexorable. He who violates them must suffer, however excellent his intentions. But does it thence follow that those learned in these laws and skilled in their application shall be permitted to so use them as to create a power dangerous to society.

It is but justice to add that there are evidences in the closing pages of his book that after all he is not quite satisfied that his plutocrat is the innocent and useful being he has described.

A friendly critic comes to his relief, declaring, "The accumulation of great wealth by individuals the author does not hold to be wrong. . . . He holds that the power of wealth in the state should be restrained by check and guarantees. A plutocracy might be far worse than an aristocracy, and nowhere in the world, he says, is the danger of a plutocracy so formidable as it is here. Its natural opponent is a republican democracy, and experience already shows that the serious contest is between the plutocratic and democratic forces. Wealth, by cunning combinations, can destroy the guarantees of liberty; it can buy legislatures to make the laws and bribe courts to interpret them, and muzzle the press to silence exposure. But this is only to say that the people do not choose honest and fit legislators. The remedy is with the people, and it is a sure and final remedy, except in one contingency, which is that the people themselves are corrupted, and then, of course, popular government, in its real sense, expires.

But does not the critic here take from the professor the very ground upon which he stands, or has the professor himself committed *hari-kari*? If plutocracy is so dangerous to society why create it or permit it to arise? Why not stamp out the kindling flame rather than wait and then vainly struggle with the consuming conflagration? Does not history teach that democracy in vain contends with plutocracy, except in special junctures, at long intervals and amid the throes of revolution? And when the catastrophe comes can we complacently excuse ourselves in proclaiming the people corrupt — a corruption which we have necessitated. For the gnawings of hunger stifle honor.

The professor is learned in his science and there is in his book much of value. But the worship of mammon, here and now, needs no stimulation; certainly not at the expense of the "old prejudice," ecclesiastical or otherwise, in behalf of the weak and lowly—of the under dog in the fierce struggle of life.

There is, indeed, something higher than the laws of grasping selfishness.

Even in this materialistic age, though the Yale professor may not recognize it, the inquiry is still pertinent, what shall it profit a people to gain the whole world and lose their own souls?

In every age the wise and the humane have seen and deplored the social disorder whereby society is ever divided into three more or less hostile classes; the few with a superabundance, plagued with *ennui*, satiety, and surfeit, the many barely able to get the bread of life, and a middle class who are neither rich nor poor.

The ceaseless conflict of interest and feeling between these classes and the wretchedness of the most numerous produce the agitations and convulsions that ever imperil and often destroy society and states. This condition of affairs is especially dangerous in a free country. Aristotle observed this long ago. "Inequality," says he, "is the source of all revolutions. Men equal in one relation wish to be in all; equal in liberty, they wish absolute equality; not obtaining this they persuade themselves that they are wronged, and rise in insurrection." His remedy is, "Act that even the poor may have an inheritance." The years that have rolled by have brought us no greater wisdom.

The story of the race in its efforts after national life may be thus written: Small beginnings in poverty; rustic habits; manly virtues; prosperity; commerce; wealth; division into classes, a few becoming very rich, the many very poor; luxury above, misery below; corruption; civil commotion; loss of liberty; loss of civilization; death.

"There is the moral of all human tales;
 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past;
 First freedom and then glory, when that fails,
 Wealth, vice, corruption—barbarism at last."

May we escape this destiny? The problem of the ages, unsolved, is how to reach that equality of which Aristotle speaks; how to merge the highest and the lowest classes into the middle class, in which none shall have either riches or poverty.

The problem presses for solution now as never before. One would

hope that valuable suggestions might be obtained from the leisure and study of the college cloister. But our professor is disappointing; he finds no disease and of course has no remedy. He generalizes. He styles this the age of contract, as contradistinguished from an age of slavery or the feudal age. The laborer, indeed, is not a slave; he suffers not the degradation of that state, and here much is gained; but he loses its protection when age and helplessness come. But as the laborer's only capital is his strong arm; as a day of idleness is a day to him forever lost; as he cannot wait and capital can; unless he combines, strikes, boycotts, is he not helpless in the presence of the capitalist? And yet the professor would take his weapons from him: remitting him to the un pitying laws of supply and demand—to remorseless competition. If he is not the strongest he must go to the wall. If he is, he moves to the front. Let the successful, the rich, eat, drink, and be merry, but know for all these things God will not bring them to judgment. Let the unsuccessful, the poor, keep the peace, be still, be content with their wretchedness. But, alas! he will not; and here comes the danger to society, for which the boasted "economic laws" of the professor provide no remedy. Like the ghost of Banquo, the suffering laborer will not down at the professor's bidding; yet, like that ghost, he is honest, and will not disturb society if it is not organized in injustice to him. He knows that the law of competition takes from the weak and gives to the strong. He knows also that in his numbers and in combination he is strong, and why shall he submit; why shall he not reach for what he desires and his strong arm can take? We are not justifying this; we are stating the facts which the political economist may not ignore. The laborer looks abroad; he sees everywhere rising noble palaces in flowery gardens, with all the dazzling splendors of ostentatious wealth. These are the products of his labor and he enjoys them not.

He reads; while his home is becoming more wretched he learns of the hundreds of millions that a few cunning gamblers have in a few years accumulated. He asks himself is this all right. The professor tells him such are the inexorable laws of economic science. Does this bring him consolation? does it to you, reader? However this may be or ought to be, behold the unrest of nations; everywhere society rests upon unsteady ground. It is an age of education; knowledge is diffused as never before; the railroad, the telegraph, and the newspaper teach. It has been said that the bayonet thinks. So, too, do the spindle, the hammer, the pick, and the spade.

This equalization of knowledge makes the inequality of condition the more galling. In vain may we cry, "Peace, be still!" to the suffering millions

in the presence of the few rioting in luxury, when the millions know their rights or what they deem their rights, and their power to secure them. With increase of population and increase of misery will come increased danger. So, if relief come not otherwise, modern society may seek to escape the fate of the ancient through social revolution, with its attendant dread calamities and unknown beyond. We may not forget in this connection that the old restraints of society are weakening ; and there are no new.

If, as the historian Green says, Calvinism "first revealed the worth and dignity of man," it is also true that the Darwinian philosophy, as taught by some of the greatest lights of science, ruthlessly robs him of that worth and dignity, in making him morally and intellectually, as well as physically, a mere brute ; in taking away from him his Almighty Father, upon whom he may lean in every time of need ; and in denying to him life beyond the grave. So that the unhappy victim at once of social oppression and the un pitying laws of nature has no hope in this world or in the next. He, too, may become pitiless.

Society seems, for the first time, about to try the experiment of getting along without God in the world, substituting therefor the social and scientific doctrine that the world belongs to the strongest. Have we fully in their heights and depths measured the moral and social consequences of these teachings? Is the Darwinian philosophy anti-democratic? M. Caro thinks so. Yet, as we have already seen, democracy in the past has not been able to contend permanently against plutocracy. If democracy has in a convulsive effort, as in the French Revolution, overthrown plutocracy, and secured for the moment some equality of condition, the victory has been transient and the plutocrat soon resumed his sway. Were the Commune to prevail now and the leveling of classes to take place, would the equality of condition remain? Are there new forces in society strong enough to preserve the results attained? If the rule of competition, unrestrained, still governed, would it not again assert itself in building up a new plutocracy, to be in its turn, it may be, overthrown by a new revolution? Rather, would not society, as in the past, seek in the empire rest and security? And here we may remember that out of the feudal system of the Middle Ages arose the kingship, for the protection of the people against the oppressions of the barons. The king, in his lofty isolation, having no interest except in the well-being of his people, became their protector against the barons.

Now, if the plutocrats combine, and through the control of corporate grants and favoring custom laws become all-powerful ; if they own the press ; buy up the legislatures ; bribe the judiciary, and corrupt the voters whom

their ill or well gotten wealth has reduced to helplessness, may not society, with or without revolution, seek the hereditary monarch as a protection against the grasping selfishness of the barons of the stock-board? To him their money is no temptation.

"The empire of Cæsar," says Mommsen, "brought to the sorely harassed people of the Mediterranean a tolerable evening after a sultry noon." The Napoleonic cry of a democratic empire has reason. The fathers of the republic were keenly alive to the dangers of a plutocracy. Addressing the constitutional convention, Dickerson, himself a plutocrat, says: "A veneration for poverty and virtue is the object of republican encouragement." "The men who have most injured the country," says Rufus King to the Massachusetts convention, "have commonly been rich men." "I dislike," said Franklin to the constitutional convention, "everything that tends to debase the spirit of the common people. If honesty is often the companion of wealth, and if poverty is exposed to peculiar temptation, the possession of property increases the desire for more. Some of the greatest rogues I ever was acquainted with were the richest rogues." To give effect to these sentiments, they prohibited entails and primogeniture, and believed they had thereby undermined and destroyed the plutocrat. "The present law of inheritance," says Hamilton, "making an equal division among the children of the parents' property, will soon melt down the great estates."

This has proved a delusion; new conditions have arisen, enabling the few to rapidly accumulate and retain colossal fortunes. Corporate shares, the telegraph, and the railroad have infinitely multiplied the powers of man. The great capitalist, seated at his desk in New York, with the quickness of the electric spark can raise or depress the price of the poor man's food or clothing in the remotest corner of Oregon or Texas. Stocks are the dice with which the cunning gamester is winning the property of the world; great combinations of capital are formed, suffocating all small operators, and through tariffs and otherwise establishing monopolies more grinding and exclusive than the royal grants of the Middle Ages. Under the operation of these causes, a class of citizens is growing up possessing more than princely fortunes, with the promise of owning this great continent. The tendency otherwise and through new political ways is to the concentration of all political power in the rich. Everywhere the desire is to have a candidate of ample fortune and generous prodigality; and our Senate is fast becoming an assemblage of mere *Cræsi*. We seem to enter upon the ways of the Roman republic towards its decline. When, if ever, we shall have an upper class possessed of all political power and boundless wealth,

with a vast "residuum" population yet voting, and a small middle class ground between the upper and nether millstone, history may repeat itself, and our streets may resound with the tread of contending *Milos* and *Clodii*, and their swarms of mercenary retainers.

But where is the relief, that our republic may endure?

A famous politician, recently speaking, waves aside every effort as "quack" remedies, save only his panacea for all ills, the tariff. As if the poor man's condition was bettered by increasing the price of his hat or shoe. The theories of Henry George have their speculative interest, but they are outside of the domain of practical politics. The owners of land in this country as yet are too numerous to permit its confiscation. The radical socialistic schemes are alien to the genius of our Anglo-Saxon civilization, which follows a slow and tireless evolution, abhorring cataclysms. No one, indeed, has found out how we may make all rich, or maintain in civilized society a general equality of condition. The problem is appalling to the stoutest intellect; but it is one that we cannot escape and live—we must attempt its solution; and here, it is plain, we must move slowly and tentatively. It is something to know the problems before us—what the demands of the hour are. Two things seem plain; we must restrain the corrupt use of the power of wealth; we must restrain the undue accumulation of individual wealth, and this without weakening the spur to enterprise. And to these ends various suggestions have been made:

Were the railroads and telegraph lines controlled by government; were a limitation put upon land ownership; were custom duties, with certain exceptions as to liquors, etc., abolished, and revenues raised by wisely regulated and graduated succession and income taxes, something would be accomplished. Railroads and telegraph lines are in their nature a monopoly. They have become so essential to our modern life that interruption in them is a public calamity. There is therefore a propriety in government control or ownership, that the benefits of the monopoly may accrue to the whole people, and that the public may be protected from interruption.

There is an especial necessity for government control of the telegraph, and in the preservation of the independence and purity of the press. It is alleged, I know not with what truth, that the telegraph now makes and unmakes newspapers by discriminations in its rates. However this may be, the power to do this should be taken away. It is true, this government control in affairs violates certain well-worn maxims of state, such as "the world is governed too much." But these maxims had their origin in a different condition of things, and are no longer applicable. Where government represented the few, and was used to oppress the many, the less

government the better. But now, when government represents the many, it should serve them.

It is also said that government work is blunderingly done; were this true, yet done in the interest of the people, it would serve them better than more skillful work by the skilled few, done in their own interest. At least, government control would prevent railroad wrecking, watering of stock, strikes, and the war of rates; and the dice of the cunning gamesters would be greatly diminished. We repeat: no doubt these suggestions are offensive to the *laissez-faire* principle that has had partial sway in the world for the last hundred years.

But, "Let it not be forgotten," says Mr. Goshen, M. P., in an admirable address at Edinburgh, "that this principle owed its origin not to hard, impassive theory and cold-blooded economists, but to a school of ardent and almost revolutionary social and philosophical reformers, the physiocrats, as they are called, of the eighteenth century." So rapidly have inroads upon these principles been made recently in England—conspicuously seen in the Irish Land Act and in the recent movement to build houses for the poor—that the *London Times* of date November 9, 1883, declares: "Be the result what it may, it can hardly be doubted by any one who watches the tendencies of the time that *laissez faire* is practically abandoned, and that every piece of state interference will pave the way for another." The *Times* maintains that this abandonment of the *laissez faire* is in obedience to the laws of national evolution; that when population is "sparse," when men grow their own food, spin their own wool, and practically make their own clothing, social relations are necessarily simple. Let population be increased, labor divided, and society organized so that interdependence takes the place of substantial isolation, and the need for regulation speedily makes itself felt. Here, as elsewhere, Anglo-Saxon civilization is the helpless bondsman of no theory, but does the thing needful without too much concern about conformity to theory.

In our country there is great freedom of devise and no succession tax. In other states there are limitations upon disposition by will, and graded succession duties.

What is more reasonable? A man may claim the fruit of his own labor, but not that of another, even his own father.

Mr. Mill thinks no one should inherit more than "a comfortable independence." To regulate this may be difficult, but something may be done in the interest of the whole, as well as of the children, preventing them becoming mere drones.

In this country there is a prejudice against income taxes; not so in

England. There they are a fixed form of raising revenue. When war is made Mr. Gladstone pays for it by an increase of the income tax. This is well. For it has a tendency to restrain the noble game. There is a special propriety in this country in levying an income tax. Here the untaxable bonded indebtedness enables the rich man to escape taxes. But when the law of the bond was enacted, there was simultaneously laid upon it an income tax. This became, as it were, a part of the bond contract, and should have remained during the life of the bond. There is also a general propriety in levying income taxes. Those who have the most to protect, and who receive the greatest benefits from the protection of society, should bear the cost of that protection. It is evident that income taxes can be so graduated as to make excessive accumulation impossible. It is true that the question, What is excessive accumulation? admits of no exact answer; that it must ever be a varying question. But it admits of approximate determination, and any wise income tax would leave a large margin.

I hear many voices proclaiming that a limit to accumulation would take away the spur to enterprise. But what, under existing conditions, is the incentive to accumulation beyond a competency? The amount necessary to gratify every rational want is not great. "Man wants but little here below, nor wants that little long." When this little is obtained why do men labor to obtain more? Is it not for the gratification of vanity, for display and ostentation, or for some benevolent use? I once asked a very rich man, "What are you doing?" "Increasing my pile." "Why?" "That I may have a bigger one than my neighbor." Another accumulates that he may have a splendid stud, and drive a team that will make the beholders stare. Another, that he may visit the nations in a yacht, to be gazed at. Another, that his wife may display the most and the largest diamonds, and yet another that he may give the most elegant entertainments, resplendent with brilliant plate and stunning floral decoration—all at fabulous cost. The cost is the relish; it is in this that the rich can excel. Yet we have not reached in this line the excellence of the ancients, when Hortensius watered his trees with wine; the comedian, Æsop, entertained his guests with a dish of the tongues of parrots that had learned to talk, costing twenty-six thousand dollars, and the beautiful Poppæa preserved the freshness of her complexion by bathing in asses' milk, furnished her by five hundred of these animals, that ever attended her in her travels. But we are making progress. The adornments of the hall, on a late festive occasion in New York, must have reminded the Lord Chief Justice of the immoderateness of oriental magnificence. Here the oldest and the youngest civilizations touch. Is the accomplishment of such ends as these the only

spur to enterprise?—ends that stimulate on the one side vanity and pride, and on the other envy and hatred. Hence the traditional insincerity and heartlessness of fashionable society.

If, under the new condition of things, the play of these unholy passions shall be extinguished even though material interests suffer, would society be the loser? M. Laveleye has happily said: "Those great reformers, who have changed in every country the direction of thought, Moses, Socrates, Buddha, Jesus, have lived upon little. It is not in the bosom of delights that kindles the flame which purifies humanity. One can almost say that moral greatness is not in proportion to, but in the inverse ratio of, wealth."

But the material interests will not suffer; new incentives to enterprise will arise; when one cannot accumulate for himself, he will accumulate for others and for the public. This one with his surplus will found an asylum; that one, a college; others, museums, art galleries, and so on. A noble rivalry in generous works will become the fashion. The income laws could be made to favor accumulations for these purposes. Thus, under the new conditions, the love of display innate in man would take a moral instead of an immoral direction.*

In conclusion we may add: These remedies may on trial prove inadequate and even illusory, but in their ashes may be found the germ of something worthier. Unless, indeed, society cannot escape convulsion. For in these last years of the nineteenth century the irresistible stream of tendency is socialistic. Knowledge is abroad; the essential equality of all men is apparent; the galling bitterness of the existing conditions irritates, maddens. The world will not wag on always in the future as in the past, the few enjoying all, the many suffering all. If the dominant classes are wise, they will float with the stream, directing it and keeping it within safe channels. They may thus prevent, on the one hand, catastrophe and confiscation, on the other, "the Dead-Sea calm of an universal trades union."

W. M. Dickson

* "Quand l'opinion ne s'incline que devant la vertu, l'amour-propre ou la vanité devient un puissant stimulant pour le bien. Quand au contraire, l'opinion adore la richesse, l'amour-propre pousse au luxe et à la corruption."—*M. Laveleye*.

A WINTER'S WORK OF A CAPTAIN OF DRAGOONS

I

HOW HE MARCHED AN INFANTRY BATTALION FROM NEW MEXICO TO SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA, WITHOUT ROAD OR GUIDE

In the autumn of 1846, General S. W. Kearny, commanding the Army of the West, having overcome all resistance and established a territorial government in New Mexico, set out on his march with a competent force to take possession of California, as military commander and governor. October 2, he met Kit Carson, who was coming, by the Gila River, from California, at the head of an express party, with dispatches for the government at Washington, conveying information that California had submitted to forces under Commodore Stockton and Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont (afterwards found delusive). Kearny then sent back his forces, retaining only an escort of one hundred dragoons.

Only a few days before he had received information of the approach to Santa Fé of Colonel Price's regiment of volunteers; and also of an infantry battalion, and of the decease of its commander, Lieutenant-Colonel James Allen (captain of dragoons). Captain Cooke, of dragoons, was appointed to take the vacant command; and was sent back to Santa Fé, about one hundred and twenty-eight miles, to assume command on its arrival, and set out on a march to California as soon as possible; to take wagons, and find a route south of the Gila.

Meanwhile General Kearny pursued his march by the Gila route, taking Carson back as guide. But in three days he became thoroughly convinced that the route was impracticable for wagons. He halted several days, while arrangements were made for packing, and took his final departure October 14.

Colonel Cooke found that the government had neither funds nor credit in New Mexico. One consequence was that a company of one hundred volunteers from Doniphan's regiment, who were to be mounted on mules and accompany his march, could not purchase the mules; and it had to be given up.

But the worst result was in the matter of transportation : I could only procure half-broken-down mules, and far from enough of them ; and for a march which lasted one hundred and three days, I could only obtain, or, in fact, carry, rations of pork for thirty days, and flour for sixty days.

The battalion marched October 19. In marching through the villages and settlements of the Rio Grande, continual efforts were made to purchase mules, and to change broken-down for good animals ; to procure beeves and sheep. In fact, the whole expedition was a daily series of anxious expedients and makeshifts.

General Kearny left six or seven men for me, called guides. They were not guides, for they did not know the country to be passed ; and almost their sole service was to go some days in advance, looking for water, as near the best course as it could be found : finding some, a man came back to report, while the others looked farther ; but there was nothing regular, and it was seldom that water was found for two nights in succession.

The camp was at Ojo de Vaca (cow spring) November 20 ; the water-hunters had come in with bad accounts ; only one water, about nine miles off, had been found ; there was a conical hill, and an old trail passed southward, from the copper-mines near the Gila. Anxiously I surveyed the western view—it seemed an unlimited prairie, with no indication or sign of water ; the guides pronounced it a desperate risk to enter that desert, and they had some theory that the trail would answer our purpose.

And so next day I marched on the trail a mile, when, finding it inclining more to the East, without a word to any one, I changed the direction of the march square to the right. I have gone into these details to give a full understanding of the subject of guides.

We reached a very fine spring, December 2, in a rich valley, and the ruins of a large rancho supposed to be named San Bernardino ; I remained a day, and we met and traded with some Apaches. But here, most important, the battalion hunted, and killed a good supply of beef, and this resource was enjoyed about twelve days, until the San Pedro river was reached and left. The cattle, or their sires, had escaped when the Apaches broke up a number of large ranchos ; we passed the ruins of another on the San Pedro. They were quite as wild as buffalo, and more dangerous. It is most probable that this full supply saved the battalion from a great disaster.

Communication was had with the commander, as we approached Tucson, and we found it evacuated. Two days were passed here, and possession was taken of a supply of government wheat, found in the fort ;

also of tobacco. The wheat was a most welcome addition to the subsistence of both men and mules.

The march from Tucson to the Gila was over seventy miles of a level clay and sand, waterless desert; it was made in fifty-two hours, parts of three nights; no ration was issued, and the third night the captains were allowed to get their companies on the best they could. But ten miles from the river the battalion encamped at some rain-water pools.

At the Gila I fell into General Kearny's trail; and a few miles below are villages of Pimo and Maracopa Indians; very moral and every way interesting; in fact, half civilized, self-developed, without the vices of white men. They are not aggressive, but have made other tribes afraid to attack them; so they live in peace.

January 10, day and night, the Rio Grande was crossed about ten miles below the mouth of the Gila; the river is as large and deep as the Missouri; the ford was about a mile, with a sand island in the midst; it swam, in places, the smaller mules. I had two water-tight wagon bodies; these very slowly carried the men, and the little baggage and provisions left.

Poor, exhausted men! it seemed as if they could not be got over, and I could not be on both sides; and they had sterner trial just ahead! There was no grazing the west side, and the march *must* go on; I had to leave one company in the middle of the river; I knew it would excite energy. I expected to find a well of water fifteen miles on; when we arrived it was dry. . . . Across this desert—which is evidently a former bottom of the Gulf—the battalion marched irregularly, partly by night; I give an official *résumé* of part of it: "Thus, without water for near three days, for the animals, and camping two nights in succession without water, the battalion made, in forty-eight hours, four marches of eighteen, eight, eleven, and nineteen miles, suffering from frost, and from summer heat." At this time their sole food was fresh meat; and of many the feet were bare save for wrappings.

Between this desert and the ocean was found no great obstacle to a railroad; the Sierra Nevada does not extend so far, or becomes broken into irregular, low mountains, with passes.

The battalion arrived and camped at San Diego Mission, six miles from San Diego, January 29, 1847. It had marched eleven hundred miles from Santa Fé, in a hundred and three days; but from Fort Leavenworth about eighteen hundred miles.

II

HOW HE MADE A ROAD AND MAP, DISCOVERING A PRACTICABLE RAIL-ROAD ROUTE TO THE PACIFIC, YEARS BEFORE ANY OTHER; AND HOW HE MADE A NEW SOUTHERN BOUNDARY OF THE UNITED STATES

No commander could have more multiplied and anxious cares than the lieutenant-colonel of this battalion, without instruction, but undertaking a fearful task. But with all his labors, he took upon himself another, viz.: to make a map of the country and road as he passed.*

A pocket compass, pencil, and a small, ruled blank-book constituted all the appliances; the distance of ruled lines gave the scale of miles; an old habit of estimating distances marched by the watch and hourly rate had given him great accuracy, and thus he completed the dead reckoning. The notes were mostly taken on muleback.

From the point where General Kearny left the Rio Grande, about two hundred and twenty-eight miles below Santa Fé, and where our routes diverged, I made, as described, a map or sketch. Captain Emory, Topographical Engineers, of General Kearny's staff, had the special duty of making a map, with the use, of course, of the best instruments. Afterward, when Captain Emory was making over his map, in Washington, my sketch was put in his hands; he expressed great surprise at its accuracy, and copied it on his official map. It appeared on numerous maps and atlases as "Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke's wagon road." The treaty of peace and boundaries with Mexico established the Gila River as part of the boundary. A new administration, in which southern interests prevailed, and with the great problem of the practicability of a transcontinental railroad still unsolved, had the map of this route and the report of the whole march before them, in a congressional document. These gave exactly the solution of the problem; relieved the great apprehensions of the lofty Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevada, and of their snows; for here no important obstacle existed.

The new Gadsden Treaty was the result; it was signed December 30, 1853. Accordingly it is found that the new boundary is constituted of arbitrary right lines and angles, with no mentioned or actual natural object or feature; only it makes the most southern line a tangent to the great southern bend of my road; that accomplished, a right line, to the west and north, to the Colorado, some ten miles below my crossing, completes the new boundary, which embraces the whole route. The territory gained is

* *The Conquest of New Mexico and California*, Putnam's Sons, New York.

not *all* rainless or waterless or mountainous, and it includes a frontier garrison town, Tucson.

Explorations and surveys were made, even after the new treaty; five special routes were examined and reported upon—one near 47th and 49th parallels of latitude, another near the 41st and 42d, one near the 35th parallel, and one near the 32d—in part the route of the battalion.

In February, 1855, the Secretary of War reported to Congress these explorations and surveys, and he expressed the decided opinion that the so-called 32d parallel route "was the most practicable and economical route for a railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean." * This is the present "Southern Pacific."

III

AND HOW HIS BATTALION PUT AN END TO THE FREMONT MUTINY

After putting the battalion in camp at San Diego Mission I rode six miles to San Diego and reported to General Kearny.

General Kearny, accompanied by Commodore Stockton, whom he had persuaded that it was his duty to use his marine force by land against the Californians who were in arms and in large force, had marched from San Diego for Pueblo de los Angeles December 29. On January 8 and 9 he had defeated the insurgents, and on the 11th occupied that capital.

Colonel Fremont had been marching his mounted men to meet these enemies for six weeks—three hundred and fifty-four miles in all; this rate, of about eight miles a day, was not hastened by daily news received, and even official notice, of the approaching conflicts. Accordingly, when the capital surrendered he was a few miles off, and, with a governor *de facto*, and a legal governor (and general officer) at the head of troops in the capital which they had just captured, made a treaty of capitulation and *peace* with the insurgent commander!

This last signed himself "Andrew Pico, Commandant of Squadron, Chief of the National Forces of California." Fremont signed himself "Military Commandant of California." The document is made to appear executed at Los Angeles, January 16, when Stockton and Kearny were both present! † Strange use of falsehood, that does not deceive.

On Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont's meeting General Kearny, at Los Angeles, he refused to obey him, and to put the "battalion" under his orders.

* See General O. M. Poe's able report on *Transcontinental Railways*, in General Sherman's last annual report, 1883.

† Stockton forwarded it to the Secretary of the Navy on the 15th!

General Kearny, on the 18th, set out with his sixty dismounted dragoons to return to San Diego.

January 14, Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont marched his battalion into Los Angeles. Commodore Stockton appointed Fremont governor of California, January 19.

General Kearny was on the eve of embarking on a ship of war for Monterey, when I reported to him. He instructed me to march to San Luis Rey, a fine large mission in good preservation, fifty-three miles on the Los Angeles road, and there take quarters, and await events; but to exercise such authority or power as might become necessary, in my judgment. Commodore Shubrick was then expected at Monterey as Commander of the Pacific Squadron.

Colonel Fremont was now at Los Angeles, and his battalion in a neighboring strong mission.

It seems difficult to name or characterize this body of mountain and prairie wanderers collected by Colonel Fremont. They had never been mustered in United States service—had never done any service; there was no one of them (lieutenant-colonel included) who could give the first lesson of any kind of military instruction; from all the revolutionary skirmishes at the North they seem to have been notably absent. But they were hirelings, and of a man who they believed had great backing, and to support his mutiny was as dignified and military a part as they had yet performed.

Colonel Fremont's "Secretary of State" paid his respects at San Luis Rey, on his way to "represent the government" at Commodore Stockton's 22d February ball at Monterey. He gave out that the "Governor" would resist by force any attack made to displace him; that two companies of Californians had been raised for service; and that "a thousand Californians would rise to support him," etc. But I considered this "representative's" opinions and assertions equally unreliable.

I find, taken from a journal, the following somewhat humorous entry for March 1. "For forty days I have commanded the legal forces in California, the war still existing; and, not pretending to the highest authority of any sort, have had no communication with any higher, or any other, military, naval, or civil. . . . I have put a garrison in San Diego, the civil officers, appointed by a naval officer, otherwise refusing to serve, while a naval officer ashore is styled by some 'Governor of San Diego.'

"General Kearny is supreme somewhere up the coast; Colonel Fremont supreme at Pueblo de los Angeles; Commodore Stockton is 'Commander-in-Chief' at San Diego; Commodore Shubrick the same at Monte-

rey, and I at San Luis Rey; and we are all supremely poor, the government having no supplies, money, or credit, and we hold the territory because Mexico is poorest of all."

Whether or not from poverty, my battalion had for several weeks been wholly without rations—save beef, the drug of the country.

(An officer was sent to the Sandwich Islands, for specie and rations.)

March 14, Major H. S. Turner, aid-de-camp of General Kearny, arrived at the mission. He bore an announcement of Commodore Shu-
brick, "Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces," and General Kearny, as governor, all by government assignment; also a proclamation of Governor Kearny.

Major Turner delivered to Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont an order to disband his battalion; but those of them that desired it should be mustered into public service. He also delivered an order placing Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke in command of the southern half of California.

Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke sent a courier to Lieutenant-Colonel Fremont to ascertain what number of the men had been mustered into service.

An answer came from a "Governor" by his "Secretary of State," that *none* had consented to enter the public service; but, as rumors of insurrection were rife, it was not deemed safe to disband them. He asked for no assistance, but added the "battalion would be amply sufficient for the safety of the artillery and ordnance stores."

But Lieutenant-Colonel Cooke immediately broke up at San Luis Rey, and marched for Los Angeles, where he arrived March 23. He was met very politely by Major Gillespie, and informed that Colonel Fremont had left for Monterey the day before.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "P. S. Cooper, Jr.", written in dark ink.

NOTES FROM HARVARD COLLEGE

ITS PHYSICAL BASIS AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE

"How many acres in that college quadrangle at Harvard Square?" "About a hundred and fifty," answered one of the divinity-school men. "No, not less than six hundred," rejoined another. Their answers show our need of definite knowledge.

The little quadrangle in question contains about twenty-three acres. It carries five ample dwelling-houses, two chapels, seven big dormitories, five large buildings full of lecture-rooms or laboratories, besides the old Dane Law School building, and the huge granite library building known as Gore Hall. These are about half of the college buildings. Others are scattered here and there. Across the road to the south and west are other dormitories. Beyond the roads to the north are Memorial Hall, gymnasiums, the new Law School, the Divinity Hall, with its new library, the Scientific School, and the museums. A mile to the west are the Observatory and the Botanic Garden; while the Medical School and Dental School are three miles away, in Boston, and the Farm School, with the School of Veterinary Medicine, is three or four miles farther off, at Jamaica Plain.

The fact that the college works with so many hands and covers so much ground is what keeps her so wretchedly poor. For, to suppose that Harvard is just rolling in wealth and doesn't know what to do with her cash, is about as correct as that divinity-school estimate of the college quadrangle. Harvard would be rich if she were not ambitious. Lazy colleges grow rich. But at Cambridge some very live men know that power means duty—that money brings opportunity and responsibility. If they see anything good in "Fair Harvard," they see nothing to make men vain, but only the good beginning of something which they intend to make better. Harvard is still growing. It has a future as well as a past, and the most remarkable thing about its life to-day is the pluck, the true grit, with which its sons face the music of the present.

The school needs about five million dollars to set it well upon its feet, and to make it the great university it is destined to be. But those millions are sure to come, as others have come, because these live men believe in that practical sense which vigorously abandons the methods of the darker ages and faces the future. The administration of President Eliot, when it

is concluded, will stand as a monument to commemorate this American genius for college building.

But Harvard's glory is apparent in her poverty. The pressure upon her resources is simply tremendous. Men less kind and courteous would be ceaselessly wrangling and bitterly jealous, if called to struggle as these do for their share of the college income; while each department, each scientific school, the gymnasium, the library, get but part of what they need, and each is just able to pull through the year and not run in debt. This only means that the life of the school is grandly vigorous. Its various departments beset the sorely tried president and treasurer with the appetites of growing boys. But that appetite shows that the family resources are increasing, and that the college loaf will be big enough by and by.

The physical and financial foundation of Harvard to-day lies about in the following shape: the college grounds, buildings, libraries, laboratories, with their equipments, have cost several million dollars. Nobody asks or cares how many, for all look to the future, not to the past. The business carried on in the several departments is as follows:

	RECEIVES.	PAYS OUT.
Dental School.....	\$ 6 105	\$ 7,415
Veterinary School.....	17,189	17,556
Medical School.....	66,379	65,377
Observatory	18,355	15,168
Library	22,876	37,684
Scientific School.....	42,862	31,069
Law School.....	35,408	32,151
Divinity School.....	61,449	28,047
The College.....	295,214	265,982
The University.....	40,912	43,637
Total... '	\$606,749	\$544,086
Surplus in 1886.....		62,663

The year 1887 will add about a million dollars to Harvard's productive property by bringing in two large bequests. Her wealthy sons, dying or preparing to die, always remember their alma mater. Their confidence in her grows as they see how wisely her affairs are handled. Her treasurer gets more than five per cent. upon her large investments, which men deem a high rate in New England now. And her productive property is quoted as \$5,190,772.35. This amount will soon be doubled. The financial basis may be counted as already secure.

About six million dollars of endowment are now happily invested. Several millions' worth of grand buildings, with all that man could ask for

in the way of libraries, apparatus, etc., are thronged with students. But there is something better yet at Harvard. It takes more than money to make a college—that is, a college of the future. Wisdom cannot be bought. Experience costs time and tears. Sectarian colleges, and probably all others, have their squabbling age, an age of hair-pulling and scratching, an age of petty jealousies, rivalries, and quarrels. If any man doubts that, let him come here and read the story of Harvard's childhood. It took two hundred years to outgrow it. It makes a curious record, this story of the Puritan popes who wanted to be president, or wanted a professorship for self or son, or wanted a certain policy pursued, a course of study introduced, or a certain theology adopted. Affairs now move with an amazing absence of friction. Personal relations are charmingly free from constraint. We can have all courses of study desired, and the theologies are welcome, one and all.

Of course, this means only that the pioneer work is done, the forests are felled, the stumps are rooted out, fences are up, buildings are ready, and the harvests are coming in.

The young men now at work here rank as follows: Freshmen, 280; Sophomores, 224; Juniors, 238; Seniors, 239; Resident graduates and students, 166; Horse Doctors, 25; Dentists, 28; Natural Sciences, 22; Physicians, 271; Ministers, 20; Lawyers, 180. Number of students, 1,693; number of teachers, 179.

It may cause surprise that so few are recorded as special students of science. But a grand science school, the Institute of Technology, in Boston, gathers a thousand men who might otherwise come here. The thousand students in the college proper are all students of science; while they remember, too, that history is a science, and that literature, political economy, and ethics are sciences as well as arts. It is well understood here that a man of science may easily be a narrow-minded bigot and a thoroughly ignorant man. It is often said that one who is to become a specialist—to devote his life to one thing—needs, first of all, the broadest possible culture for a foundation, to save him from becoming narrow-minded and being left specially ignorant because of his specialty.

Harvard, we say, has passed her childhood; the worries of her teething are over, and she is fairly weaned. The ecclesiastical nurses so kind to her in her tender years have let her go at last—somewhat reluctantly. She knows, meanwhile, that she could not have passed her babyhood without their help, and her relations with them are sure to remain kindly. There is no talk here of the conflict of religion and science. Nobody here gives the name "religion" to that dead forest of theology whose dry limbs

are cracking and falling with every vigorous wind that stirs. And nobody has done more than the clergy to free old Harvard from certain false theories as to study which fettered her young feet quite as sorely as any false theology ever tied her hands.

Dr. Bellows sounded a trumpet-call for this scholarly advance when he spoke here, in 1853, of "The Ledger and the Lexicon." He showed that business educates men, and that the best college is only a preparatory school, fitting the boy to begin that larger education which lasts through life. That masterly oration might well be taken as a landmark from which to measure the gain in our ideas as to a college boy's training. Dr. Bellows knew right well that danger and difficulty are the two great educators. He knew that nothing else so sharpens the eye, quickens the conscience, trains the judgment, steadies and strengthens the will, as does the taking of risks while bearing responsibility. And he held our manufacturers and our merchant princes to be the best educated men in America. Such a view was a novelty in Cambridge. It might well be thought to cast contempt on scholarship. It made men open their eyes very wide. But that was just what the orator wanted. He knew that the dust of old lexicons had made many eyes feeble and timid. He meant all that he said, and he hoped that those peeping, squinting eyes should be opened so wide that Boston men could see at least as far west as the Hudson River, if they could not see also our people's great need of practical training, in that wilderness beyond the Mississippi. Nothing is truly beautiful, he said, which is not also useful. Virtue does not lose its beauty, "like a Chinese lady's foot," when it is made useful as well as beautiful. Utility is a vulgar word only when used in a vulgar way.

Old Harvard's life has never lost the vigorous impulse given by Dr. Bellows's grand words. The West has become the teacher of the East. Charles Francis Adams, as President of the Union Pacific Railway, learns more there than he ever learned in college here. It is he who says to-day more loudly than anybody else, "A live language is as good as a dead one, if not a good deal better; and you shall not compel our boys to study Greek unless they wish to study Greek."

Yet the most important thing is not what we study, but how. Greek can be studied here with admirable facilities; so can all the languages and all the sciences, and the best of it all is that good as are the helps and high as are the standards, nobody has such a conceited estimate of them as not earnestly to strive to make them better. Knowledge is here thoroughly humble over its own ignorance; it knows enough to know its own limitations. The college life is so vigorous as to spend nearly a million dollars

a year, and still feel wretchedly pinched in every department by poverty. And the mental life is so vigorous that scholars feel, all the time, mortally ashamed of doing so little.

Men here know that a comfortably padded professor's chair makes much too soft a seat for a man. Its embrace is fatal. It makes a soft head and a lazy heart, if a teacher may loaf away his life therein in elegant leisure. Old Harvard knew something of that; it is now largely a thing of the past. The examination of a teacher here is now quite as sharp as that of a student. He is asked every year as to what he is doing. Is he growing? Is he learning? Is he producing anything? If not, "Why cumbereth it the ground?"

In 1881 a list was printed of the publications of Harvard University and its officers for the ten years, 1870-1880. Last year a similar list saw the light, giving the publications of the five years, 1881-1885. Books, pamphlets, magazine articles, contributions to newspapers, anything that shows mental life—you find them all in this record. For five years the rate of production was not low when, in that time, these publications number nearly 1,800. Of these about 500 treat literary topics, while over 1,200 deal with questions of science.

When the teachers work thus, the scholars are not idle. Life works by certain divine contagion. Facilities, opportunities, rules, standards, traditions—all are good; but life itself is better, and a working faculty will make a working school. That is the central fact of student life at Harvard; this is a working school. Space forbids any attempt to show here the courses of study, or to insert examination papers fitted to show what advanced students are expected to do. The chief fact is that the standards are all the time advancing, while methods are improved and facilities are increased. The library statistics form one index to show student work. Here are over 300,000 volumes and a third as many pamphlets which are here for use. They are not kept like the old lady's umbrella, which she boasted she had had for twenty-seven years, "and it's never been wet yet." Some libraries are kept like that. But here they wish to see books worn out, so far as honest use will wear them. New atlases, dictionaries, encyclopedias, speedily grow ragged, and the bookbinder has a tremendous bill every month.

A new help to student-work is for a professor to gather out of the whole library such books (no matter how many) as he wishes his classes especially to study. These are put in an alcove under his name; his pupils have access to them all day, and take them over-night, returning them next morning.

This plan is new, but it grows in favor. In 1880, thirty-five teachers thus reserved 3,330 books. In 1886, fifty-six teachers reserved 5,840. All books lent out numbered, in 1880, 41,986; in 1886, 60,195. This rate of increase greatly outruns that of the number of students. It speaks of an increasing industry and productiveness. And the best thing about the intellectual life here is that it is hopeful and not timid—it looks forward.

Near Memorial Hall was recently set a charming statue of John Harvard. The young clergyman sits in his chair, his pulpit robe thrown around him, his book open on his knee, his thin face and tranquil, hopeful eyes turned toward the western sky. He is thinking of the days that are to be. He hears nothing of the vigorous tide of life now flowing round his chair. He knows nothing of past success or present attainment. His face shows no trace either of self-distrust or of self-satisfaction. But the quiet unconsciousness with which his trustful hope looks toward the west is something good to see, and is typical of the college life to-day.

Henry C. Butler.

THE TREADMILL IN AMERICA

IT HAD NO EXISTENCE ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

In his *History of the People of the United States*, Professor McMaster depicts in dark colors the judicial and penal system existing among us one hundred years ago, as in strong contrast with the milder and humaner features of society at the present day. It is fortunate for him that he will close his fifth volume with 1860, or with the beginning of the late civil war, and will not have to tarnish his pages and falsify his deduction by a recital of the unparalleled cruelties of Andersonville, Belle Isle, and Libby Prison, or of the penitentiary convict system of Georgia, compared with which "Newgate in Connecticut" was a comfortable home or an "industrial school."

As an extreme symbol of the times he says, with great emphasis, "*the treadmill was always going*" (Vol. I., p. 100). To illustrate the nature of this machine in use, he says that "to turn the crank of a spinning-frame by hand was worse than a treadmill"—a frank admission in favor of the latter (Vol. II., p. 164).

The unsophisticated reader may well inquire what this instrument is, and whether it was then or is now in use as a means of punishment and reformatory discipline. He has seen the inclined-plane machine for sawing wood, threshing grain, and moving ferry-boats by horse-power; and in the dairy regions a sheep or a dog on the wheel for hours, churning the milk for butter; but sees not where the moral element comes in. The dog, however, at every recurring period of work, is painfully and almost humanly conscious, and reluctant to begin his task. The principle was very early applied in this country and brought from Europe. The first patroon, Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, in 1646, built a corn-mill, moved by two horses, for five hundred florins, with Peter Cornelisz, on equal terms, and others are mentioned at the same time.* "It is also shown in a clever woodcut of a corn-mill worked in the same way, in the *Theatrum Mach. Novum*, by A. G. Boekler, Nuremberg, 1662, fol., and other cuts of mills worked by treading inside the periphery of a wheel, as a kitchen spit was formerly turned by a dog, as a squirrel in his cage."† It seems to be an industrial machine only. The reader is left without note or comment, and, as in many other in-

* *Munsell's Albany*, Vol. I., p. 35.

† *Notes and Queries*, Ap. 25, 1857, p. 336.

stances, with no reference; and he sets out to discover this nondescript emblem of the cruelty of the people of 1783. He examines the contemporaneous and succeeding authorities, as to the customs of society in this department. The name is not found in any vocabulary of the latter part of the last century, or the first part of this. He finds, under "Treadmill," in *Webster's Unabridged*, a figure of the machine, but the mechanism and the human power working it suggest the doubt if, with all the evidence to the contrary in the accompanying pages as to the state of the arts, the *idea* of using it as a punitive machine could have existed in this country a hundred years ago. He inquires among jurists, and an eminent chief-justice in this city relates that his father took him, a lad of eight years, in 1823, to see a treadmill in one of the city prisons, and he describes its operation. The writer recalls a description of the same by his father, a country merchant in the interior of this state, on returning from the city after seeing it in operation, and bringing a print of it. Dr. E. E. Wines says: "The treadmill *has* no place in the prisons of the United States." * Every one knows this was true when he wrote, and it was superfluous to mention it, as its memory has faded and its name nearly vanished for half a century. If Dr. Wines means that it was *never* in use here, there is no question that he is wrong. Mr. C. L. Brace incorrectly states that "as far back as in 1822, the punishment of the treadmill had been *given up* in New York state as barbarous." † Mr. Michael Cassidy, warden of the penitentiary in Philadelphia, writes, May 3, 1884: "In reply to your inquiries I will state that there never was, in the history of this institution, a treadmill or anything that could be mistaken for one."

Mr. Gideon Haynes, ex-warden of Old State Prison, Charlestown, Massachusetts, writes, May 2, 1884: "In 1822 an effort was made to introduce the treadmill into the prison. The warden was directed to obtain information from New York in regard to it. The power was applied to the grinding of corn, but it having been ascertained that the men upon an average could not grind over one bushel per day (per man), the project was deemed too expensive, and was dropped. It has never been used in this state."

The *New York Gazette*, Wednesday, January 8, 1823, records that "In the Senate of Massachusetts, on Tuesday last, Mr. Rotch moved for a committee to obtain a model of the stepping or treading mill now in operation, as at present in use in the city of New York. Colonel Perkins was the committee." The idea was thus fully before the people of Massachusetts

* *State Prisons in the United States*.

† *The First Century of the Republic*. 1876. Art. "Humanitarian Progress," p. 462.

in 1822-'23, and was discarded. Mr. J. E. Chamberlain, warden of the Connecticut State Prison, writes, March 26, 1886: "We have no record of there being a treadmill in the old prison in Simsbury, the Connecticut Newgate. The history of that prison makes no mention of such an instrument of torture." In Connecticut, however, the machine was adopted. At Newgate "a building for a treadmill was erected about the year 1824, for the purpose of grinding corn for the prisoners. Of all labor required of the prisoners, the treadmill was the worst."* An article on "Newgate Prison," in the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. XV., p. 334, says: "*The old treadmill is silent!*" though still remaining there.

The use of this ceased, doubtless, on or before the removal to the new state prison at Wethersfield, in 1827, as we find no further mention of it. From the uniform trend of these notices to New York, search was made in several histories of the city, with no satisfactory result. On visiting Bellevue, to get information of Warden O'Rourke, he politely directed me, through an attendant, to a respectable inmate, "who, if any one, could serve me." His memory did not reach back to 1783, but only to 1822-'24, and his intelligence aided me greatly, as he informed me of a book called *The History of the Treadmill*, by James Hardie, the gate-keeper, New York, 1824. On inquiry at several libraries the book was found to be rare, and finally, in that invaluable repository of local history, The New York Historical Society Library, the treasure, a small, thin quarto, was produced. The history was quite complete as to the men who benevolently instituted it, hoping thereby to ameliorate the condition of a certain class of mild criminality and to recover them to virtue, as well as to the diminution of the cost of the corrective process, as to the temporary success of the scheme, through the fear of recommitment, and, finally, as to its abandonment from the conviction that the punishment was too severe, even cruel.

Having located the treadmill and found it a modern machine for punishment, inquiry was made as to its origin. A writer in *Notes and Queries*—quoting from Chesterton's *Revelations of Prison Life*—gives the following narration: The inventor was an engineer, Mr. (and Sir) William Cubitt, of Ipswich, England. "All who may be acquainted with the county jail of Suffolk at Bury St. Edmunds, or, rather, such as it was twenty years and upwards ago, must be aware of the unsightly feature then exhibited (after passing through the main entrance) of mere open iron fences, separating yards occupied by prisoners from the passage trod by incoming visitors. The inmates were seen lounging idly about in surly groups. A

* Phelps, R. H. *A History of Newgate at Connecticut*, p. 90.

magistrate, meeting Mr. Cubitt in this passage, said: 'I wish to God, Mr. Cubitt, you would suggest to us some mode of employing these fellows. Could not something like a wheel become available?' An instantaneous idea flashed through the mind of Mr. Cubitt, who whispered to himself, 'The wheel elongated;' and merely saying to his interrogator, 'Something has struck me which may prove worthy of further investigation, and perhaps you may hear from me on the subject,' took his leave. After-reflection enabled Mr. Cubitt to fashion all the mechanical requirements into a practical form, and by such a casual incident did the treadmill start into existence in 1817 or 1818, and soon came into general adoption in the prisons of the country as a type of hard labor."* According to the "Fifth Report of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline" in Great Britain it was in use in forty-four places, and recommitments were reduced one-half.

Something very like this was seen at Spandau, nine miles west of Berlin, Prussia, in a prison, April 11, 1828, by Dr. Charles Hodge of Princeton, New Jersey, who says: "Those condemned to hard labor turn the great wheel which sets the machinery in motion for the manufacture of cotton and wool."† We next inquire when and how it was introduced into America. Those well-known philanthropic "Friends," Isaac Collins and Stephen Grellet, recommended its adoption to Mayor Stephen Allen of New York, who reported in favor of its adoption, February 11, 1822. The common council authorized its construction at Bellevue. Friend Thomas Eddy made the plans, and on the 5th of August the mayor reported that "one wheel was completed,"‡ and on the 28th of October, "that the building and machinery had been completed on the 7th of September; and on the 23d of September it was in full operation."

The house was of stone, sixty by thirty feet, two stories and a garret. Each story was divided by a strong wall into two rooms. There were four wheels, two below, where the men were, and two above, for women, next the penitentiary. In the other side, below, were the bolting-machine and other conveniences for receiving the flour or meal; and above, over this, were the mill-stones, hopper, and screen, and the granary in the garret. The shaft and wheel were of iron; the steps of boards seven and one-half inches high and twenty-four feet long; the wheel of the same length and fifteen and one-half feet round. Eight to sixteen prisoners were on the machine at once, who passed on these endless stairs from left to right eight

* *N. & Q.*, III., pp. 236, 290, 439.—2d Series, S. N. 67. Apr. 11, 1857.

† *Life of Dr. C. Hodge*, p. 183.

‡ *Minutes Com. Council*, Vol. XLVI.

minutes on and four off, and twenty minutes rest in an hour. Forty to fifty bushels of corn and rye, for the almshouse, penitentiary, and bridewell, were ground daily.

The advantages of the machine were: 1. No time was required to learn the working of it. 2. Prisoners cannot shirk their work, for all must work in proportion to their weight. 3. Instead of water, steam, or wind, animal power is used. 4. Punishment is constant and suffering severe; its monotonous steadiness constitutes its terror, and breaks down the obstinate criminal spirit. Before, there were fifteen or twenty vagrants every morning at the police; some sent to the penitentiary, and again and again recommitted; since, the magistrate says: "In the short time it has been in full operation and generally known, it has saved the annual committal of thousands of vagrants." The cost of grinding the grain previously averaged \$1,900 annually—now free of cost. The cost of the mill was \$3,050.09—the appropriation \$3,000. The previous cost of working the convicts, out of the prison, was \$7,000 annually.

Here, then, was a perfect machine, a triumph of the material over the spiritual, which promised great satisfaction to the promoters of the experiment. The same advantageous results had been observed in England, and it was heralded widely as a great advance in that most difficult problem of society, "prison discipline." Information was sought so earnestly that "the mayor, January 20, 1823, requests leave to print one hundred copies of the plan and discipline of the stepping-mill, for giving away, on numerous applications."* Time and experience developed some results that excited anxiety in some minds whether all was right. The benevolent Thomas Eddy studied carefully the operation of his device, and, in 1823, wrote to the mayor "about the present *defects* in the mode of employing convicts on the treadmill and the adequate remedy." As might be expected, uneasiness had also arisen in England, and serious objections to it are found in their prison reports of 1823. In 1824 J. M. Goff, in England, wrote a pamphlet "On the Mischiefs Incident to the Tread Wheel." All these were ominous. The novelty of the machine and the wide circulation of representations of it in full operation greatly stimulated the curiosity of the public, and though the Bellevue † of that day was far away, the scene attracted many visitors. "Mr. A. Burtis, the superintendent of the treadmill, reported on the great number of visitors, which was referred to the police committee." This committee reported, August 30, "that no person be allowed to visit the treadmill without permission of the mayor, the

* *Min. Com. Council*, Vol. XLVII., p. 92.

† At the foot of East 26th Street, as now.

recorder, or the commissioners of the almshouse," and, "September 27, 1824, permits were ordered printed in blank."

This was not an imaginary evil—a mere inconvenience to the keepers. It had become a great nuisance to them and to the prisoners, who still had some rights, and, if not entirely stopped, it needed to be regulated, for the visiting had become a public amusement. "The average number daily was five hundred, and in the last Easter and Whitsunday week there were over one thousand daily." * It was not true, as Holmes wrote in his "Treadmill Song,"

"They've built us up a noble wall
To keep the vulgar out,"

but the reverse. Time went on, and the *defects* referred to by Friend Eddy and others did not disappear—they became chronic; they were inherent, and that by an unchangeable law of the Creator when he made man, and became too serious to be ignored by the municipal authorities. In the Common Council, October 30, 1826, "Mr. Van Wyck presented a resolution—the Police Commissioners to inquire and report concerning the discontinuing the use of the treadmill in certain cases, and till a report is made, *no female to be placed on the treadmill under any pretense whatever.*" †

Whether Mr. Van Wyck was more intelligent or courageous or humane than his associates, or not, his resolution indicates his belief in *un fait accompli*, and while offering to the commissioners an official tribute and time for deliberate action, he secured his object at once—*absolute, immediate prohibition*, and he should ever be held in grateful remembrance.

"The treadmill was in operation from the 23d of September, 1822, till November, 1824, when it was necessarily suspended in consequence of many being sick of a malignant disease called the typhus, or jail, fever, which had raged among the prisoners, and to which numbers of them fell victims, as also Dr. Wm. L. Belden and three of the keepers." ‡

How long it survived after the motion of Mr. Van Wyck no record has been found. Failing to realize the expectations of its early advocates and of the public, it probably went into disuse, "unhonored and unsung," and it was so buried and forgotten that for nearly half a century it has been rarely mentioned, and would have remained so but for this recent resuscitation by Professor McMaster. It may safely be assumed that Dr. Holmes and Professor McMaster never saw a treadmill in America. The former entered Harvard College in 1825, and graduated in 1829, and

* Hardie, p. 37.

† *Min. Com. Council*, Vol. LIX., p. 15.

‡ Hardie's *Picture of New York*, p. 192.

during the next seven years was studying law and medicine and writing poetry. The treadmill had not been adopted in Massachusetts, and the doctor may not have visited his Dutch relatives in New York, the Wendells. The stories of the time rather amused him than awakened his sympathy. With unsparing pen he impaled his weakest victim with :

“ Wake up, wake up, my *duck-legged* man,
And stir your solid pegs,”

and the illusions of the rollicking fellows were thus set forth by one of them :

“ If ever they shall turn me out,
When I have better grown,
Now, hang me, but I mean to have
A treadmill of my own !

“ Hark ! fellows, there's the supper bell !
And now our *work* is done ;
It's pretty sport, suppose we take
A round or two for fun.”

If the poet, with the generous sympathies of his later life, could have witnessed the suffering of the representatives of “ that sisterhood for which he is ever ready to enter the lists ” with glove and lance, his clarion words would have been heard, and instead of that soulless “ Treadmill Song ” he would have given a stirring idyl, like Hood's “ Song of the Shirt,” which would have secured a permanent place in literature.

Professor McMaster had not then begun to observe the course of human affairs, and was obviously unacquainted with Holmes's song. To him the tradition of the treadmill comes down the ages, with the accumulated force of a century, an emblem of the barbarism of the people of 1783 ; but with an anachronism of more than a third of a century—which in history is inexcusable. A historian runs serious risk when he seizes upon a transient experiment in an unknown science, in the *present century*, and charges it over to the discredit of the *previous century*. The premises and the conclusions are alike unfortunate and misleading. It has been well said by a distinguished historical writer that “ in determining what kind of men our fathers were we are to compare their laws, not with ours, but with the laws they renounced ” (*Dr. Leonard Bacon*). The same is true of their manners and customs and their religious life.

Oliver F. Hubbard

NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER, 1887.

MINOR TOPICS

THE PROTOTYPE OF "LEATHER-STOCKING"

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

From the discussion *pro* and *con*, in late numbers of your magazine, regarding the identity of a prominent character in one of Mr. Fenimore Cooper's novels, I am reminded of another competitor, not, however, representing the same personage referred to, as portrayed in the *Spy*. Probably a more original pattern of a sort of man once to be found outside the borders of the settlements, within the dense shadows of an American wilderness, but scarce elsewhere, was the type of the genuine, natural, and famous *Leather-stocking*. Mr. Cooper, with even his masterly talents, could not have written his "Leather-stocking Tales" in the city of London or Paris or New York, without his personal experience gained in a residence on the frontier at an early period, by the groves of Cooperstown, it is likely, or

"Where the wild Oswego spreads her forests round."

In Europe may be found hermits perhaps, as well as bandits, but no *Leather-stockings*. While Mr. Cooper claimed that "rigid adhesion to truth, an indispensable requisite in history and travels, destroys the charm of fiction," he yet allowed that "there was a constant temptation to delineate that which he had known, rather than that which he might have imagined."

I think so ; and if several years' sojourn at Oswego, on Lake Ontario, by Mr. Cooper, in the early part of the present century, gained for him impressions of frontier life, he of necessity could scarce fail to picture them to some extent in his stories relating to lake and land. More than fifty years ago it was told to the writer of this paper (when he went to Oswego to live) that not a few things in Mr. Cooper's tales were apparently borrowed from facts familiar to the old residents there.

So, the captain of the *Scud*, whose name in the *Pathfinder* was "Jasper Eau Douce," was a character quite confidently believed to have been in a manner drawn from the name and skill of a Lake Ontario skipper, then also residing at the port and hamlet (at the same time as Mr. Cooper, in 1809), whose name was William Eadus. This Captain William Eadus was born, I think, in 1771, but where I have not learned. He was early on the lakes, and officiated as master certainly as far back as 1797, when he was employed by the government to transport a company of United States soldiers from Oswego to Fort Niagara. For that purpose he chartered a Canadian craft, there being no vessel owned at that time on the American side of Lake Ontario. The voyage proved to be a

rather rough one, for, after nearly reaching Niagara, the vessel was driven back and obliged to seek shelter in Kingston harbor. Afterward he had command of the schooner *Fair American*, one of the earliest American-built craft on the lake. He subsequently owned and sailed the schooner *Island Packet*, which was captured by the British, I think at Brockville, Canada, and burned, June, 1812. In spring of 1813 Captain Eadus commanded the schooner *Mary*, yet I believe he retired from the lake not long after the close of the war with Britain. He resided at Sodus after about 1811, when his house was burnt in a raid of the enemy upon the village in the summer of 1813. He was living in 1847, at the age of seventy-six.

It was also believed and told that *Leather-stocking* of the book had his counterpart in a well-known and successful woodsman and trapper of the region, whose name was Vickory. Yet he was not the individual, nor were the forests of Oswego the locality, which I set out to present: but the man to be named is, as I suppose, an almost unheard-of representative, and the locality, according to the evidence, was that in the vicinity of Mr. Cooper's earlier home of Cooperstown.

From the "Annals of Hoosick," by Hon. L. Chandler Ball, written some years since, and printed in the columns of a weekly newspaper, I give in substance briefly the chapter detailing the facts regarding the chief original, as believed, of *Leather-stocking*. Nathaniel Shipman, in one of the years between the close of the French War and the American Revolution, came with his family, but from whence is not known, and built his cabin on the bank of the Walloomsack, in the northeastern part of the town of Hoosick, New York, not far from the fields which a few years later were made historic by the battle of Bennington, so-called, which occurred in the present town of Hoosick.

Mr. Shipman could be called singular and retiring, talked little of himself, and so it is not learned who were his parents, nor where nor when he was born. But he was known and may be called distinguished as a hunter and trapper, and his days were mostly passed along the mountain streams which fed the Walloomsack, or in the thick woods which covered a great part of the region about. Mr. Shipman was a friend and associate of the few Indians who were still to be seen in the neighborhood, though but a handful, so to speak, of the once numerous and powerful Mohicans. This friendship had existed from the time they fought together against the French. It is told also that Mr. Shipman had a strong attachment for an officer of the British forces, which friendship also began during the war named. Possibly the fond regard for the officer may have influenced Mr. Shipman's sentiments relating to the great question then being asked and fought to decide, whether freedom or the monarch over the sea should be master. At any rate, the trapper chose to remain neutral, whereupon some of his impetuous neighbors called him a Tory, and not that merely, but, with the rougher treatment, he was given a coat of tar and feathers. It is not surprising, after such impolite behavior toward an inoffensive trapper, as we suppose, that Mr. Shipman disap-

peared altogether, and nothing could be found or heard of him, though the woods were extensively searched. As the years passed by with no tidings, he was classed as one among the dead.

A daughter of Mr. Shipman had married Mr. John Ryan, a native of Dutchess County, New York, a man of good natural abilities and some education, who, while yet quite a young man, had been appointed land agent for the heirs of Jacobus Van Cortlandt of New York, one of the original proprietors of "Hoseck Patent," and the duties attending said office led to his settlement in the township. Mr. Ryan, when in Albany, probably while member of the Assembly, which position he held in 1803 and several years succeeding, became acquainted with Judge Cooper of Otsego County, who told him of his experience in opening and settling his large land estate there. Among other things, he spoke of an old white man that, in company with an Indian, lived in a hut or cave on the border of Otsego Lake, and who subsisted by hunting and fishing. The white man was represented as a famous hunter and a warrior in the old French War when the states were colonies, a man of simple manners and eccentric habits, and, like his Indian companion, a true son of the forest. These statements of Judge Cooper were talked of on Mr. Ryan's return to his home, and Mrs. Ryan was strongly impressed to believe that the white hunter was none other than her long-absent father. To satisfy the newly awakened interest, a journey to Cooperstown was taken by Mr. Ryan, and, reaching the cabin of the hunter, he found confirmation of Mrs. Ryan's hopeful suggestion. Earnestly persuaded by Mr. Ryan, the old man consented to return with his son-in-law to his home, where he was comfortably provided for. Once, however, his long and strong habit forced him again to take to the woods; but he was aged, and therefore unfit for the seclusion to which his ruling passion led him. After much search he was found, at beginning of a winter, on the east side of the Green Mountains, occupying a cave, well supplied, however, with bears' meat and the flesh of other animals. He refused to return to his friends then, but promised to visit them in the spring, which he did, and continued to live in Mr. Ryan's family until his death, about 1809.

It is urged that it was natural that Mr. Shipman, after the harsh treatment referred to, should retire with his Indian friend to the vicinity of Otsego Lake. Though a few of the Mohican Indians remained in Hoosick and Schaghticoke, the greater number were at the forks of the Susquehanna and among the hills of Otsego. Some other particulars may be named to confirm Mr. Shipman's identity with *Leather-stocking*. The name of Mr. Shipman's favorite dog was "Hector," so was that of *Leather-stocking*. Shipman's rifle had a barrel of uncommon length; such also was a characteristic of that of *Leather-stocking*.

Mr. Azariah Eddy, of Hoosick, being in the city of New York, was shown by a friend a copy of the *Pioneers*, then recently published, which it was understood had been received from the author. In the volume, upon one of the fly-leaves, were the names of several prominent characters in the book, with names op-

posite, understood to have been the original persons from whom said characters were more or less copied. Against the name of "Leather-stocking" was that of Nathaniel Shipman. Whether the owner of the book was formerly from Otsego, and was the one who penciled the names on the fly-leaf, or if it was some other, we are not advised. Mr. Eddy, finding the volume an interesting one, and having some knowledge of Mr. Shipman, bought a copy to show to his friends in the country. Reading to Mr and Mrs. Ryan parts of the volume of sayings by *Leather-stocking*, he was frequently interrupted by the exclamation, "That was Father Shipman!"

Mr. Ball said his article, of which the above is a summary, was principally from statements by Dr. Benjamin Walworth, brother of the late Chancellor Walworth, of Fredonia, New York, who had known Mr. Shipman, and from Mr. Eddy, who had been employed by Mr. Ryan to file his numerous letters and papers, and who learned from him much regarding Mr. Shipman's life; Mr. Eddy was also executor of Mr. Ryan's estate after his death, in 1827.

The undersigned, the writer of this communication, who passed much of his boyhood and youth in the village of Hoosick Falls, well remembers Dr. Benjamin Walworth before he removed to Chautauqua County more than sixty-five years ago. I recall him to mind as an agreeable gentleman whose professional services were sometimes availed of at my father's. Captain Azariah Eddy was a merchant in the village, and I was a clerk in his store in 1830; he was an active, prompt, and reliable business man, who sustained the name of a good citizen and man of integrity. He is in his eighty-sixth year, in tolerable health, excepting partial blindness, and now resides with a daughter in Chicago. Hon. John Ryan is fresh in my recollection as a plain, sensible, old gentleman, of good reputation among his neighbors; he was buried by the side of his three wives, in the graveyard at the rear of the old meeting-house of the village. In that graveyard also were deposited the remains of the old hunter, Nathaniel Shipman.

HENRY H. HURLBUT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

BABY GRACE

THE CHRISTMAS SUMMONS

She was five, this tiny maiden, and her name was Baby Grace,
But you'd never thought her half as old, judging by her face,
As she stood fanning her mamma, on that night in cold December—
Last Christmas night, which well-housed children all so well remember.

It was in a dismal attic, and her dear mamma was dying,
While Grace with childish prattle to cheer her had been trying;
"It will be so nice up there, where God and angels live," she said,
"And you will wear a clean white frock, and a gold thing on your head."

" Oh, send for me to come, mamma, so quickly as ever was !
'Cause Heaven's full of toy-shops, built by good old Santa Claus,
With lots of dolls of every kind—I've wanted one all day ;
Please, won't you dress a few for me, while I am on the way ?

" But why are you so still, mamma ? Shall I fan you any more ?
It chills me so, I guess the wind is coming through the door !
Oh, speak to me, mamma !"—Alas ! the soul its flight had taken,
Baby Grace was all alone ; her mamma would never waken.

" Oh, deary me, I've fanned her froze ! I'll run and bring some fire,
They have it in the mission school where I went with Mamie Dyer."
And the little maiden started, and the creaking stairs ran down,
And out into the snow-storm to the centre of the town.

The stars were shut behind the clouds, yet she knew the way to go,
And she found the mission chapel in the midst of drifts of snow ;
She saw a Christmas-tree, through the windows with light ablaze,
And she heard the children singing their Christmas hymns of praise.

" It must be Heaven itself come down to take my mamma dear,
I am so tired and cold, good Jesus, please do not leave me here ;
I want to go with mamma," she cried in a plaintive tone,
" Where there are Christmas-trees, and playthings, and where warm fires burn."

Ah ! the steps with ice were covered, and freezing her every limb,
And the fierce blast numbed her senses, and her sight grew strangely dim,
She struggled hard to reach the door, but backward slipping, fell,
Moaning feebly, " Please, may I go with mamma, where the angels dwell ?"

The Christmas service ended, and a troop of girls and boys
Came rushing from the chapel, happy, with books and toys,
To find a pale, fair child, half clad, and frozen by the gate :
Sweet Baby Grace, for her mamma's summons, had not long to wait.

MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB, in *The Christmas Basket*.

CHRISTMAS

Splendors on splendors rise,
Until the broad-domed skies
 Are all aglow.
Light leaps from east to west,
Where the huge arches nest,
One bright, all-glorious guest,
 Above, below.

Throughout the vast profound
Great peals of joy resound,
 And love supreme ;
Such music as our earth
Ne'er, in all time, gave birth—
Surpassing far, in worth,
 Man's richest theme.

Now floods of glory fall—
A wondrous spell on all,
 For Christ is born.
In song of rapturous praise
The angels, in amaze,
Welcome this best of days,
 This matchless morn.

Wide space cannot contain,
Nor sounds express the strain,
 So vast, so grand.
God gives to man his Son,
Makes heaven and earth as one ;
For the long strife is done
 At Love's command.

Thrills through the ages dim,
This song that tells of Him,
 And ever will,
While time and space abide ;
Our Christ and his fair bride,
The church for whom he died,
 And liveth still.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Letter concerning Aaron Burr, from Hon. Jeremiah Nelson to Dr. Cutler.

Mr. Nelson succeeded Dr. Cutler as a Member of Congress in 1804.

[Contributed by Mr. E. C. Dawes, Cincinnati, Ohio.]

Washington 18. Feb. 1807.

Dear Sir,

Letters are here received from Natchez, Mississippi Territory, informing that Col. Burr arrived there on the 18th Jan^y, having previously and when on the opposite side of the river agreed by written Articles of stipulation, with Mr. Mead acting Governor of said Territory to submit himself to the Civil Authority.—Burr states that he contemplated no project hostile to the interests of his Country, appears to be indignant at measures adopted by Gen^l Wilkinson, of whose guilt he says he has unquestionable evidence, and in case of any accident happening to him (Burr) he says, Proofs to damn Wilkinson, will be found in his Port Folio now in possession of his Daughter in South Carolina. He says the letter which Gen^l Wilkinson pretends to have had from him was written by the Marquis De Cara Yrugo, between whom and W.—an intrigue has been carrying on.

It is stated that Burr had nothing with him resembling a military force. Information is also received from New Orleans, stating that Gen^l Adair arrived there on the 14th Jan^y—attended by his servant, that Gen^l Wilkinson ordered the drums to beat, called out the militia, and sent a Colonel with 100 men to arrest Adair, who is said to be on his way to this city under a military escort. A Mr. Wortman, Judge of the Court at New Orleans, is also arrested and some others. The Judge adjourned the Court without day, declaring that the Military had put down the Civil Authority in that District.

From the accounts from both the above named places it would seem that all was confusion there; and by the information contained in several letters, it appears that the current of public opinion, in both places, was setting strongly against Gen^l Wilkinson, and that there appeared a greater desire to find him guilty than any other man.

The House of Representatives have been for the two last days engaged in the consideration of a Resolution submitted by Mr. Broom, for making inquiry into the necessity of making further provision by law for securing the Writ of habeas Corpus to persons in custody, under, or by color, of the Authority of the U. States. This subject is still unfinished, and no business of consequence will, I presume, be taken up untill a decision has been had upon the subject mentioned.

I am Sir, respectfully

your mo. Obb Ser.

Jere. Nelson

P. S. Dispatches from our Minister at Paris have not yet been received.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—
At the stated meeting, October 4, the librarian reported numerous additions to the collections. George S. Conover, of Geneva, New York, and Gouverneur Tillotson, of this city, were elected members. The Rev. Dr. Robert Collyer read a valuable and delightful paper on "The Fairfaxes of England and America." He narrated the rise of that once powerful family, and its influence upon the political fortunes of England during the most eventful period of that country's annals, introducing many new and valuable facts, charming legends, and gossip anecdotes, derived by him in his own birthplace and home of his boyhood, near the principal seat of the family, in Yorkshire. The romantic career and peculiar character of the hospitable lord of Greenway Court were admirably depicted, and the subsequent history of the family in America was brought down to that of the present baron and representative of the family, Dr. Fairfax, of Baltimore.

At the November meeting, Mrs. Blanche L. Andrews, Richard H. Benson, Robert Benson, J. Edgar Leaycraft, William B. Ogden, Theodore M. Banta, Maurice Sternbach, and James Wilkinson were constituted members. Many donations were reported, including an important addition, made by John W. Taylor, Esq., of Minnesota, to the society's collection of manuscript materials for the history of our nation, consisting of the papers of his father, the late Hon. John W. Taylor, M. C. 1813-23, and speaker of the United States

House of Representatives during the stirring period of the Missouri Compromise. Mrs. Sarah R. Osgood, of Flushing, New York, presented an admirable portrait of the Hon. Mrs. Norton, of England, painted from life in 1839, by the husband of the donor, the late Samuel S. Osgood, of this city. The paper of the evening, on "Charles Brockden Brown: Novelist and Man of Letters," was contributed by Edward I. Stevenson, who demonstrated in a very careful and able analysis the power and literary merit contained in the principal works of that morbid but original genius, whose novels were about the first, historically, of imaginative prose writings in America, worthy of the name. The eighty-third anniversary of the society was celebrated in its hall, November 15, and an able address on "The Framing of the Federal Constitution," delivered by the president of the society, Hon. John A. King.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—
The autumn and winter season of this society was auspiciously opened on the evening of November 1, at the cabinet, President Gammell in the chair. The paper of the evening was by Professor F. B. Andrews, of Brown University, its subject, the "Federal Convention of 1787." The attendance was very large, and the scholarly and exhaustive production commanded intense interest. At the close of the reading, words of approval of the paper and interesting remarks suggested by it were made by President Gammell, and Isaac H. Southwick, Jr., and Stephen H. Arnold, Esq.

AN OLD CLOCK—T. B. Winter, 53 Anderson street, Boston, has a clock with "E. Taber" on the dial. Where and when was this clock made. Mr. Winter has had this clock more than sixty years.

A. A. FOLSOM

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

OLIVER—Charles Oliver, of Albany and New York, was a merchant in 1699, sheriff, and lieutenant of the Governor's company, 1700. He married Margareta Schuyler, daughter of Arent Philipse

Schuyler, baptized September 27, 1685. He had issue—1, Elizabeth; 2, Robert, baptized December 7, 1707; George, and Jane. They are named in this order in the will of Charles Oliver, dated October 27, 1718, and probated New York city. His will also names his wife Margaret, and appoints his brother-in-law, Casparus Schuyler, executor. Can any one direct me to living descendants of either Robert or George Oliver?

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

WILKES BARRE, PA.

REPLIES

SCHOOL LANDS [xviii. 444]—The act was drawn up by a committee, was passed May 20, 1785, and is a long document, the burden of which was for surveying and selling land in the territory. These few words fully answer the queries; but it may be of interest to many to have a few more points.

The "geographer" (afterward called the surveyor-general) was to appoint surveyors, etc. I quote from the act: "The surveyors as they are respectively qualified, shall proceed to divide the said territory into townships of six miles square, by running lines due north and south, and others crossing these at right angles. . . . The first line running north and south, as aforesaid, shall begin on the Ohio river." . . . [*i. e.*, the west line of Pennsylvania.] "And the first line running east and west shall begin at the same point and extend throughout the whole territory."

A tier of townships north and south is called a "range." The first land surveyed under the act consisted of seven

ranges, running southward from the first east and west line; and, in Ohio, these are called the "old first seven ranges." Each township was divided into thirty-six sections, then called "lots." These were numbered, 1, 2, 3, etc., commencing at the southeast corner and running north to 6; then commencing again with 7 by the side of 1, etc. The method of numbering was subsequently changed in other surveys. I quote again from the act: "There shall be reserved the Lot No. 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools within the said township."

These SCHOOL LANDS were not set off at one time, nor in a single tract, as the question seems to imply.

R. W. MCFARLAND

MIAMI UNIVERSITY,

OXFORD, OHIO.

DANIEL WEBSTER [xviii. 443]—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: The sentiments, said by Mr. J. A. Stetson, Jr., to have been expressed by

Mr. Webster, when serenaded on the night of June 22, 1852—the day General Scott was nominated for the presidency—do not accord with his (Mr. Webster's) speech on that occasion as reported in the *National Intelligencer* the next morning. The following is his speech, entire, copied by me from that paper. Minus the interjections of the populace, it is word for word as it appears in Curtis's *Life of Webster*:

"You, my fellow-citizens, with many others, have been engaged in the performance of an arduous and protracted duty at Baltimore, in making a selection of a fit person for the office of President of the United States. [Cheers.] It so happened that my name was used before that assembly. The Convention, however, I dare say, did its best—exercised its wisest and soundest discretion; and for my part, I have no personal feelings in the matter. I remain the same in opinion, in principle, and in position that I have ever been. [Great cheering.]

Gentlemen, I will tell you one thing. You may be assured there is not one among you who will sleep better to-night than I shall. [Laughter and cheers.] I shall rise to-morrow morning with the lark; and though he is a better songster than I am, yet I shall greet the purple east as jocund, as gratified, and as satisfied as he. [Renewed and prolonged cheering.]

I tender you my thanks for this call of friendly regard. I wish you well—Beneath these brilliant stars, and in the enjoyment of this beautiful evening, I take my leave of you with hearty good-wishes for your health and happiness."

The report concludes: "Three cheers

were then given for Webster, as many more for Scott and Graham, and the crowd dispersed." HORATIO KING

WASHINGTON, D. C.

CITIZENSHIP AND SUFFRAGE [xviii. 294]—Dr. Schaff seems to have fallen into the popular error that Articles XIII., XIV., and XV., of the federal Constitution secures to all male citizens of the United States (of the age of twenty-one years and upward) the right of suffrage. This error is so generally entertained in Europe, and even by the educated classes, and so common among the masses of our own people, that one almost despairs of its correction. And yet the error is so palpable that one naturally wonders how it ever gained currency.

The 13th Constitutional Amendment abolishes slavery, the 14th defines citizenship, and the 15th secures impartial (*not* universal) suffrage. Article XIV. creates (and guarantees protection to) a citizenship of the United States, which is quite independent of state citizenship; but it does not clothe such citizen with the privilege of the ballot. That is still the prerogative of the state in which he resides. Nor is suffrage essential to "the rights and immunities" of citizenship. If it were, women and minors would have no rights and immunities of citizenship. The proposition laid down by Justice Curtis that "the enjoyment of the elective franchise is not essential to citizenship," has never been judicially set aside, or even questioned.

Nor does the second section of Article XIV. confer suffrage upon "all male citi-

zens of the United States twenty-one years of age." If it did, Rhode Island would need reconstruction! Each state is still competent, and exclusively competent, to fix the standard of suffrage within its own territorial limits. But if, in doing so, it should exclude from the privilege of the ballot any "male citizens of the United States twenty-one years of age," it would thereby lose a proportionate ratio of its representation in Congress. Georgia, for instance, may, like Rhode Island, adopt a standard of qualified suffrage, and thus legally disfranchise many United States citizens resident therein; but in so doing, Georgia would lose (not as a penalty but as a sequence) a portion of its numerical representation in the lower House of Congress and in the Electoral College.

Nor is this right of the individual states to fix the qualifications of voters taken away by the XVth article of the Constitution, which provides merely that the standard of suffrage shall be impartial. There must be no discriminations on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." No other restriction is imposed. Any one of the states may exclude both white and black vagrants from the privilege of the ballot;

but it can exclude neither merely *because* they are white or black.

WILLIAM L. SCRUGGS

ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

Erratum—On pp. 339-40 for "Governor" read "Judge."

THE FIRST REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH, BROOKLYN [xviii. 336]—May I be permitted to ask whether there is not a clerical error on page 338, in the rendering of the inscription on the Communion Cup given to the church in 1684? The word in the last line—"About-mæl"—should be *Avond-mæl*—evening meal—supper—the word used by the Church for the Ordinance. Your correspondent may be interested in learning that in the possession, to-day, of the North Dutch Church of Albany, in North Pearl Street, the well-known "two-steepled," there are two ancient "beakers," one of the date of 1664—a day which comes as precedent to the Great Fire of London, in King Charles's time. The other is also of the seventeenth century. The North Dutch is the only public edifice remaining in Albany built before 1800. It was dedicated in January, 1799.

SENTINEL

AURORA, NEW YORK.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

By a certain felicity in his nature, Ralph Waldo Emerson was a non-combatant ; indifferent to logic, he suppressed all the processes of his thinking, and announced its results in affirmations; and none of the asperities which commonly afflict the apostles of dissent ever ruffled the serene spirit of this universal dissenter. Edwin Percy Whipple says Emerson never could be seduced into controversy. When assailed in many ways, it only had "the effect of lighting up that queer, quizzical, inscrutable smile ; that amused surprise at the misconceptions of the people who attacked him, which is noticeable in all portraits and photographs of his somewhat enigmatical countenance."

It is said that the habits contracted by genius assist the action of the mind. Cicero tells us how his eloquence caught inspiration from constant study of the Latin and Grecian poetry. Pompey never undertook any considerable enterprise without concentrating his thoughts upon the character of Achilles in the first Iliad, although he acknowledged that the enthusiasm he caught came rather from the poet than the hero. Bossuet, before composing a funeral oration, always retired for several days to his study, and pored over the pages of Homer. Alfieri usually predisposed his mind before composing by listening to music. Leonardo da Vinci, while painting "Lisa," kept musicians constantly in waiting to play light harmonies, which inspired the ideas within his mind of

"Topsy dance and revelry."

Haydn would never sit down to compose except in full dress, with a diamond ring upon his finger, and he used the finest and costliest paper for his musical compositions. Rousseau confesses to the influence of rose-colored knots of ribbon tied to his portfolio, of fine paper, brilliant ink, and gold sand.

The faculty of memory is the foundation of genius. Few, comparatively, are acquainted with the fine machinery of the memory, which is as capable of being regulated and governed as the clock on the mantel. A celebrated writer, whose memory was treacherous, arranged a book with three hundred and sixty-five pages, to accommodate the days of the year, and resolved to recollect an anecdote for every page as insignificant and remote as he was able, rejecting all anecdotes under ten years of age; and to his surprise he filled every inch of space, although, until this experiment was tried, he had no conception of the extent of his faculty. Wolf, the German metaphysician, relates of himself that by the most persevering habit he resolved his algebraic problems in bed, and in darkness, and geometrically composed all his methods by the aid of imagination and memory. To register the transactions of the day, with observations upon them, is an exercise that soon drifts into a habit as profitable as it soon becomes easy. It was thus that Curwen educated himself in the art of thinking.

In his "One Hundred Days in Europe" Oliver Wendell Holmes says: "It is wonderful how people will lie about big trees. There must be as many as a dozen trees, each of which calls itself the 'largest elm in New England.' In my younger days, when I never traveled without a measuring tape in my pocket, it amused me to see how meek one of the great, swaggering elms would look when it saw the fatal measure begin to unreel itself. It seemed to me that the leaves actually trembled, as the inexorable band encircled the trunk in *the smallest place it could find*, which is the only safe rule. The English elm looks like a more robust tree than ours, yet they tell me it is very fragile, and that its limbs are constantly breaking off in high winds, just as it happens with our native elms. The English elm, as we see it on Boston Common (growing side by side with ours), comes out a little earlier, perhaps, than our own, but the difference is slight. Ours is not a very long-lived tree; between two and three hundred years is, I think, the longest life that can be hoped for it."

Concerning horse-chestnut trees, Mr. Holmes says: "I saw none in Europe equal to those I remember in Salem, and especially to one in Rockport; no willows like those I pass in my daily drives. On the other hand, I think I never looked upon a Lombardy poplar equal to the one I saw in Cambridge, England. No apple trees in England compare with one next my own door, and there are many others as fine in the neighborhood. Dandelions, buttercups, hawkweed, looked much as ours do at home. Wild roses also grew by the roadside—smaller, and paler, I thought, than ours."

A hint of the discouragements of the missionary in Central Africa lies in the most extraordinary impassivity and thoughtlessness on the part of the natives. Professor Drummond says: "They have no ambition, no desire for anything more or better than they have. They are perfectly content if so be, with little exertion, they find berries, yams, or millet, all of which are eaten cooked or uncooked, as circumstances favor. If cooked, fire is kindled by friction in rubbing together two sticks or blocks of wood. There is no system of storage, no forethought as regards the future. During a lifetime to have become possessed of four articles constitutes the end and aim of the African. The gruel-pot, mat, bow, and arrow constitute his worldly possessions, and these are buried with him—the string of the bow cut to indicate that its mission is forever accomplished." Arriving at a missionary station, Professor Drummond saw a house; the door was open; he entered, there were chairs, a table, books, everything in perfect order, neat and clean, but no voice responded to his call. He visited a shop; there was the forge, the anvil, the hammer, and near by a carpenter's tools and a bench; but the plane had long been idle; all was silent and deserted. He entered another cottage; there were benches and the appurtenances of a school. A little farther on through a garden he went, and there he found four graves—all there was left of the mission station. The natives found no interest in the houses, the blacksmith shop, the carpentry tools, the books, and they remained as the European missionary left them. He says: "One can never fully realize how little the animal man needs, until he sees in the infancy of the race the open grave, its occupants and the simple necessities to his existence. And one can never fully realize what man has and may become, until he compares the civilization and culture of Europe and America with the primitive animal of Central Africa."

Professor Drummond gave some graphic pictures of Central Africa, in his address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at its New York meeting in August of the present year. He was surprised at the utter lack of vegetable and animal life but a short remove from the water-courses. He says: "Not a tree, a shrub, or blade of grass relieves the glare of the sunlight upon the white and yellow sand. The unending silence becomes solemnly, weirdly impressive, especially at night, when one gazes upon a boundless sea of sand broken into billows by occasional rocks. Possibly at intervals, in the distance, may be heard the yelp of the hyena or the far-away roar of the lion, but the rustle of a leaf or the hum of an insect is an unknown sound. Inland trips were terrible. To move was pain and prostration, and yet to keep in motion was better than to halt. Sleep was impossible even under canvas. Over the plains the quivering heat rises in waves as from hot iron, while the mirage mocks the senses with life-like pictures of lakes and rippling waters. The journey was day after day through narrow, oven-hot valleys, over bald hill-tops, with here and there a grove or jungle scattered like islets amid the waste."

Professor Drummond related several amusing incidents in his experience. He had taken with him, as presents to chiefs, several watches and valuable cloths. These were totally useless, for a yard or two of gayly colored calico or a few brass buttons were the only gifts they would accept or could appreciate. A chief desired him to prolong his visit, and with great difficulty was appeased because of Professor Drummond's inability to do so. Of the value of time, or its measure, they have no conception. The statement that the party must arrive at a given place to sail on a specified date they could not understand, and gazed with blank amazement at attempted explanations. Days to them are hours, and they reckon time only by moons—one moon, two moons, three moons away, past or future.

A writer of much force, in the *Southwestern Journal of Education*, says: "A careful study of successful mind-methods reveals the fact that success depends more upon executive ability than intellectual attainments. Whatever may be the natural endowments of the pupil, or however much these may be developed by educational processes, success will not be assured until the whole man, the whole woman, is made completely subject to the *will*. Stocking the mind with facts, inflating the intellect with information, is far less important than the development of character. Give us men and women, perfect masters of self, able by act of will to secure that persistent and concentrated application of energy to the matter in hand, by means of which alone even mediocrity may counterfeit genius; certainly it insures success."

Boundary controversies have occupied so much attention since the beginning of our national life that we are glad to note the pertinent remarks of the eminent scholar Justin Winsor on that subject, in a paper recently read before the Rhode Island Historical Society. He quoted the statement of the boundary lines as originally formulated between the territories of Massachusetts and Canada, and showed how vague and meaningless they were in the light of present knowledge, so that it was left for subsequent generations of diplomats to straighten them out. He said he did not mean to go into the whole question, but only to deal with that portion of the territory between Maine and Canada. He illus-

trated his paper with maps, and pointed out how these had been falsified by the official geographers of the French, after the treaty of 1783, the government of France having designs on Canada, thinking to recover their lost ascendancy. However much the French had encouraged and assisted the American Colonies in obtaining their independence, it was thought wise at the French court to hold a strong check upon them at the north lest they become too strong. Mr. Winsor said that in 1785 the English map-makers followed the lead of the French geographers, and gave the south line as the boundary. Not, however, until 1812 did Great Britain formulate a demand for the lower boundary line. The treaty of 1783 had said the line was to be from the head-waters of the St. Croix to the highlands that separated the waters flowing to the St. Lawrence from those that flowed to the sea. This controversy went on many years, and at last was referred to the King of the Netherlands, and he made a conventional award, which was not accepted.

Mr. Winsor described the Ashburton treaty, and the conferences of Lord Ashburton and Daniel Webster at Marshfield, where, according to the popular presentation of the newspapers of the day, these two diplomats, like two peaceful farmers, were settling the boundaries between two great nations as though they were coming to a candid and peaceful agreement about the lines of their estates. He showed, however, that the celebrated red-line map, sent by Franklin to Count Vincennes, and which was discovered by Jared Sparks in Paris, in 1842, and forwarded to Webster, was an important factor in the negotiations. This map revealed a red line on the southern highlands, and Webster, believing it genuine, caused the commissioners both of Maine and Massachusetts to agree to the treaty. The senators—many of them, as has since been shown—were of a different opinion, and unconsciously took the correct view that this red line on the southern highlands was an old French claim. Mr. Winsor argued that the British statesmen knew of the existence of genuine maps which gave the northern boundary as the correct one, and they knew this at the time when they sent over their agents to try and bring about the acceptance of the other boundary. He gave the history of some of these maps, and an interesting account of an attempt of his own to discover a map bearing on this question, which had been among the papers of David Hartley, one of the early commissioners. He was in hopes ultimately to secure it.

The conditional gift of one hundred thousand dollars for a new building for the treasures and uses of the New York Historical Society has been generously extended for one year.

Rinehart's great bronze statue of Chief-Justice Taney, generously presented by Mr. W. T. Walters to the city of Baltimore, is of heroic size, being half way between life-size and colossal, and has been placed north of the Washington Monument in Mount Vernon Place. The jurist is represented as sitting upon the historic woolsack, clad in the robes of office. His head is bent forward, and the expression of his countenance one of deep thought. It is said to be one of the finest portrait statues in America.

BOOK NOTICES

THE ANCIENT CITIES OF THE NEW WORLD: Being Voyages and Explorations in Mexico and Central America, from 1857 to 1882. By DÉSIRÉ CHARNAY. Translated from the French by J. GONINO and HELEN S. CONANT. Introduction by ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE. 209 Illustrations and a Map. Large 8vo, pp. 514. New York, 1887. Harper & Brothers.

There are sermons in stones, such as Shakespear never dreamed of, and some of them are preached by the ruins of the ancient cities in Mexico and Central America. Thither, under the joint auspices of Mr. Pierre Lorillard and the French Government, M. Charnay conducted an expedition, and the record of his discoveries and adventures make up this book. This was the first systematic exploration of a region which has long been known to contain the relics of an extremely ancient race, and where monuments of surpassing grandeur attest the civilization of a people of whom tradition preserves only the faintest memory, and whose hieroglyphics are still undeciphered.

The story is remarkably instructive and interesting; the tale of the adventures which befell the expedition lends to the narrative the charm of romantic fiction, of travel and adventure, while sedulously subordinated to the more important exposition of the relics of the vanished nation, and to the discoveries of the explorers. As we follow M. Charnay through the inhabited regions of Mexico, or stay with him while his guides hew a path through the dense tropical forest which surrounds the site of some ancient city or palace; as we listen with them to the traditions of the faiths and passions of this long vanished race, we can scarcely realize that it is all true, and that we are reading not fiction but history. The author gives us an idea of the civilization of the ancient Toltecs when he says: "On examining the monuments at Tula, we are filled with admiration for the marvelous building capacity of the people who erected them; for, unlike most primitive nations, they used every material at once. They coated their inner walls with mud and mortar, faced their outer walls with baked bricks and cut stones, had wooden roofs, and brick and stone staircases. They were acquainted with pilasters (we found them in their houses), with caryatides, with square and round columns: indeed, they seem to have been familiar with every architectural device. That they were painters and decorators we have ample indications in the houses we unearthed, where the walls were covered with rosettes, palms, red, white, and gray geometrical figures on a black

ground. By a lucky chance we were able to bring to light one of the figures as perfect as the day it left the artist's hands. . . . This relic was on the centre pillar, which was entirely covered with a thick calcareous coating, caused by water trickling from the cornice. Under this coating the faint outline of three figures was just perceptible. My first attempt to uncover the standing figure was not successful, for the hammer brought both the layer of lime and part of the head of the figure with it. I was more cautious in attacking the sitting figure. . . . and fortunate enough to bring to light, without breaking so much as a bead around his neck, a charming specimen of an art which was not even suspected. It represents a man seated Turkish fashion. . . . His head-dress is a kind of mitre with a tuft of feathers in strong relief; a beautiful collar is round his neck; his cape is like that worn by ladies at the present day; bracelets are round his arms; his dress below the girdle is like the cape. . . . Having inadvertently broken some beads and the spangles round his arm, I was surprised to find it perfectly modeled underneath. I undressed the figure, which was throughout beautifully finished."

It would be pleasant to multiply quotations—to tell how Alfonso (the cook), in gratitude for his recovery from malaria, prepared a sumptuous repast; how monkeys serenaded the explorers; how the bearers ran away and left them to shift for themselves; how in the wilderness they met an Englishman exploring "on his own hook"—but space forbids. The book must be read to be appreciated, and it is one which is sure to increase in popularity the more it is known. It will charm alike grown people and children, and be read with profit by every scientist and historian—and this is a combination that is rare indeed. The pictorial wealth of the book adds largely to its value and interest. The illustrations number more than two hundred, besides a portrait of M. Charnay, and an excellent map of such portions of Mexico and Central America as were covered by the migrations of the Toltec race.

The translation is by no means perfect, as for example, Mr. Pierre Lorillard is rendered Mr. Peter Lorillard, and on page 109, where occurs the phrase "spaces reserved for turkeys, ducks, and every species of *volatile*." Still, it is very much above the average. The book should, however, be carefully revised by a competent critic, and an index added when it reaches a second edition.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A MINISTER TO FRANCE. 1869-1877. By E. B. WASHBURN, LL.D. With illustrations. 2 vols.,

8vo. pp. 701. New York, 1887. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Many of the chapters in these handsome volumes have been published in current periodicals, but as now collected the work is one of great historic interest and importance. It presents in a continuous narrative a vivid picture of the affairs of France during Mr. Washburne's residence in Paris as minister from the United States—a period of eight and one-half years—beginning with the spring of 1869. Through his animated descriptions we are introduced to the emperor, the empress, and the ministry, in the most familiar manner; we become acquainted with the unrest, the deep rumbling of popular discontent, and the turbulent French gatherings; we are startled by the declaration of war; we are shocked by the first French defeats, and the proclamation of the Republic; we are alive to all that goes on among those who are penned up in Paris through the long monotonous weeks of the siege; we note the return from exile of Victor Hugo, and the departure of Gambetta for Tours in a balloon; we grow more and more interested as we follow the impressive description of the armistice and the evacuation, the rise of the Commune, the attendant anarchy and terrorism, the desperation of the insurgents, the downfall of the Commune, and the assassination of Archbishop Darboy; and finally, after peace is restored, we dwell in a French Republic long enough to compare it with our own, and witness the turmoil of the reaction, the overthrow of Thiers, and we finally see tranquillity attained. It is a wonderful story from the beginning to the end, and it is most charmingly told. It is invaluable to all students of French history and to all cultivated readers who take an interest in the great movements among nations.

Mr. Washburne writes from the standpoint of an eye-witness. He was a close observer of men and events, and his pen-portraiture is a notable feature of these handsome volumes. He says: "The three most eloquent and instructive talkers (*causeurs*) I ever knew in Paris, were M. Thiers, Jules Simon, and Gambetta. Indeed, I never knew their equal anywhere. Of the three I should put Jules Simon first as a conversationalist. Jules Favre was a fine talker, and he used the French language in the most exquisite style." Mr. Washburne describes Gambetta as "a young man of striking personal appearance, with coal-black hair and black whiskers, closely trimmed. He was a little under middle height, and rather a slim person (he afterward became uncomfortably heavy). He entered public life as an extreme radical, but reaching positions devolving upon him great responsibilities, he developed great moderation and sagacity. As an orator in the Chamber, he scarcely had an equal, and not a superior. Mirabeau, in his palmiest days in the National Convention, was never his superior. I was present in the diplo-

matic gallery when he made his speech in the Chamber the day after the overthrow of M. Thiers by the coalition, and I never listened to a speech of so much eloquence and power."

The illustrations include portraits of Mr. Washburne, of Napoleon III., of the Empress Eugénie, of Émile Ollivier, of Gambetta, of Louis Adolphe Thiers, of the Emperor William, and of other distinguished characters, as well as an incomparable series of picturesque views of Paris during the siege and Commune.

A MEMOIR OF RALPH WALDO EMERSON. By JAMES ELLIOT CABOT. In two volumes. 12mo. pp. 809. Boston, 1887. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The peculiar charm that centres about biography, particularly when the subject has risen to eminence in any line of thought or learning, renders this work most timely and acceptable. Mr. Cabot has performed a service to the reading public that will be appreciated, and with consummate discretion, ability, and good taste. He has not undertaken an estimate of Emerson, but to furnish details of his outward and inward history that may fill out and define more closely the image of him which his friends and admirers already possess. The volumes before us are very rich in learning, thought, and sense, very clear in style, and of high grade as a critical commentary. The earlier and most uneventful years of Mr. Emerson's life are treated so skillfully that they form some of the most attractive pages of the work. He came of an intellectual ancestry, and, even as a boy, lived and moved and had his being in an atmosphere of letters quite apart by himself. He knew little of childhood's amusements; never even had a sled. "His mother," says the author, "had cautioned him against the rude boys in the street, and he used to stand at the gate, wistful to see what the rude boys were like." Mr. Emerson wrote in his journal in 1839: "When I was thirteen years old my uncle, Samuel Ripley, one day asked me, 'How is it, Ralph, that all the boys dislike you and quarrel with you, whilst the grown people are fond of you?' Now I am thirty-six and the fact is reversed: the old people suspect and dislike me, and the young people love me." Mr. Cabot says: "One explanation lay, perhaps, in a certain lofty carriage of the head—the air of one, as Dr. Furness says, dwelling apart in a higher sphere—apt to be mistaken for pride, though it was in truth quite free from any self-reference."

Of Mr. Emerson's college life, Josiah Quincy, who was his classmate, gives some account. He was only a fair scholar according to the standard of the college authorities, and very quiet and unobtrusive. Mr. Cabot says: "Em-

erson told Mr. Moncure D. Conway that when he graduated, his ambition was to be a professor of rhetoric and elocution. I find in one of his later journals the query, 'Why has never the poorest country college offered me a professorship of rhetoric? I think I could have taught an orator, though I am none.' But he could hardly have expected anything of the kind at this time. Some disappointment there was; but I can trace nothing definite, unless it were the failure to obtain an ushership at the Boston Latin school, which Dr. Ripley thought might have been given him had he been more studious in college." He detested mathematics, in which he could never make progress. On leaving college he taught school, but it was not a vocation he liked. He called himself "a hopeless schoolmaster, just entering upon years of trade, to which no distinct limit is placed; toiling through this miserable employment without even the poor satisfaction of discharging it well: for the good suspect me, and the geese dislike me." Mr. Cabot relates the circumstances of his preparation for the ministry, his marriage, the death of his wife, his visit to Europe, his first lectures, his drifting away from the churches, and his interest in the slavery question. Of his methods of composition we can learn somewhat from the following extract:

"In his writing, the sentence is the natural limit of continuous effort; the context and connection an afterthought.

'In writing my thoughts I seek no order, no harmony, or result. I am not careful to see how they comport with other thoughts and other moods—I trust them for that—any more than how any one minute of the year is related to any other remote minute, which yet I know is so related. The thoughts and the minutes obey their own magnetisms, and will certainly reveal them in time.'

His practice was, when a sentence had taken shape, to write it out in his journal, and leave it to find its fellows afterward. These journals, paged and indexed, were the quarry from which he built his lectures and essays. When he had a paper to get ready, he took the material collected under the particular heading and added whatever suggested itself at the moment. The proportion thus added seems to have varied considerably; it was large in the early time, say to about 1846, and sometimes very small in the later essays."

Mr. Emerson rarely attempted to make a speech without preparation. Mr. Cabot says: "I remember his getting up at a dinner of the Saturday Club on the Shakespeare anniversary in 1864, looking about him tranquilly for a minute or two, and then sitting down; serene and unchecked, but unable to say a word upon a subject so familiar to his thoughts from boyhood."

A HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT. By ELIAS B. SANFORD. 12mo. pp. 381. Hartford, 1887. S. S. Scranton & Co.

This work of Rev. Mr. Sanford is a very interesting and valuable contribution to American local history. It is written in an easy, flowing, popular style, neither too heavy for the immature or too light for the ripe scholar, and it bears the evidence in its pages of careful research and conscientious regard for accuracy of statement. Connecticut has been sadly in need of a historian who, with the time, the taste, the tact, and the talent, should make her past affairs better known in the homes of her people. Mr. Sanford seems to have met this want. He does not attempt to unwind the tangled threads of obscure controversy or enter into philosophic disquisitions, but he has shown a genius for historical narrative that the reading public will not be slow to recognize and appreciate.

In telling the story of the foundation, settlement, and development of the Connecticut Commonwealth, Mr. Sanford presents a series of concise and stirring sketches, exceptionally full of particulars, and very attractive for the rising generation, who do not incline to dull books for acquiring knowledge. He does not weary the mind with long-detailed accounts of Indian wars and political disturbances; nor does he pass them by without sufficient mention. He touches upon the life of the people in the colonial period, pays special attention to the history and adoption of the first constitution of Connecticut, with brief pen portraits of the men who were the leaders in its preparation and acceptance, gives us the story of the Regicides, picturesque anecdotes not a few, accounts of Connecticut's part in the old French wars, in the Revolution, in the War of 1812, and in the late civil war, and introduces many features of industrial progress, of education, and of the arts and literature. He says: "We should gain a very wrong impression of the old times if we thought of our Puritan ancestors as always wearing long faces, never smiling or enjoying innocent pastimes. On the contrary, their social life was marked by many festive days. Six times in a year the whole military force of the plantation was called out. These general-training days brought together the old people, women and children, as spectators of the military exercises and athletic games that followed."

It is to be regretted that the illustrations of the volume are not as well engraved or printed as they should have been. But the work is rich in its chronicles, healthful in its spirit, and admirably adapted to the use of schools, and for young readers and all readers at the home fireside.

CONNECTICUT. A Study of Commonwealth Democracy. [American Commonwealths.] By ALEXANDER JOHNSTON. 16mo, gilt top, pp. 409. Boston, 1887. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The eminent professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy in Princeton College, Alexander Johnston, has brought to his onerous task in the study of Connecticut's democracy and its influences a well-disciplined mind, and a familiarity with his theme which renders his discussions and conclusions clear and forcible, even in directions where the student may entertain differing opinions. He says in his preface: "This volume is not meant to deal mainly with the antiquarian history of Connecticut, with the achievements of Connecticut men and women, or with those biographical details which so often throw the most instructive side-lights on local history." Thus the reader can see at a glance how the two histories of Connecticut, by Mr. Sanford and Professor Johnston, do not in any sense conflict with each other. Professor Johnston has aimed to present certain features in the development of Connecticut which have influenced the general development of the state system in this country. He has taken a large and comprehensive survey of characteristic points, and grasped his many-sided subject in a masterly manner. He claims for Connecticut a high place among the commonwealths, and one cannot read his work without being impressed with a sense of the influence the children of Connecticut have carried into all sorts of channels. He shows also that the foreign influence of Connecticut has been extraordinary in some periods of her history. One exceptionally notable chapter is on the "Industrial Development of Connecticut." He shows that her development within the past century has been a curious but natural consequence of her preceding history. "Thrown into any situation, a Connecticut party at once set about organizing civil government, and the individual began the promptest and most efficient preparations for taking care of himself. . . . Farmers and their sons did not lose their evenings or rainy days; these were spent in making nails or other iron products, or anything that would sell. All this, continued through generations, took the place of the technical education which is now finding its way into our school systems. The consequence has been, during the last seventy years, the development of the modern Connecticut mechanic out of the Connecticut agriculturist of the last century, and the transformation of the commonwealth into a great industrial community. . . . The Connecticut system was one which developed high individual energy and capacity, though in later times, when the spread of democracy among all the American commonwealths has given all men the same privileges, it has shown itself most prominently in the develop-

ment of the Connecticut mechanic." Professor Johnston also asserts that "the judicial position given by circumstances to the Connecticut delegates in the Convention of 1787 would have been of no value whatever if the delegates had not had something in their heads to offer for the Convention's consideration, and that something the institutions of Connecticut had been brooding over for a hundred and fifty years. There was probably not a public man in Connecticut in 1787 who was not prepared to accept the peculiar federative idea of the Constitution, if it should be presented to him: his commonwealth democracy had prepared him for it."

A HISTORY OF THE CLAPBOARD TREES, or Third Parish, Dedham, Massachusetts, now the Unitarian Parish, West Dedham. 1736-1886. By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE. 8vo, pp. 139. Boston, 1887. George H. Ellis.

Four sermons preached in January and June, 1886, rewritten and rearranged, form this interesting volume. The purpose of the author has been to save from destruction whatever is of permanent value in connection with the history of the little parish. The quaint name, "Clapboard Trees," was derived from the character of the timber growing on the hill where the first meeting-house was located. On the earliest settlement of the town, clapboards were in great demand, and a saw-mill was erected in the vicinity. The Rev. Josiah Dwight was the first minister of this historic parish; the Rev. Andrew Tyler the second minister; the Rev. Thomas Thacher the third minister, and the Rev. John White was the fourth minister, settled in 1814. The building of a new church edifice in the early part of this century is critically described. Mr. Cooke pertinently says: "The growing interest in every phase of the history of our country is full of promise, for the life of the present is the product of the life of the past."

JAMES MADISON, JAMES MONROE, AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. [Lives of the Presidents.] By WILLIAM O. STODDARD. 12mo, pp. 331. New York, 1887. Frederick A. Stokes.

When completed, this series of books is designed to embrace about ten volumes, forming a very useful and interesting collection for young people. The main facts and incidents in the lives of their distinguished subjects are presented in a pleasing and popular style. The charm of biography lies chiefly in the genius of the biographer. The men of the past were human, like ourselves, and should be treated as such by those who chronicle their public and private acts. Mr.

Stoddard writes with care, and aims to give the results of the latest research. In the limited space of one volume he sketches three Presidents, and for all those who desire portraiture in brief he has performed good service. The volume is issued in clear, handsome type, on fine paper, and is tastefully bound in uniform style with previous volumes.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, from its Foundation to the Present Time. By SUSAN COOLIDGE. 12mo, pp. 288. Boston. 1887. Roberts Brothers.

This little sketch of the birth and growth of Philadelphia has been prepared from materials originally collected for the use of the Tenth United States Census, and embraces eleven chapters, beginning with the "early settlements," and ending with "Philadelphia, from 1880 to 1886." It is an admirably condensed account of the rise, progress, and prosperity of the "Quaker City." "It is difficult to realize, when studying any one of our large American towns," says the author on the opening page, "how short a time it is since the ground on which it stands was an unbroken wilderness, upon which the eye of the white man had never rested. Two centuries and a half—a mere drop in the sum of the ancient civilizations—represents all, and more than all, of what we in America count as antiquity. Take Philadelphia, for instance—second in population and importance among the cities of the United States, and rivaling in area every capital of Europe, unless it be the city of London: its foundation goes back to the earliest days of our colonies, yet Rome in the decadence age, and Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Athens had then numbered each over two thousand years."

SOBRIQUETS AND NICKNAMES. By ALBERT R. FREY. 8vo, pp. 482. Boston. 1888. Ticknor & Company.

"It appears somewhat strange," says Mr. Frey in his preface, "that no book has as yet been issued which is devoted to the explanation and derivation of these witty, and, in some instances, abusive appellations; and to remedy this defect the present work was undertaken." Some of these peculiar nicknames have obtained great currency, and yet they could not be traced in any cyclopedia, nor would one know where to look for their derivation. "The Attic Muse," for instance, the name bestowed on Xenophon, the Athenian historian; "The Attila of Authors," the name given to the critic, Gaspar Scioppius, who boasted he occasioned the deaths of Casaubon and Scaliger, and was detested and dreaded as a public scourge; "Jehu," a nickname given to Louis XVIII. of France; "Nod

Noll," one of the numerous epithets bestowed on Cromwell; "Grammaticus," a nickname given to Aelfric, a monk of Abingdon; and "Orange Peel," as Sir Robert Peel was called when Chief Secretary of Ireland from 1812 to 1818, on account of his anti-Catholic tendencies. The volume contains much welcome information, and in its handsome dress will find its way to a precious place on the library shelf.

EDWARD JESSUP of West Farms, Westchester Co., New York, and His DESCENDANTS. With an Introduction and an Appendix, the latter containing records of other American families of the name. By Rev. HENRY GRISWOLD JESSUP. Square 8vo, pp. 442. Privately printed. 1887.

Edward Jessup was one of the party of Englishmen who in 1652 established a settlement at Middleborough (Newtown), Long Island. He had been in New England three or four years prior to that date, and had bought considerable land in Connecticut. The settlers of Middleborough were allowed the privilege of nominating six citizens for magistrates, to be appointed by the Dutch governor and council. Jessup's was one of the names first sent in. He removed to Westchester, New York, about 1663, and purchased of the Indians, conjointly with John Richardson, the tract of land subsequently called West Farms. His eldest daughter married Thomas Hunt, Jr., who through inheritance and purchase came into possession of the property. Among the direct descendants of Edward Jessup in the seventh generation, is Morris K. Jessup, the New York banker, who purchased the family homestead of his grandfather, Major Ebenezer Jessup, in Westport, Connecticut, and in 1836 gave it to the Congregational Church in that place for perpetual use as a parsonage. The reputation of Morris K. Jessup is not confined to his successes as a business man; he is known as a philanthropist, and a public-spirited citizen in countless directions. While president of the Museum of Natural History, he presented the "Jessup Collection of the Woods of the United States," representing the forest wealth of the entire country; he was one of the founders of the Young Men's Christian Association of New York; has been president of the New York Mission and Tract Society, and of the Five Points House of Industry, a trustee of the Union Theological Seminary, and is connected in an official way with numerous institutions of art and charity. He built the DeWitt Memorial Church in Rivington Street in 1881, at a cost of \$60,000, and presented it to the City Mission and Tract Society. His wife is a daughter of Rev. Dr. DeWitt.

This volume embraces a much wider range of

historic data than is usual in genealogical publications. It has been prepared with scholarly care, and is a very interesting work; the fine portraits of different members of the Jessup family, with other illustrations, add greatly to its permanent value. The numerous descendants of the first Edward Jessup will prize it as it deserves.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE. Toronto. Third series. Vol. IV., 1885-1886. 8vo, pp. 47. Printed for the Canadian Institute, Toronto. 1887.

Among the interesting contents of this continuation of the "Canadian Journal of Science, Literature and History" is an address by President W. H. Van der Smitten, M.A., in which he sketches the past history of the Institute, and its good work in the promotion of pure and applied science; an able paper read by D. A. O'Sullivan, D.C.L., on "The Jurisprudence of Insanity;" and a notable discussion by A. F. Chamberlain, B.A., on the "Relationship of the American Languages."

COLLECTIONS OF THE NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. For the year 1886-1887. Vol. V. 8vo, pp. 158. Halifax, N. S. 1887.

The most important paper in this volume is "The Expulsion of the Acadians," by Sir Adams G. Archibald, read before the society on the 7th of January, 1886. The author considers poets dangerous historians, and says few will take the trouble to inquire how the expulsion described by Longfellow was provoked. He says: "It was a Massachusetts governor who devised the scheme. It was Massachusetts officers and Massachusetts soldiers who carried out the decree of expulsion . . . and it was Massachusetts vessels, chartered from Massachusetts merchants, officered and manned by Massachusetts captains and crews, that carried the poor Acadians into exile." The paper will bear close reading and critical analysis.

TWELVE TIMES ONE. Illustrations of Child Life. Designed in water-colors. By MARY A. LATHBURY. With descriptive poems by the author of "John Halifax," Leigh Hunt, Thomas Hood, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Jean Ingelow, Algernon Charles Swinburne, and others. 4to. Lithographic covers in original design in colors and gold. 1888. New York. Worthington Co.

This is a dainty Christmas gift for the little ones in the household. The volume is on a larger scale than Miss Lathbury's "Seven Little Maids," which has been so popular in the past, and is exquisitely printed in twelve colors, with descriptive verses to each illustration.

INTERIOR DECORATION. By ARNOLD W. BRUNNER and THOMAS TRYON. With 65 Illustrations. Square quarto. pp. 65. Price \$3. New York. 1887. William T. Comstock.

The papers which form this beautiful volume have been published from time to time in the architectural journal *Building*, but they are here presented, after careful revision, in a readable and informing work. The subjects treated embrace nearly every feature of a complete and attractive dwelling, and no one can turn the leaves even at random without becoming deeply interested. Not only the artistic illustrations, which are a delight to the eye, but the lessons in decorative art running through each chapter embrace a multitude of hints of practical value to all lovers of the beautiful in graceful forms and pleasing colors. Speaking of the hall, the authors insist that it should be as large as the size of the house will permit, and that it should be given a cheerful and friendly expression. Then a series of pictures follows from both pen and pencil of the authors until one almost feels the welcome warmth of the blazing fire upon the pretty hearthstone. Several pages of the volume are devoted to the staircase, which our architect authors say "should be decorative in construction, and carefully considered when the plan of the house is first studied." The library, the parlor, the dining-room, the study and the bedrooms, all pass under critical review. Nothing could be more interesting or suggestive to many of our readers than the chapter devoted to the study—a room which usually reflects the tastes and habits of its occupant more, perhaps, than any other. We read: "The architect is as much in his sphere fashioning the inner walls of a building as the outer ones, and if he is skillful he will so combine the useful and the beautiful that neither shall suffer. The old rule that construction should be decorated and decoration not be constructed is an excellent one, and should be borne in mind. An apartment that gives evidence of design, and has some points of interest in itself, however simply treated, needs not to be smothered with bric-à-brac, painting and embroideries, an only resource to relieve the bareness of houses built—we cannot say designed—by the hundred."

INDEX

- A** BINGTON, Mass., cannon for the Revolutionary war, cast in, 204.
- Adams, Herbert B., memorial sketch of Leopold von Ranke, 85.
- Adams, John, papers of, 32.
- Adams, John Quincy, life of, noticed, 550.
- Adams, Samuel, papers of, 32.
- Adams, Walter Booth, present home of the Magazine of American History, its memories and associations, 76.
- Africa, Prof. Drummond's address on central, 544.
- Albany, N. Y., Milbert's views of, 1826, 458, 468; Lafayette's visit to, 1824, 467.
- America, the tread-mill in, 525; the Fairfaxes of, 542.
- American Association for the Advancement of Science, annual meeting, election of officers, 264; abbreviation of the title of, 266; papers on the economy of food, by Prof. Atwater; the testimony of statistics to our national progress, by Prof. James, 267; to be invited to England, 268.
- American Biography, Vol. II., noticed, 184.
- American Economic Association, annual meeting, papers on the efforts of manual laborers to better their condition, by Francis A. Walker, 84; the problem of transportation, by E. J. James; the long and short haul clauses of the inter-State commerce act, by Edwin R. A. Seligman, 85.
- American Electoral System, noticed, 182.
- American Historical Association, annual meeting, papers on the manuscript sources of American history, by Justin Winsor; Diplomatic prelude to the Seven Years' War, by Herbert Elmer Mills; Silas Deane, by Charles Isham; Historical grouping, by James Schouler; the Constitutional relations of the American Colonies to the English Government at the commencement of the American Revolution, by Mellen Chamberlain; the Peace Negotiations of 1783, by John Jay; sketch of Leopold von Ranke, by Herbert B. Adams; the Parliamentary experiment in Germany, by Kuno Francke; a study in Swiss history, by John Martin Vincent; the Spaniard in New Mexico, by W. H. H. Davis; the historic name of our country, by Moses Coit Tyler; the government of London, by Arthur M. Wheeler; religious liberty in Va., and Patrick Henry, by Charles J. Sillé; the American chapter in church history, by Philip Schaff; historical studies in Canada, by George Stewart, Jr., 84; election of officers, 86.
- American History, manuscript sources of, *Justin Winsor*, 21.
- American Progress, Poem by Charles K. Tuckerman, 72.
- American Revolution, Henry Laurens in the London tower, 1; manuscripts relating to the, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31. Enoch Crosby, the Spy, 73, 341; the constitutional relations of the American colonies at the commencement of the, 85; peace negotiations of 1783, 85; Silas Deane, 85; John Sevier, as a commonwealth builder, a sequel to the rear-guard of the, noticed, 95; general orders relating to German troops at Winchester, Va., 1781, 164; the first naval battle of the, 173; Gen. James M. Varnum of the Continental army, 185; cannon furnished for the, 203; a patriotic parson, 239; a patriotic letter of Gen. Arnold, 250; route of Col. Campbell, from Savannah to Augusta, 1779, 256, 342; N. J. Volunteers in the, 272.
- Ancient Cities of the new world, noticed, 548.
- André, John, the spy, noticed, 455.
- Andrews, Prof. F. B., the Federal Convention of 1787, 542.
- Andrews, Israel Ward, settlement of the Northwest, 81; the admission of Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio into the Union, 326.
- Architecture, a short history of, noticed, 453.
- Armstrong, William Jackson, the captured battle flags, 252.
- Arnold, Gen. Benedict, letter to the Committee of Safety of Schenectady, Aug. 16, 1777, in regard to Fort George, 250; wounded at Quebec, 350, 445.
- Artists, jealousy of, 354.
- Ashton, Eugene, the Latrobe corn-stalk columns at Washington, 128.
- Assyria, History of, noticed, 94.
- Atkinson, Edward, the Margin of Profits, noticed, 270.
- Augusta Co., Va., Annals of, noticed, 270.
- "Auld Lang Syne," the manuscript of, 265.
- Authors, a century ago, 349.
- B**ABY Grace, the Christmas summons, a poem, *Mrs. Martha J. Lamb*, 535.
- Bacon, Nathaniel, the rebel, his propositions to John Goode, 1676, 418.
- Baker, Charles D., the First Reformed Dutch church of Brooklyn, N. Y., 336.
- Baker, George A., Mrs. Hephaestus, and other short stories, noticed, 181.
- Baker, John, the Federal Constitution, noticed, 181.
- Bancroft, George, the study of history, 266.
- Bancroft, Hubert Howe, how California was secured, 194.
- Baptist Church, the first in Boston, 82.
- Barneveld, John, execution of, 278.
- Beauchamp, W. M., the Church of England in N. Y., 83.
- Beecher, Henry Ward, Memorial, noticed, 269; as a humorist, 434, 456.
- Belleville, N. J., the Reformed church at, 87.
- Benjamin, S. G. W., Lady Franklin in Greece, 161; character of Daniel Webster, 317.
- Bent, Samuel Arthur, Familiar Short Sayings of Great Men, noticed, 95.
- Bernard, Gov. Francis, papers of, 30.
- Betts, Beverly R., family and residence of Col. Beverly Robinson, 352.
- Birch, Harvey, the spy, 341.
- Bishop, John M., The U. S. Mail Service, 45.
- Bok, Edward W., Beecher Memorial, edited by, noticed, 269.
- Boodle, origin of the word, 82, 191, 262, 353, 445.
- Book Notices.—*July*—Lecky's England, 93; Shurz's Life of Henry Clay, 94; Ragozin's Story of Assyria, 94; Gilmore's John Sevier, 95; Strohm's Cookery book, 95; Munger's Appeal to Life, 95; Bent's Short Sayings of Great Men, 95; Wood's Natural Law in the Business World, 96; Papers of the California Historical Society, Vol. I., 96.
- August*—Holland Society year book, 180; Chapman's French in the Alleghany Valley, 180; Walsh's Queen of the House of David, 180; Baker's Mrs. Hephaestus and

- other Stories, 181; Longfellow Memorials, 181; Baker's Federal Constitution, 181; Wilson's China and Japan, 182; May's Drone's Honey, 182; Isham's Fishery Question, 182; O'Neill's American Electoral System, 182; Samuel's Forecastle to the Cabin, 183; Van Gelder Papers, 183; Wellcome's Metlakahita, 183; the Wherewithal System of Education, 183; Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 184.
- September*—Year Book of Charleston, 1886, 269; Beecher Memorial, 269; Davis' Norway Nights and Russian Days, 270; Atkinson's Margin of Profits, 270; Waddell's Augusta Co., Va., 270; Cooper's Rural Hours, 270; Thwaites and Butterfield's Sketches of Lyman C. Draper and Mortimer M. Jackson, 271; Swinburne's Poems, 271; Kirkland's Zurly, a novel, 271; Births, Marriages, and Deaths of Dedham, Vol. I., 272; Stryker's N. J. Volunteers in the Revolutionary War, 272.
- October*—International law of the U. S., 357; York Deeds, Maine, Vol. I., 357; Jones' Christ in Camp, 358; Journals of the Military Expedition of Gen. Sullivan, 1779, 359; Nebraska Historical Transactions, Vol. II., 359; Edsall's King's Bridge, N. Y., 360; Pocahontas and her descendants, 360; Readings for young men, 360.
- November*—Tuckerman's Architecture, 453; McClellan's personal memoirs and military history of U. S. Grant, *versus* the record of the Army of the Potomac, 453; Hale's Trans-Alleghany Pioneers, 454; Martin's Life of Father Jacques, 454; Lossing's two spies, Hale and André, 455; Dimitry's Three Good Giants, 455; Drake's Great West, 455; Longfellow's Prose birthday book, 455; Hague's life notes, 456; Mathew's Uncle Rutherford's attic, 456; Kirk's Beecher as a humorist, 456.
- December*—Charney's Ancient Cities of the New World, 548; Wa-hburne's Recollections of a minister to France, 548; Cabot's Memoirs of Emerson, 549; Sanford's Connecticut, 549; Johnston's Connecticut, 549; Cooke's Clapboard Trees, 549; Stoddard's Madison, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams, 550; Coolidge's Philadelphia, 550; Frey's Sobriquets and Nicknames, 550; Jessup Genealogy, 550; Canadian Institute Proceedings, 551; Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections, 551; Lathbury's Child Life, 551; Brunner and Tryon's Interior Decorations, 551.
- Boston, Mass., the first Baptist Church in '82; Lafayette's visit to, 1825, 450, 455; Milbert's view of, 1826, 464.
- Boudinot, Elias, papers of, 31.
- Bowdoin, Edgar, the custom of casting a shoe after a bride, 160.
- Bowdoin, James, papers of, 33.
- Bradford, John, founder of the Kentucky Gazette, portrait, 125.
- Bride, the custom of casting a shoe after a, 160, 262.
- Bridger, James, ancestry of, 351.
- Bridgewater, Mass., cannon foundry in, 203.
- Brinley, Thomas, home of, in England, 363.
- Brooklyn, N. Y., the First Reformed Dutch Church, 336, 542.
- Brown, Charles Brockden, novelist, 542.
- Brunner, Arnold W., interior decorations, noticed, 551.
- Buchanan, James, letter to Royal Phelps, December, 22, 1860, in regard to the secession of the Southern states, 77.
- Burns, Robert, the manuscript songs "Auld Lang Syne" and "Scots wha ha wi' Wallace bled," 265.
- Burr, Aaron, a study, *Charles H. Peck*, I., 40; II., 482; expedition of, 538, 539.
- Butler, James D., Our Revolutionary Thunder, 203; alien disabilities, 261; church-bells in America, 261.
- Butterfield, Consul W., Biographical Sketch of Mortimer M. Jackson, noticed, 271.
- CABOT, James Elliot, memoirs of Ralph Waldo Emerson, noticed, 549.
- Calhoun, John C., secession, illustrated in the career of, 206.
- California, secured by the U. S., 124.
- California Historical Society, papers, Vol. I., noticed, 96.
- Campbell, Col. Arthur, memorandum of the route of, from Savannah to Augusta, 1779, 256, 342.
- Camp-meetings, early, 427.
- Canada, historical studies in, 86.
- Canadian Institute, proceedings, noticed, 551.
- Canning, E. W. B., Indian land grants in Western Mass., 142.
- Cantley, E. A., school law in the N. W. territory, 444.
- Carroll, Charles, papers of, 33.
- Chalmers, George, papers of, 30.
- Chamberlain, Mellen, the constitutional relations of the American Colonies to the English Government at the commencement of the American Revolution, 85.
- Chapman, T. J., the French in the Allegheny Valley, noticed, 180; the religious movement of 1800, 426.
- Charles I., silver knife and fork of, 364.
- Charleston, S. C., the earthquake in, 251; year book of, noticed, 269.
- Charney, Désiré, ancient cities of the New World, no iced, 548.
- Cherokee Indians, Journalism among the, *George E. Foster*, 65.
- Cherokee Phoenix, first aboriginal newspaper, 65.
- China, Travels in, noticed, 182.
- Christ in camp, or Religion in Lee's army, noticed, 358.
- Christmas poems, *Mrs. Martha J. Lamb*, 535; *Gilbert Nash*, 537.
- Church-bells, the first cast in America, 261.
- Church of England, established in N. Y., 83.
- Church History, the American chap-
ter in Part 1., *Philip Schaaf*, 289, II., 390.
- Clap-board Trees, history of, noticed, 549.
- Clarke, Daniel, ancestry of, 170, 350.
- Clarke, Gen. George Rogers, papers of, 33.
- Clason, A. W., Stephen A. Douglas and the Free Soilers, 478.
- Clay, Henry, Life of, noticed, 04.
- Cleveland, Rev. John, a Patriotic Parson of the Revolution, *D. F. Lamson*, 239.
- Cleveland, Grover, address at the centennial of Clinton, N. Y., 176.
- Clinton, Gov. George, fac-simile of letter from, to Gov. Hamilton, June 2, 1753, 439.
- Clinton, N. Y., centennial celebration of, 174, 175.
- Clinton, Sir Henry, introduces the willow tree in America, 169.
- Collyer, Rev. Robert, the Fairfaxes of England and America, 542.
- Columbia College, N. Y., 88.
- Columbus, Christopher, an original portrait of, 444.
- Connecticut, history of, noticed, 549.
- Constitution, the, a poem, *J. J. Rooney*, 443; centennial of the framing of, 449.
- Cooke, George Willis, History of clap-board trees, noticed, 549.
- Cooke, Gen. P. St. George, one day's work of a Captain of Dragoons, 35; a winter's work of a Captain of Dragoons, 520; marches troops from New Mexico to San Diego, Cal., 1846, 510; discovers railroad route to the Pacific, makes new southern boundary of the U. S., 511; suppresses the Fremont Mutiny, 514.
- Cookery Book, Universal, noticed, 95.
- Coolidge, Susan, History of Philadelphia, noticed, 550.
- Cromwell, Oliver, portrait, 361.
- Crosby, Enoch, the spy, 73, 341.
- Cushing, Thomas, papers of, 33.
- DANA, Francis, papers of, 33.
- Davis, S. M. Henry, Norway Nights and Russian Days, noticed, 270.
- Davis, W. W. H., the Spaniard in New Mexico, 85.
- Dawes, E. C., letter of Jeremiah Nelson to Dr. Cutler, Feb. 18, 1807, relative to the Burr expedition, contributed by, 538.
- Deane, James E., Enoch Crosby, the Spy, not a myth, 73.
- Deane, Silas, papers of, 31.
- Dedham, Mass., Births, Marriages and Deaths in, Vol. I., noticed, 272.
- Devereaux, Gen. Arthur F., Some account of Pickett's Charge at Gettysburg, 33.
- Dickson, W. M., Union, Secession, Abolition, as illustrated in the careers of Webster, Calhoun and Sumner, 206; the apotheosis of the Plutocrat, 407.
- Dimitry, John, three good giants from Rabelais, noticed, 455.
- Douglas, Stephen A., and the Free Soilers, *A. W. Clason*, 478.
- Drake, Samuel Adams, the making of the great West, noticed, 455.

- Draper, Lyman C., sketch of, noticed, 271.
- Drummond, Prof., address on Central Africa, 544, 545.
- Drummond, Robert, loyalist, ancestry of, 447.
- Dykman, J. O., the troops at Quebec, led by Capt. Daniel Morgan, 445.
- Dynasty, the oldest, 540.
- EADUS**, Capt. William, a prototype of "Leather Stocking," 532.
- Earthquake, the, in Charleston, 1886, 251.
- Eastchester, N. Y., Lafayette at, 1824, 453.
- Edsall, Thomas H., History of Kings Bridge, N. Y., noticed, 360.
- Education, the wherewithal system of, noticed, 183.
- Egyptian Obelisk, the, in New York, 160, 353.
- Ellery, William, papers of, 33.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, character of, 543; memoirs of, noticed, 549.
- Emmet, Thomas Addis, M. D., illustrations from the collection of, 1, 3, 5, 9.
- Emmons, Edward, the Sabbath a legal day of rest, 261, 351, 352.
- England, history of, noticed, 93; ship *Resolute* presented to, 97.
- English Calendar, change in the, 170, 262.
- English Publishers, and American authors, 349.
- FAIRFAX** Family of England and America, 542.
- Fairfield, Conn., Lafayette at, 1824, 463.
- Fairfield County Historical Society, officers, 448.
- Federal Constitution, origin of the *Francis Norton Sharpe*, 130; history of, noticed, 181; the framing of the, 542.
- Federal Convention of 1787, 542.
- Fitzgerald, David, change in the English calendar, 263.
- Forbes, Walter K., readings for young ladies, noticed, 360.
- Foster, George E., journalism among the Cherokee Indians, 65.
- France, recollections of a minister to, noticed, 548.
- Frankce, Kuno, the Parliamentary experiment in Germany, 85.
- Franklin, Benjamin, papers of, 26.
- Franklin, Lady Jane, portrait and fac-simile autograph of, 99; visits Greece, 161.
- Freehold, N. J., the old Tennent church at, 87.
- Free Soilers, Stephen A. Douglas and the, 478.
- Fremont, Gen. John C., expedition into California, 198; the mutiny of, 1846, 514.
- French, the, in the Allegheny Valley, noticed, 180.
- Frey, Albert R., Sobriquets and Nicknames, noticed, 550.
- Fuller, Amos H., Egyptian Obelisk in N. Y., 169.
- GARDINER**, Asa Bird, Gen. James M. Varnum, of the Continental Army, 185.
- Gardiner, Samuel S., portrait, 381.
- Gates, Gen. Horatio, papers of, 31.
- Gérard, Chevalier, diplomatic correspondence of, 31.
- Germain, Lord, portrait, 9.
- Germany, the Parliamentary experiment in, 85.
- Gettysburg, Pa., account of Gen. Pickett's charge at the battle of, *Gen. Arthur F. Devereaux*, 13; battle scene at, 17.
- Gilmore, James R., John Sevier as a Commonwealth Builder, noticed, 95.
- Goode, G. Brown, an interesting dialogue in 1676 between Bacon the rebel, and John Goode, 418.
- Goode, John, letter to Gov. Berkeley, Jan. 30, 1676, giving the propositions of Nathaniel Bacon, the rebel, 418.
- Goold, William, the first treaty of the U. S., 173.
- Grant, Gen. U. S., The Personal Memoirs and Military History of, *versus* the Record of the Army of the Potomac, noticed, 453; ancestry of, 540.
- Grantham, Lord, diplomatic correspondence of, 30.
- Greek Revolution, United States and the, *Charles K. Tuckerman*, 217.
- Greeley, Horace, Practical advice of, an incident of Reconstruction of Mississippi, 423; extract of a letter to Bayard Taylor, 449.
- Greene, Gen. Nathaniel, papers of, 26.
- Greenough, Horatio, letters to E. E. Salisbury, respecting the works of, 330.
- Greenwich, Conn., Lafayette at, 1824, 463.
- HAGEMAN**, John F., the French colony at Princeton, N. J., 87.
- Hague, Rev. William, Life Notes or fifty years' outlook, noticed, 456.
- Haines, Ferguson, fac-simile letter of Gov. George Clinton to Gov. Hamilton, June 2, 1753, contributed by, 439.
- Hale, John P., Trans-Allegheny Pioneers, noticed, 454.
- Hale, Nathan, the spy, noticed, 455.
- Halleck, Fitz Greene, anecdote of, 356.
- Hallock, Robert C., the old Tennent Church at Freehold, N. J., 87.
- Hamilton, Alexander, papers of, 26.
- Hamilton Oneida Academy in 1794, *Walstein Root*, 396.
- Hancock, John, papers of, 29.
- Hancock, Gen. Winfield S., battle scene representing, at Gettysburg, 17.
- Harstene, Henry J., commander of the Arctic ship *Resolute*, portrait, 109.
- Hart, Albert Bushnell, The Biography of a River and Harbor Bill, 52.
- Harvard University, catalogue of, printed as a broadside, 442; its physical basis and intellectual life, 517.
- Hatfield, Guy, Harvey Burch not Enoch Crosby, 341.
- Hayden, Horace Edwin, the surname Oliver, 540.
- Heath, Gen. William, papers of, 30.
- Henry, Patrick, papers of, 33; religious liberty in Virginia, and, 86.
- Hillsborough, Earl of, portrait, 7.
- Hitchcock, D. D., Rev. Roswell D., death of, 168.
- Holland Society of New York, Year Book, noticed, 180.
- Holmes, Oliver Wendell, the large trees of New England, 544.
- Hopkins, Essek, papers of, 31.
- Hopkins, Rev. Mark, memorial sketch of, 162.
- Hopkins, Stephen, papers of, destroyed, 33.
- Horse chestnuts, utility of, 172.
- Hubbard, Oliver P., an extraordinary Indian town, 339; the treadmill in America, 525.
- Hudson River, N. Y., view of bridge on, 1826, 460.
- Hurlbut, George C., meaning of the word boodle, 262.
- Hurlbut, Henry H., the Prototype of "Leather Stocking," 532.
- Hutchinson, Gov. Thomas, papers of, 25.
- INDIAN** Brook, N. Y., view of, 1826, 475.
- Indians, Journalism among the Cherokees, 65; meaning of the word *Tianderra*, 81; land grants in Western Mass., 142; of Kings Bridge, N. Y., 169; Running-Antelope's autobiography, 243; an extraordinary Indian town, 339; Gen. Sullivan's expedition against the, 1779, 359; education of the Oneida, 396.
- Irving, Washington, literary work of, 175.
- Isham, Charles, sketch of Silas Deane, 85; the fishery question, noticed, 182.
- JACKSON**, Mortimer M., sketch of, noticed, 271.
- James, E. J., the problem of transportation, legal tender decisions, 85.
- Jaques, Father Isaac, life of, noticed, 454.
- Jay, John, papers of, 33; peace negotiations of 1783, 83.
- Jefferson, Thomas, papers of, 26.
- Jessup, Edward, descendants of, noticed, 550.
- Jessup, Rev. Henry Griswold, descendants of Edward Jessup, noticed, 550.
- Johnson, Laura Winthrop, the Longfellow prose birthday book, noticed, 455.
- Johnston, Alexander, History of Conn., noticed, 549.
- Jones, Col. Charles C., Jr., Route of Col. Campbell from Savannah to Augusta, 1779, annotated by, 256, 342.
- Jones, J. William, Christ in Camp, or Religion in Lee's Army, noticed, 358.
- Joseph II., character of, 80.
- KEARNY**, Gen. S. W., establishes territorial government in New Mexico, 1846, 510.
- Kentucky, the admission of, into the Union, 306.
- Kentucky Gazette, first newspaper West of the Alleghanies, 121; fac-simile of heading, 132; view of building used by, 1787, 126.
- King, Horatio, unpublished letter of President Buchanan, contributed

- by, 77; speech of Daniel Webster, candidate for President, 443.
 King, John A., the framing of the Federal Constitution, 442.
 Kings Bridge, N. Y., Indian name for, 169; history of, noticed, 360.
 Kirk, Eleanor, Beecher as a humorist, noticed, 456.
 Kirkland, Joseph, *Zury*, a novel, noticed, 271.
 Kirkland, Rev. Samuel, founder of the Hamilton Oneida Academy, 396.
 Knight, George W., location of land granted to Lafayette, 83.
 Knox, Gen. Henry, papers of, 30.
- LAFAYETTE**, Marquis de, land granted to, 83; in Missouri, 154; portrait, 457; his visit to U. S. 1824-25, 457; at Boston, 459, 465; reception at N. Y., 459, 465; at Providence, 461; in Connecticut, 461; reception at New Rochelle, 463; at Greenwich, Norwalk, Stamford, and New Haven, 463; at Albany, 467; reception at Philadelphia, 467; entertained by the "State in Schuylkill Club," 460; menu of dinner to, 471; thirteen toasts at dinner to, 477.
 Lake George, the first steamboat on, 78.
 Lakeville, Conn., cannon cast for the Continental Army in, 204.
 Lamb, Gen. John, papers of, 31.
 Lamb, Mrs. Martha J., Henry Laurens in the London Tower, 1; a love romance in history, 150; the origin of N. Y., glimpse of the famous West India Company, 273; the manor of Shelter Island, 361; Lafayette's visit to U. S., 1824-25, 459; Baby Grace, the Christmas summons, 535.
 Lamson, Rev. D. F., D.D., sketch of Rev. John Cleveland, a patriotic parson, 239.
 Lathbury, Mary A., Illustrations of Child Life, noticed, 551.
 Latrobe, Benjamin Henry, architect of the Capitol at Washington, view of the columns designed by, 128.
 Laurens, Henry, portrait, 1; in the London Tower, *Mrs. Martha J. Lamb*, 1; fac-simile autograph letter of, 3; papers of, 31.
 Lawrence, L. L., who led the troops after Arnold was wounded at Quebec, 350.
 "Leather Stocking," the prototype of *Henry H. Hurlbut*, 532.
 Lecky, William Edward Hartpole, History of England, noticed, 93.
 Lee, Arthur, papers of, 20.
 Lee, Gen. Charles, papers of, 31.
 Le Plongeon, Alice D., the Mayas, their customs, laws, and religion, 233.
 Letters, fac-simile letter of Henry Laurens, 14 Sept. 1780, 3; from M. C. Hamilton, acting Secretary of War, 16 Feb., 1841, to Col. Snively, in regard to Mexican traders, 37; Gen. Gaines to Capt. Cooke, Aug. 21, 1843, on the same subject, 41; President Buchanan to Royal Phelps, respecting the secession of the Southern States, 77; Col. Beverley Robinson to Frederick Philipse, May 5, 1786, in regard to his lands, same to Mrs. Ogilvie, April 28, 1787, relating to family affairs, 164; Gen. Arnold to Committee of Safety of Schenectady, Aug. 16, 1777, relative to movements of the British at Fort George, 250; Horatio Greenough, to E. E. Salisbury, Jan. 30, 1838, and April 28, 1839, in regard to his works, 330; Gov. Stuyvesant to the church at Brooklyn, N. Y., 1660, 336; fac-simile letter of Nathaniel Sylvester, 1675, to Gov. John Winthrop, 367; fac-simile letter of Gov. George Clinton, June 2, 1753, to Gov. Hamilton, 439; Gen. Peter Muhlenberg to Col. Richard C. Anderson, June 7, 1794, relative to land for Va. troops, 441; William Milner to Thomas Morris, July 22, 1825, on the reception of Gen. Lafayette, 471; Richard Rush to William Milner, July 22, 1825, in regard to reception of Gen. Lafayette, 475; Jeremiah Nelson to Dr. Cutler, Feb. 18, 1807, relative to the Burr expedition, 538.
 Lewis, Richard C., letter of Gen. Muhlenberg to Col. Anderson, June 7, 1794, contributed by, 441.
 Lexington, Ky., view of the old fort at, 123; present business block on the site of old fort, 127.
 Libraries, increase of, 355.
 Lincoln, Abraham, the first dollar earned by, 71.
 Lincoln, Gen. Benjamin, papers of, 32.
 Lloyd, Aaron, the Reformed Church at Belleville, N. J., 87.
 Lloyd's Neck, N. Y., fac-simile of quit-claim deed of, 378.
 London Tower, Henry Laurens confined in the, 1; view of, 5.
 Longfellow, Henry W., Memorials of, noticed, 181; prose birthday book, noticed, 455.
 Lossing, Benson J., the two spies, Nathan Hale and John André, noticed, 455.
 Louis XIV., lines on the death of, 540.
 Ludlum, J. K., the Way of the World, Death of Louis XIV., a poem, 540.
 Luzerne, Chevalier de la, diplomatic correspondence of, 31.
 Luzerne, N. Y., Milbert's view of bridge near, 1826, 460.
- McCLELLAN**, Caswell, the Personal Memoirs and Military History of U. S. Grant *versus* the Record of the Army of the Potomac, noticed, 543.
 McFarland, R. W., change in the English calendar, 262; school lands in N. W. territory, 541.
 Machias, Me., the capture of the *Margarita* at, 173.
 Madison, James, papers of, 26; life of, noticed, 550.
 Magazine of American History, present home of, its memories and associations, 76.
 Maine, the visits of the Presidents of the U. S. to, 173.
 Maine Historical Society, June meeting, papers on the first treaty of the U. S. by William Gould; the visits of the Presidents of the U. S. to Maine, by Joseph Williamson; the capture of the *Margarita* at Machias, by George F. Talbot, 173.
 Manchester Historical Society, Mass., organization of officers, 87.
 Mansfield, O. P., change in the English calendar, 170.
 Martin, Rev. Felix, life of Father Isaac Jaques, noticed, 454.
 Maryland, cannon cast for the Continental Army in, 204.
 Massachusetts, Indian land grants in Western, *E. W. B. Canning*, 142; cannon foundries in, 203.
 Mathews, Joanna H., Uncle Rutherford's Attic, a story for girls, noticed, 456.
 May, Sophie, Droné's Honey, noticed, 182.
 Mayas, Customs, Laws, and Religion of the, *Alice D. Le Plongeon*, 233.
 Memory, the faculty of, 543.
 Metlakahla, history of, noticed, 183.
 Mexico, boundary of, 1843, 35.
 Milbert, J., picturesque sketches in United States, 1826, 90, 458, 460, 462, 464, 466, 468, 470, 473, 474, 475.
 Mills, Herbert Elmer, diplomatic prelude to the Seven Years' War, 85.
 Milner, William, letter to Thomas Morris, July 22, 1825, relative to the reception of Gen. Lafayette, 471.
 Missouri, Lafayette's visit to, *William A. Wood*, 154.
 Monroe, James, papers of, 26; life of, noticed, 550.
 Morris, Gouverneur, papers of, 33.
 Morton, Washington, his marriage, 150.
 Muhlenberg, Gen. Peter, letter to Col. Anderson, June 7, 1794, 441.
 Munger, Theodore T., Appeal to Life, noticed, 95.
- NASH**, Gilbert, Christmas, a poem, 537.
 Nebraska Historical Society, Transactions and Reports, Vol. II., noticed, 359.
 Nelson, Jeremiah, letter to Dr. Cutler, Feb. 18, 1807, relative to the Burr expedition, 538.
 Nelson, William, the founding of Paterson, N. J., as a manufacturing metropolis, 87; the Stamp Act, 1765, 445.
 Nelson's River, origin of, 444.
 Newberry, Walter L., bequest of, for a library, 355.
 New Hampshire Historical Society, annual meeting, election of officers, 173.
 New Haven, Conn., view of monument erected to the memory of the soldiers of, 179; Lafayette at, 1844, 463.
 New Jersey, cannon cast for the Continental Army in, 204; Loyalists in the Revolutionary War, noticed, 272.
 New Jersey Historical Society, May meeting, papers on the Tensent Church, by Robert C. Hallock; French colony at Princeton, by John F. Hageman; eulogy on Gov. Ward, by F. W. Ricort; the Reformed Church at Belleville, by Aaron Lloyd; the founding of Paterson, by William Nelson, 87.
 New Mexico, the Spaniard in, 85;

- the insurrection of 1846-47, 333; territorial government established in, 510.
- New Rochelle, N. Y., Lafayette at, 1824, 462.
- New York City, Revolutionary manuscripts in, 31; the present home of the *Magazine of American History*, 76; Church of England established in, 83; the Egyptian Obelisk in, 169; barges in, 261; the origin of, 273; Daguerre's experiment for taking portraits, 1839, 356; reception to Lafayette, 1824, 459, 465; view of Provost and Chapel streets, 1826, 466.
- New York Historical Society, October meeting, papers on the Fair-faxes of England and America by Rev. Robert Collyer, D.D., Nov. meeting, Charles Brockden Brown, Novelists and Men of Letters, by Edward I. Stevenson; anniversary meeting; the framing of the Federal Constitution, by John A. King, 542.
- North Carolina, an extraordinary Indian town in, 339.
- Northwest, settlement of the, 81.
- Norwalk, Conn., Lafayette at, 1824, 463.
- Norway Nights, noticed, 270.
- Notes—*July*—Character of Joseph II., 80; political parties, 80; satire and humor, 80; settlement of the Northwest, 81.
- August*—Our diplomatic service, 168; death of Rev. Dr. Roswell D. Hitchcock, 168; Kings Bridge Indians, 169.
- September*—Souvenirs of the Arctic ship *Resolute*, 259; the umbrella in history, 259; postal service in the Spanish-Portuguese colonies in America, 1800, 260; the use of words, 260.
- October*—Authors a hundred years ago, 349; English publishers and American authors, 349; weddings in colonial days, 349.
- November*—Harvard catalogue, 442; death of Hon. Mark Skinner, 442; the Constitution, a poem, 443; Daniel Webster, 443; the Pringle family, 444.
- December*—A Yankee Thanksgiving, 1792, 439; Aaron Burr's expedition, 439; a Paris Christmas, 439; the way of the world, death of Louis XIV., 440.
- Nova Scotia Historical Society, collections, noticed, 551.
- OGDEN, David, ancestry of, 170.
- Ohio, the admission of, into the Union, 306.
- Ohio Historical Society, July meeting, election of officers, 264.
- Oliver, Charles, 540.
- Oliver, John F., ancestry of James Bridger, 351.
- Onaida Historical Society, June meeting, take action on the centennial of Clinton, N. Y., 174.
- Onaida Indians, education of, 396.
- O'Neil, Charles A., American Electoral System, noticed, 182.
- Original Documents—Letter of President Buchanan to Royal Phelps, Dec. 22, 1860, respecting the secession of the Southern States, 77; unpublished papers relating to the first steamboat on Lake George, 78; General orders relating to German troops at Winchester, Va., 1781, 164; unpublished letters of Col. Beverly Robinson, 1786, 1787, relating to family affairs, 164; route of Col. Campbell from Savannah to Augusta, 1779, 256, 342; fac-simile letter of Gov. George Clinton to Gov. Hamilton, June 2, 1753, 439; letter of Gen. Peter Muhlenberg to Col. Richard C. Anderson, June 7, 1794, 441; letter of Jeremiah Nelson to Dr. Manasseh Cutler, Feb. 18, 1807, relative to the Burr expedition, 538.
- Orr, Hugh, cannon foundry of, furnishes cannon for the Revolutionary War, 203.
- Otis, Fessenden N., M. D., Presentation of the Arctic ship *Resolute* by the U. S. to the Queen of England, 97.
- Otis, James, papers of, destroyed, 33.
- PACIFIC Ocean, first railroad route to the, 513.
- Paris Christmas, a, 539.
- Paterson, N. J., the founding of, as a manufacturing metropolis, 87.
- Peck, Charles H., Aaron Burr, a study, I, 403; II, 482.
- Pelletreau, William S., two unpublished letters of Col. Beverly Robinson, contributed by, 164; location of Pittsburgh, N. Y., 262.
- Pennsylvania, cannon cast for the Continental Army in, 204, 205.
- Perrin, William Henry, the first newspaper West of the Alleghenies, 121.
- Phelps Family, the, 444.
- Philadelphia, Pa., centennial of the Constitution of the U. S. in, 265, 449; Lafayette at, 1824, 459, 467; history of, noticed, 550.
- Pickering, Timothy, papers of, 29.
- Pickett, Gen. George E., Confederate Army, at the battle of Gettysburg, 17.
- Pittsburgh, N. Y., location of, 82, 262.
- Plutocrat, the Apotheosis of the, *W. M. Dickson*, 407.
- Pocahontas, and her descendants, noticed, 360.
- Political Parties, 80.
- Price, Gen. Sterling, portrait, 333; suppresses the New Mexico insurrection of 1846-47, 333.
- Princeton, N. J., the French colony at, 87.
- Pringle family, the, 444.
- Providence, R. I., view of, 1826, 462; Lafayette's visit to, 465.
- QUEBEC, Literary and Historical Society of, annual meeting, election of officers, 87; who led the troops after Arnold was wounded at, 350, 445.
- Queries—*July*—The Stamp Act, 82; Pittsburgh, N. Y., 82; Boodle, 82.
- August*—Casting a shoe after a bride, 160; did Sir Henry Clinton introduce the weeping willow in America, 169; the Egyptian Obelisk in N. Y., 169; change in the English calendar, 170; ancestry of William Swayne, David Ogden, and Daniel Clark, 170.
- September*—Berges, 261; the Sabbath, 261; Church-bells, 261; alien disabilities, 261.
- October*—Who led the troops after Arnold was wounded at Quebec, 350; ancestry of Daniel Clarke, 350; the captured old world town, 351.
- November*—A portrait of Columbus, 444; Nelson's River, 444; author of lines beginning, *Night with her sandals dipped in dew*, 444, school law of the Northwest, 444; the Phelps family, 444.
- December*—Language, 540; oldest dynasty, 540; ancestry of Gen. Grant, 540; an old clock, 540; Oliver, 540.
- Quincy, Josiah, papers of, 29; his marriage, 150.
- RABELAIS, Francois, three good giants, noticed, 455.
- Ragozin, Zénalde A., Story of Assyria, noticed, 94.
- Railroad route to the Pacific, the first, 513.
- Ranke, Leopold von, memorial sketch of, 85.
- Read, George, papers of, 33.
- Reed, Joseph, papers of, 28, 31.
- Religious Movement of 1800, the, *T. J. Chapman*, 426.
- Replies—*July*—A historic meeting-house, 82; Tianderra, 83; the church of England in N. Y., 83; public land, 83.
- August*—Our presidents as horsemen, 170; origin of the word Boodle, 171; at the death angle and from the Wilderness to Spottsylvania, 171; horse-chestnuts, 171.
- September*—Casting a shoe after a bride, 262; Pittsburgh, N. Y., 262; Boodle, 262; change in the English calendar, 262, 263.
- October*—Ancestry of James Bridger, 351; the Sabbath, 351, 352; residence of Col. Beverly Robinson, 352; Egyptian Obelisk, 353; Boodle, 353.
- November*—Boodle, 445; Stamp Act, 1765, 445; who led the troops at Quebec, after Arnold was wounded, 445; ancestry of Robert Drummond, 447.
- December*—School lands, 541; Daniel Webster, 541; citizenship and suffrage, 542; first Reformed Dutch Church, Brooklyn, 542.
- Resolute*, the Arctic ship, presented by the U. S. to Queen Victoria, 97; views of, 97, 103, 105.
- Rhode Island Historical Society, July meeting, papers on the application of steam power, 1663 to 1781, by Gov. Dyer, 174; October meeting, report on seal of the Society, appoints delegate to the centennial of Marietta, Ohio, 448; November meeting, the Federal Convention of 1787, by Prof. F. B. Andrews, 542.
- Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, appoint delegates to the centennial of Marietta, Ohio, 440.
- Robertson, R. S., similarity of the paper, at the Death Angle, by Charles A. Patch, and from the Wilderness to Spottsylvania, by, 172.
- Robertson, Wyndham, Pocahontas,

- and her descendants, noticed, 360.
- Robinson, Col. Beverly, two unpublished letters of, 1786, 1787, relating to family affairs, 164; family and residence of, 352.
- Rochambeau, Count de, papers of, 26.
- Rodney, Caesar, papers of, 33.
- Rooney, J. J. J., the Constitution, a poem, 44.
- Root, Walstein, Hamilton Oneida Academy in 1794, 396.
- Running Antelope's Autobiography, 243.
- Rush, Benjamin, papers of, 31.
- Rush, Richard, letter to William Milner, July 21, 1825, respecting the reception to Gen. Lafayette, 476.
- Russian Days, noticed, 270.
- Rutledge, Edward, papers of, destroyed, 34.
- SABBATH**, legal day of rest, 261.
- Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., Milbert's view of the military post at, 1826, 474.
- Salisbury, Conn., cannon cast for the revolutionary war, cast in, 204.
- Salisbury, Edward Elbridge, two letters of Horatio Greenough, contributed by, 330.
- Salisbury, Mrs. Edward E., ancestry of William Swayne, David Ogden, and Daniel Clarke, 170, 351; ancestry of Gen. Grant, 540.
- Samuels, Capt. S., from the Fort-castle to the Cabin, noticed, 153.
- San Diego, Cal., U. S. troops arrive at, 1846, 510.
- Sanford, Elias B., History of Conn. noticed, 520.
- Satire and Humor, 80.
- Schaff, Philip, the American Chapter in Church History. Part I., 289; II., 390.
- Schenectady, N. Y., first railroad at, 457.
- School lands in the N. W. territory, 444, 541.
- Schouler, James, historical grouping, 85, 326.
- Schurz, Carl, life of Henry Clay, noticed, 94.
- Schuyler, Philip, papers of, 33.
- Schuylkill River, Pa., water works on the, 1826, 470.
- Scituate, R. I., cannon cast for the Revolutionary war, cast in, 204.
- "Scots wha' ha' wi' Wallace bled," the manuscript of, 265.
- Scruggs, William L., the Sabbath a legal day of rest, 351; citizenship and suffrage, 542.
- Seligman, Edwin R. A., the long and short haul clauses of the inter-State commerce act, 85.
- Sevier, John, as a commonwealth builder, noticed, 95.
- Shelter Island, N. Y., the manor of, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, 361; map of, 162; views of the mansion and grounds at, 365, 369, 375, 377, 382, 384, 385, 388.
- Sherman, Roger, papers of, 34.
- Shippen, Edward, papers of, 31.
- Six Nations, Gen. Sullivan's expedition against the, 1779, noticed, 359.
- Skinner, Mark, death of, 442.
- Society of the Cincinnati, triennial meeting, election of officers, 264; reception to Lafayette, 1824, 466.
- South Carolina, cannon cast for the Continental army in, 204.
- Sparks, Jared, manuscript collection of, 30.
- Springfield, Mass., cannon foundry in, 1778, 203.
- Stamford, Conn., Lafayette at, 1824, 463.
- Stamp Act of 1765, 82, 445.
- "State in Schuylkill" Club, entertains Lafayette, 469.
- Statistics, the study of, 75.
- Sterling Iron Works, N. Y., furnish cannon for the French war, 204.
- Stetson, J. A., the death of Daniel Webster, 443.
- Steuben, Baron, papers of, 31.
- Stevenson, Edward I., Charles Brockden Brown novelist, 542.
- Stewart, George Jr., historical studies in Canada, 86.
- Stillé, Charles J., religious liberty in Va., and Patrick Henry, 86.
- Stirling, Lord, papers of, 31.
- Stoddard, William O., James Madison, James Monroe, and John Quincy Adams, noticed, 550.
- Stone, William L., general orders relating to German troops, 1781, contributed by, 164.
- Stormont, Lord, portrait, 11; diplomatic correspondence of, 30.
- Storrs, R. S., the value of historical study, 157.
- Strohm, Gertrude, Universal Cookery book, noticed, 95.
- Stryker, William S., N. J. Volunteers (Loyalists) in the Revolutionary war, noticed, 272.
- Stuyvesant, Gov. Peter, letter introducing Rev. Henricus Selwyn to the church in Brooklyn, N. Y., 336.
- Sullivan, Gen. John, papers of, 33; Journals of the Military Expedition of, against the Six Nations 1779, noticed, 359.
- Summer, Charles, Abolition, illustrated in the career of, 206.
- Super, Charles W., change in the English calendar, 264.
- Swayne, William, ancestry of, 170.
- Swinburne, Algernon C., Poems, noticed, 271.
- Swiss History, a study in, 85.
- Sylvester, Nathaniel, the Manor of Shelter Island, home of, 361; facsimile of letter to Gov. Winthrop, 367.
- TARBELL**, J. J., Horace Greely's practical advice. An incident of reconstruction of Mississippi, 423.
- Taylor, Bayard, Horace Greely's advice to, 443.
- Tennessee, the admission of, into the Union, 206.
- Texas, troops of, captured for trespass, 36.
- Thanksgiving Day, a Yankee, 1792, 549.
- Thomas, Gen. John, papers of, 33.
- Thomson, Charles, papers of, 33.
- Thorpe, Francis Norton, origin of the Federal Constitution, 130.
- Thwaites, Reuben G., Biographical Sketch of Lyman C. Draper, noticed, 271.
- Tianderra, meaning of the Indian word, 83.
- Trans-Alleghany Pioneers, noticed, 454.
- Treadmill, the, in America, *Oliver P. Hubbard*, 525.
- Trumbull, Gov. Jonathan, papers of, 24.
- Tryon, Gov. William, letter book of, 1765, 1771, 30.
- Tryon, Thomas, Interior Decorations, noticed, 551.
- Tucker, Capt. Samuel, papers of, 30.
- Tuckerman, Arthur Lyman, History of Architecture, noticed, 453.
- Tuckerman, Charles K., American Progress, a poem, 72; the U. S. and the Greek revolution, 217.
- Tyler, John, his marriage, 89.
- Tyler, Moses Coit, the historic name of our country, 85.
- UNITED STATES**, capture of Texas troops for trespass, 36; mail service, 45; the biography of a river and harbor bill, 52; first aboriginal newspaper in, 65; study of statistics, 75; political parties, 80; settlement of the Northwest, 81; land granted to Lafayette, 83; the inter-State Commerce Act, 85; legal tender decisions, 85; Arctic ship *Resolute* presented by the, to Queen Victoria, 97; origin of the Federal Constitution, 130; diplomatic service, 198; introduction of the weeping-willow tree in, 169; first treaty of the, 173; visits of the Presidents of the, to Maine, 173; history of the Federal Constitution, noticed, 181; the fishery question, 182; electoral system, 182; how California was secured, 193; and the Greek revolution, 217; centennial of the Constitution, 265; church history in the, 289; Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, admitted into the Union, 206; digest of the International law of, 357; the religious movement of 1800, 426; the Constitution, a poem, 443; centennial of the Constitution, 449; Lafayette's visit, 1824-25, 457; first railroad route to the Pacific, 513; new Southern boundary, 513; the treadmill in, 525; the Burr expedition, 538, 539; the framing of the Federal Constitution, 542; the Federal convention of 1787, 542.
- Uselincx, William, his interest in the West India Company, 281.
- VAN CORTLANDT**, Mrs. Pierre, unpublished papers relating to the first steamboat on Lake George, contributed by, 78.
- Van Gelder, papers, noticed, 184.
- Van Schaack, Henry C., the autograph collection of, 160, 249.
- Varnum, Gen. James M., of the Continental Army, *Asa Bird Gardiner*, 185; residence of, 186; interior views of the Varnum home-stead, 188, 189; punch bowl presented by Lafayette to, 191.
- Varnum, Joseph Bradley, portrait, 192.
- Vincent, John Martin, study in Swiss history, 85.
- Virginia, religious liberty in, and

- Patrick Henry, 86; cannon cast for the Continental Army in, 204; Milbert's view of national bridge, 1826, 473; Lafayette in, 477.
- WADDELL**, Joseph A., *Annals of Augusta Co., Va.*, noticed, 270.
- Walker**, Francis A., the efforts of manual laborers to better their condition, 84.
- Walsh**, A. Stewart, the Queen of the house of David, noticed, 180.
- War of 1861**, Confederate Gen. Pickett's charge at Gettysburg, 13; battle scene at Gettysburg, 17; letter of President Buchanan in regard to the secession of the Southern States, 77; at the death angle, 171; from the Wilderness to Spottsylvania, 171; union, secession, abolition, 206; the captured battle flags, 252; religion in Lee's army, 358; *Memoirs of U. S. Grant versus the record of the Army of the Potomac*, 453.
- Warren**, Gen. James, papers of, 32.
- Warren**, Gen. Joseph, papers of, destroyed, 33.
- Washburne**, E. B., *Recollections of a Minister to France*, noticed, 548.
- Washington**, D. C., the Latrobe cornstalk columns in the Capitol at, 128.
- Washington**, George, papers of, 26, 30; his correspondence with Joseph Reed, 28; as a horseman, 170; anecdote of, 241; advertises his land to lease, 437.
- Watts**, John, family name originally Watt, 382.
- Wayne**, Gen. Anthony, papers of, 33.
- Weare**, Gov. Meschek, papers of, 33.
- Webster**, Daniel, Union, illustrated in the career of, 206; portrait, 273; character of, 317; candidate for President, speech of, his death, 443, 541.
- Weddings**, in colonial days, 349.
- Weed**, Thurlow, a printer's apprentice, 1812, 178.
- Wellcome**, Henry L., the *Story of Metlakatla*, noticed, 183.
- Westchester**, N. Y., Lafayette at, 1824, 463.
- West Farms**, N. Y., Lafayette at, 1824, 463.
- West India Company**, and the origin of N. Y., 273; views of the houses of the, 274, 280, 283, 284, 286, 287.
- West Point**, N. Y., Milbert's views of, 1826, 90.
- Weymouth Historical Society**, Mass., August meeting, paper on the old North Church, Weymouth, Mass., by the Secretary, 448.
- Wharton**, Francis, *Digest of the International Laws of the U. S.*, edited by, noticed, 357.
- Whipple**, Gen. William, papers of, 33.
- Wilkinson**, Gen. James, papers of, 33; his action in the Burr expedition, 538.
- Williams**, Amos, the captured old world town, 351.
- Williams**, Gen. Otho H., papers of, destroyed, 34.
- Williams**, W. D., people ruled by a king unable to speak the language, 540.
- Williamson**, Joseph, the visits of the presidents of the U. S. to Maine, 173.
- Willis**, N. P., his manuscript composition, 265.
- Wilson**, James Harrison, China and Japan, noticed, 182.
- Winsor**, Justin, *Manuscript sources of American History*, 21.
- Wood**, Henry, *Natural Law in the Business World*, noticed, 96.
- Wood**, William A., Lafayette's visit to Missouri, 154; Gen. Sterling Price and the New Mexico insurrection of 1846-47, 333.
- Wright**, Carroll D., the study of statistics, 75.
- YORK**, Me., *Deeds*, Book I., noticed, 357.
- Yorke**, Sir Joseph, diplomatic correspondence of, 30.
- ZURY**, a novel, noticed, 271.



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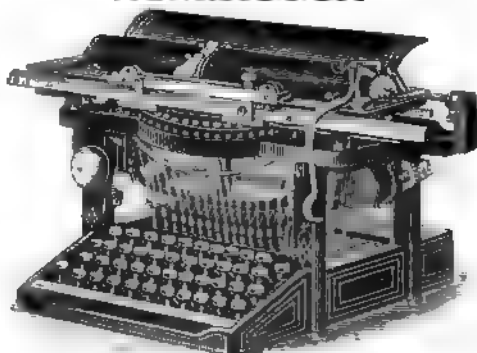
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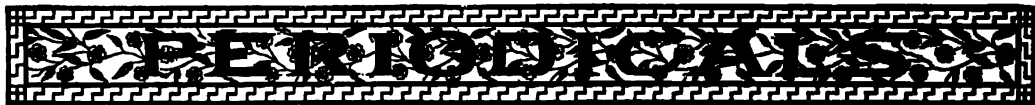
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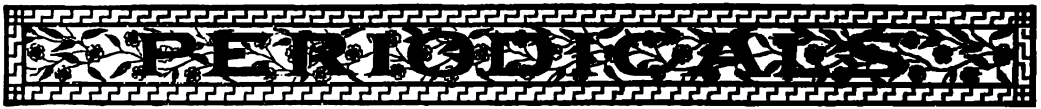
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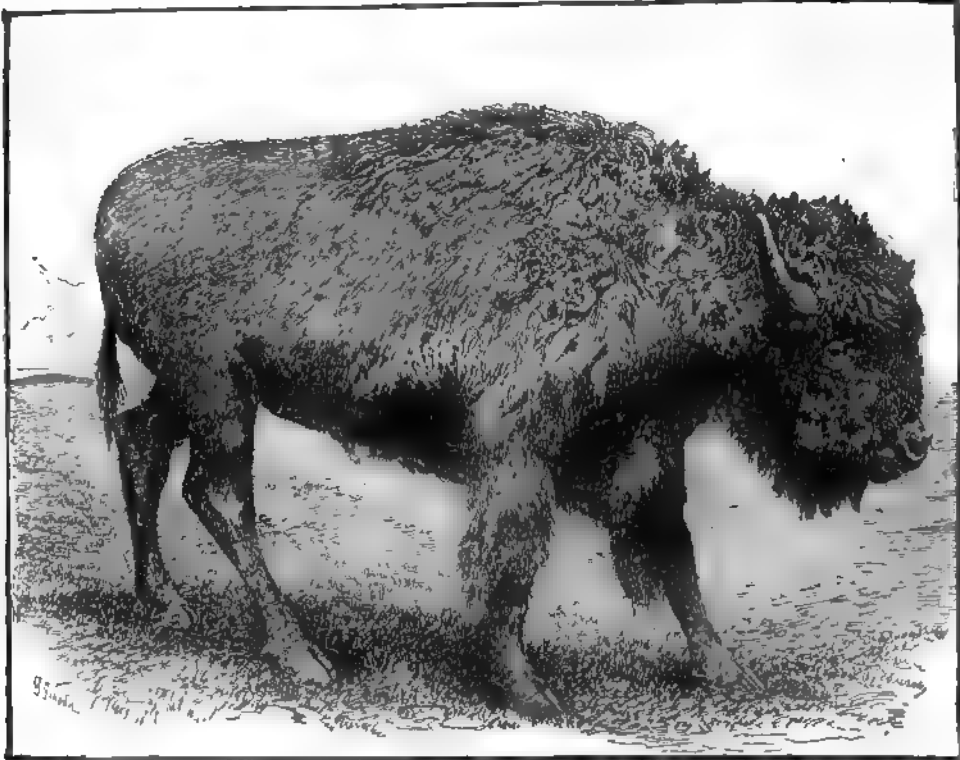
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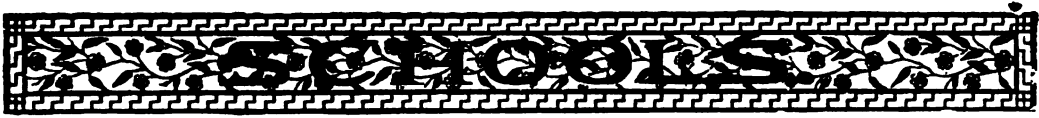
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RICHARD A. McCURDY, President.

STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1886.

ASSETS, - - - - - \$114,181,963.24.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force January 1st, 1886.....	120,952	\$368,981,441 36	Policies and Annuities in force, January 1st, 1887.....	129,927	\$393,809,202 88
Risks Assumed.....	18,673	56,832,718 92	Risks Terminated.....	9,098	32,004,957 40
	139,625	\$425,814,160 28		139,625	\$425,814,160 28

Dr. Revenue Account. Cr.

To Balance from last account.....	\$99,865,644 11	By paid to Policyholders :	
Premiums.....	15,634,720 66	Endowments and Purchased Insurance.....	\$4,908,729 61
Interest and Rents.....	5,502,456 01	Dividends and Annuities.....	2,727,454 13
		Deceased Lives.....	5,492,920 00
			\$13,129,103 74
		By Other Disbursements :	
		Commissions and Commutations.....	\$1,732,632 83
		Taxes.....	277,169 85
		Expenses.....	1,091,613 91
			3,101,416 59
		By Premiums on Stocks and Bonds Purchased.....	52,566 14
		Balance to new account.....	104,719,734 31
	\$121,002,820 78		\$121,002,820 78

Dr. Balance Sheet. Cr.

To Reserve for policies in force and for risks terminated.....	\$108,460,120 25	By Bonds secured by Mortgages on Real Estate.....	\$50,118,949 66
Premiums received in advance.....	78,274 84	United States and other Bonds.....	42,071,641 00
Surplus at four per cent.....	5,643,568 15	Loans on Collaterals.....	6,172,917 25
		Real Estate.....	10,591,286 32
		Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest, Interest accrued.....	2,306,203 08
		Premiums deferred and in transit.....	1,166,870 65
		Sundries.....	1,566,117 28
	\$114,181,963 24		188,978 00
			\$114,181,963 24

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

A. N. WATERHOUSE,
Auditor.

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